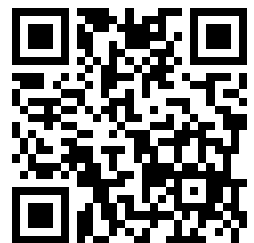


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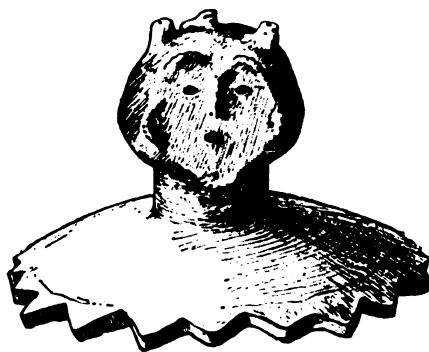
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## BULLETIN OF THE MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

- BULLETIN N:o 1. J. G. ANDERSSON, CHOU CHAO-HSIANG, G. BOUILLARD, V. K. TING, H. RYDH, B. KARLGREN, FR. E. ÅHLANDER. (191 pages, 21 plates, 6 maps in colour, 86 figures in the text). 18 Swedish crowns. 1929.
- BULLETIN N:o 2. B. KARLGREN, O. JANSE, O. KARLBECK, J. G. ANDERSSON, N. PALMGREN. (237 pages, 41 plates, 30 figures in the text). 25 Swedish crowns. 1930.
- BULLETIN N:o 3. B. KARLGREN, A. WALEY, E. ERKES, H. RYDH, O. JANSE, (176 pages, 17 plates and 27 figures in the text). 18 Swedish crowns. 1931.
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- BULLETIN N:o 13. B. KARLGREN. (128 pages, 80 plates, 19 figures in the text). 36 Swedish crowns. 1941.
- BULLETIN N:o 14. B. KARLGREN, J. G. ANDERSSON, OSVALD SIRÉN. (247 pages, 36 plates, 14 figures in the text). 36 Swedish crowns. 1942.
- BULLETIN N:o 15. J. G. ANDERSSON (304 pages, 202 plates, 136 figures in the text). 60 Swedish crowns. 1943.
- BULLETIN N:o 16. B. KARLGREN. (256 pages, 24 plates). 36 Swedish crowns. 1944.
- BULLETIN N:o 17. J. G. ANDERSSON, B. KARLGREN (144 pages, 69 plates). 36 Swedish crowns. 1945.
- BULLETIN N:o 18. B. KARLGREN, M. BYLIN-ALTHIN. (498 pages, 56 plates). 60 Swedish crowns. 1946.
- BULLETIN N:o 19. J. G. ANDERSSON, HANS BIELENSTEIN (163 pages, 149 plates) 60 Swedish crowns. 1947.
- BULLETIN N:o 20. B. KARLGREN. (315 pages, 58 plates). 50 Swedish crowns. 1948.







ANDERS HELLSTRÖM

# BRONZES IN THE HELLSTRÖM COLLECTION

BY

*BERNHARD KARLGREN*

In the spring of 1946, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities acquired the large and exceedingly important collection of Chinese antiquities created by the late Mr. Anders Hellström of Mölndal. This great enrichment of the Museum's treasures was made possible on the one hand by a large grant from a prominent Swedish foundation which for many years has promoted scientific and cultural progress in Sweden in a most munificent way; on the other hand thanks to great benevolence on the part of Mrs. Märtha Hellström, née Countess Wrangel, who was guided above all by a warm wish that the beautiful collection which was the achievement of her late husband should come undivided to an official Swedish institution. To both parties: to the directors of the said foundation, and to Mrs. Hellström, the Museum wishes to express its deep and respectful gratitude.

Anders Hellström was an exceedingly active man,<sup>1)</sup> and as director for nearly three decades of the great industrial establishment Papyrus he was for many years one of the leading men in the Swedish paper industry. His interests were, however, by no means narrowly limited to his professional field of activity. With keen sympathy and ever-ready generosity he was a promoter of various scholarly and other cultural activities. Quite particularly, archaeology had a warm friend in Anders Hellström.

At a very early date his interest was mainly centred on the Far East, particularly China. In Sweden he was, indeed, something of a pioneer, in this line; quietly and unobtrusively he started to acquire his first ancient Chinese treasures at a time long before early Chinese art became a recognized and favoured field

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<sup>1)</sup> Anders Hellström was born in Norrköping on the 31st Oct. 1877 and passed his school years there. He obtained his engineer's diploma in 1896 and held positions in industrial works in Germany (Halle) for two years and England (London) for 5 years. Having been assistant manager of the Marmor Bruks Company in Norrköping from 1903 to 1910, and the head of an engineering firm in Stockholm for another two years, he was appointed managing director of the Papyrus Mills in Mölndal in 1912 and held that post until he retired in 1940. He was entrusted with many important administrative and municipal tasks, being, for instance, a member of the city council of Mölndal for 20 years, of the county council of Göteborg and Bohuslän for 15 years, and a member of the boards of various industrial corporations. He was furthermore an energetic, successful and highly esteemed president of the Anglo-Swedish Society of Göteborg. He died on July 15th 1940.

among Swedish art collectors. His years of apprenticeship — and he had no teacher, he had in the main to find his way on his own — were few, the erroneous purchases likewise few: at an early date he had already acquired that excellent eye and the reliable knowledge which led him almost unfailingly to good acquisitions. In the course of time his expert knowledge became ever more sure, and he was thus able on many occasions to seize an opportunity of buying unusual and remarkable specimens which a less sure judge would hesitate to tackle; and as a rule it turned out that he had been right in his shrewd judgment. He had already built up a wonderful collection, remarkable both in quality and quantity, and he was at the very height of his collecting activity, when his health broke down and he died.

To the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities Anders Hellström was a warm friend, from the moment of its founding in 1926 and to the day of his death. Innumerable were his friendly visits to the Museum, nearly as innumerable his gifts, small and big, always bestowed with the utmost modesty and friendly *bonhomie*. Some of the most remarkable and valuable of our treasures have come into our possession as generous gifts from this untiring and unfailing patron of the Museum. And I may be allowed to add here that he was at the same time a good and unswerving friend to us all who worked in the museum, and quite particularly to my predecessor Professor J. G. Andersson and to myself. His death was a great blow to us all, for not only did the Museum lose one of its foremost patrons, but we all lost in him a sterling friend.

His memory will always live, cherished and beautiful, in this Museum.

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It was originally my intention to publish a paper called «Selected Specimens from the Hellström Collection». I soon realized, however, that it would be a pity to skim the cream of this extensive collection and pick out just a few exquisite specimens from the many various branches over which it extends. I have found it preferable, in this first article dedicated to the memory of Anders Hellström, to concentrate upon one side, the one which after all was most near to his heart: the early bronzes. I thus leave out at present — but I shall revert to them in subsequent articles — his considerable treasures of jade and ceramics. And among the bronzes I have likewise set aside for special publications some important branches: Ordos bronzes; mirrors (a great many of which were already treated in my paper *Huai and Han* in BMFEA 13); dress-hooks; weapons (apart from a few de luxe specimens incorporated here). Detailed papers treating Hellström's specimens in these fields will be published by me, I hope, in the near future.

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Pl. 1 and Pl. 2: 1 (K. 14809). Kuei. This large and remarkable vessel is unusual in several respects. First, there are four handles (usually only two, alternating with free animals' heads), which is exceedingly rare; the nearest parallel is the famous Kuei in the Eumorfopoulos collection (Yetts I, Pl. 13). Secondly, in the décor bands on the foot and the neck, there is plain background, which likewise is comparatively rare. In the third place, the handles have a curiously composite design: at the top a forcefully modelled ram's head, from the mouth of which comes out, as an elongated tongue, the curved handle bar (on this latter there are C-shaped spiral figures, incised, in contrast to the relief décor on the body of the vessel). At the base this bar takes the shape of an elephant's head turned inwards (towards the belly of the vessel); in Pl. 2 the eye and the ear (leaf-shaped but dented at the top) are clearly visible and also the plastically protruding small tusks. The trunk is turned up so as to form the hook, so common a feature on Kuei handles. The décor on the body of the vessel is in rounded relief. In the foot band there is in each panel a very elaborate winged dragon and in front of it the remnants of another dragon reduced to a few lines. In the neck band a head-turning dragon with a big crest on the head and the tail raised so as to form, with the body, a reclining S. Below this raised tail are again a few summary lines, remnants of a smaller dragon. Yin or Early Chou, probably the latter. B style. Inscription inside bottom: »X has made for Father Sin this precious vessel«. Height 17 cm. A rich red patina with big splashes of bright-green incrustations.

A Yu in Hakkaku kikkin shū 14 with almost exactly the same décor bands: the turning dragons elaborated in this way on a bare ground in the neck band, the same kind of distorted dragons in the foot band, is so akin to our Kuei that they might form parts of a set. The ram heads on the handles are closely cognate to the head on the lid of a Kuang (Raphael coll., The Chinese Exhibition, Commem. cat., London 1935, Pl. 8) with an early Chou inscription.

Pl. 2: 2 (K. 14811) Kuei. No handles, their places simply marked by free animals' heads in the neck décor band. The décor limited to two bands, both with a low, discreet relief. In the foot band there is a row of interlocked S spirals bordered by circle bands. In the neck band, on a background of spirals, a row of consecutive dragons; the long down-curving beak of the dragon balances its turned-up tail, so as to form a reclining S. Here again the row is bordered by circle bands. Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Inscription: »K ü«, an undeciphered symbol indicating Yin date. Height 13.8 cm. Glossy black patina with green incrustations.

Pl. 3 (K. 14812). High bowl of a very unusual shape: something between a Tou and a Kuei. Inside, it is hemispherical. The tall foot is pierced in 3 places by a rectangular opening. The motif in the two décor bands is a dissolved T'aot'ie, formed, in the usual way, of antithetical dragons (Fig. 1). Behind the horn of the dragon a row of quills are visible. Behind these again a rolled-up figure which here must represent a wing, since the body emerges lower down, likewise turning upwards and ending in three groups of rectrices. Very low, discreet relief. Yin or Early Chou, B style. Height 28 cm. Dark green and brown patina with rich bright-green incrustation. — For a vessel of approximately the same unusual shape, but in Middle Chou style, see G. Ecke, Frühe Chinesische Bronzen aus der Sammlung Oskar Trautmann, 1939, pl. 18.



Fig. 1.

Pl. 4: 1 (K. 14783). Li. The legs conical, almost pointed, the neck comparatively high. The décor — three T'aot'ie — is executed in incised lines except the eyes and bovine horns, which are in high relief (there is thus no background pattern of spirals on this vessel). Yin or Early Chou. Height to top of handle 18.5 cm. Green patina with blue and brown patches.

Pl. 4: 2 and Pl. 5: 2 (K. 14784). Li. The contours of the three lobes which on ordinary vessels are rounded and smooth, are here rough and angular, because of the exceedingly high and forceful relief, in certain parts approaching a plastic treatment. The three T'aot'ie, on a background of spirals, have a primitive variant of the »bottle horns»; their bodies are reduced to a few vigorous bands in high relief and some smaller filling-out bands in lower relief. The forehead (detail in Pl. 5: 2) has the same traditional lozenge as the other Li in the same plate, but above that a small T'aot'ie, the double dragon bodies of which are represented by rows of quills. The space below the bodies of the principal T'aot'ie is filled with small dragons, strongly stylized. In the neck band, consecutive snakes crudely drawn in high, rounded relief. Yin. Since the vessel is undoubtedly very »primitive», it has been stated (Chinese Exhibition, Commem. cat. 1935, Pl. 1) to be a particularly early Yin (Shang) vessel; but that is not conclusive, see our Appendix below (last page). Provenience: An-yang. Height to top of handle 18.2 cm. Thick dark-green patina.

Pl. 5: 1 (K. 14791). Tsüe. In the central décor belt, on an ordinary background of spirals, two T'aot'ie flanked by vertical dragons. The S-shaped horns and the leaf-shaped ears are somewhat unusual. Above this belt, rising blades, those under the spout and the opposite tongue drawn-out and large. On top of the handle, an animal head. Under the handle an undecipherable character. The top of the uprights is nearly hemispherical, ornamented with whorl-circles, and a knob in the centre. Yin, A style. Provenience: An-yang. Height 21.5 cm. Glossy green patina with green and red incrustations.

Pl. 5: 3 (K. 14790). Tsüe, with unusually long legs. In the broad décor belt, on an ordinary background of spirals, four birds in remarkably high and forceful relief, with crests shaped like the horns of a T'aot'ie (a very rare décor). Grooves in the décor filled with a red substance. Under the handle a character too corroded to be deciphered. Yin, A style. Provenience: An-yang. Height 23.2 cm. Greyish green patina with incrustations. On the spout carbonized remains of silk.

Pl. 6: 1 (K. 14792). Tsüe. Quite ordinary type, the only décor on the body being an animal triple band (dissolved T'aot'ie) in low relief. Under the handle an undecipherable character. Yin or Early Chou, B style. Height 20.8 cm. Glossy green and brown patina.

Pl. 6: 2 (K. 14832). Bell. Thick and heavy, with hollow handle. Cross-section a pointed oval. On each side a T'aot'ie in relief (correctly seen when handle is kept downwards), with the ordinary lozenge-shaped figure on the forehead. Yin, A style. Provenience: An-yang. Height 14.3 cm. Thick green patina with earth incrustations. Belongs together with another An-yang bell (K. 14831), similar in every detail except in size (height 19 cm.).

Pl. 7 (K. 14793). Tsüe, with lid. The body is quite normal, with a T'aot'ie-like animal's head on the handle, and a big T'aot'ie forming the décor in high relief against a background



of spirals. The mouth line is drawn up violently, behind it there are clawed legs (not visible in the photo) and, on either side, a dragon body lifted in a bold C curve, partly hidden behind the big ears of the monster. The bottle-shaped horns are exaggerated so as to become almost mushroom-shaped. — On the lid, at the back end two antithetical dragons together forming a T'aot'ie (the bottom damaged in the region of the forehead shield), against a spiral background. In front a horned snake, with lozenge-adorned body. Yin or Early Chou. Height 18 cm. Dark-green and dark-brown patina, with light-green incrustations. — This type is very rare. For a nearly identical vessel in the Shiohara coll. (National Treasure B), see Chinese Exhibition, Commem. cat. London 1935, Pl. 10.

Pl. 8: 1 (K. 14779). Ting. Of quite common shape: hemispherical bowl, stout cylinder legs. The décor, on a background of angular spirals, consists of a broad neck band with unusually realistic birds alternating with whorl circles, both in high rounded relief; below, on the belly, hanging blades with realistic cicadas, likewise in fairly high relief. All grooves inlaid with a black substance. On the inside wall, two characters: 'Ts i X' (a name). Yin, A style. Provenience: An-yang. Height to top of handle 20 cm. Grey and green patina. Cracked.

Pl. 8: 2 (K. 14780). Ting. Shape, décor, inlay quite the same as in the preceding, only with the difference that here the birds are not so primitively realistic but embellished with a S-shaped crest, and that the relief both in the birds and the cicadas is low and flat. Yin, A style. Provenience An-yang. Height to top of handle 19.5 cm. Black and green patina.

Pl. 9: 1 (K. 14778). Ting. The shape of the vessel differs on several points from the preceding two. The cylinder legs are slightly spreading. A broad upper part is set off as a distinct neck, of smaller diameter than the bulbous belly below it. This neck is divided into four panels through segmented flanges. The décor, on a background of spirals, consists, on the belly, of hanging blades with realistic cicadas, in the neck band of antithetical dragons. The bodies of these latter (with the tail raised in a C-shaped hook and their head crests forming a C in the opposite direction) are in such low relief and so filled-in with spirals that they are only very slightly set off against the background and at a cursory glance almost coalesce with the latter. Grooves all inlaid with some black substance. On the inside wall a character (usually identified with the char. *kien* 'to see' or *kien* 'to appear', which, however, is very uncertain). Yin, A style. Provenience: An-yang. Height to top of handle 16.2 cm. Pale-green, grey, red and blue patina.

A Ting practically identical with this one in every detail, in Cheng sung t'ang ki kin t'u, shang 3, and another agreeing in all respects except the figures in the neckband (winged dragons differing from our dragons here), with a Yin inscription (y a h i n g) *ibid.*, shang 5.

Pl. 9: 2 (K. 14781). Li-ting. The vessel has very slender legs. The décor is exceedingly unusual. On the belly, parallel zigzag lines in low relief, all spaces between filled with square spirals. In the neck band, set off from the belly by a slight fluting, incised interlocked S-shaped spirals. Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Height to top of handle 18 cm. Black, green and blue patina. — This zigzag pattern is very uncommon on bronze vessels — I know of no other Ting with this décor — but it occurs in some rare cases; for instance, in a slightly different execution, on a tall, narrow Yu in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Umehara, Shina Kodō Seikwa Pl. 137). On the other hand, we

find it exactly identical with that on our Ting on a marvellous Lei of white pottery from An-yang in the Freer Gallery, Washington (Waterbury, *Early Chinese Symbols* . . . , Pl. 26).

Pl. 10: 1 (K. 14782). Ting. In proportion to the big hemispherical body, the legs are very small and slender, slightly tapering. The décor merely a neck band on which, against a background of spirals, is a row of quite realistic cicadas. Yin, A style. Provenience: An-yang. Height to top of handle 17 cm. Dark-green patina with heavy green, sometimes bluish, incrustations. Strongly corroded.

Pl. 10: 2 (K. 14787). Bulb of a Tsun. Since the present bronze as it stands has a shape that is entirely unknown, we conclude that it must be the bulb of a Tsun and that both the neck and the foot (presumably badly damaged) have been sawn off. It is true that the size of the present part necessitates the assumption that the original vessel was very large, but Ume-hara's album (*Shina Kodō Seikwa*) contains a Tsun 32.7 cm. in height, so it is by no means impossible. There are incrustations on the upper rim, so that the amputation must have taken place long ago. The décor consists, on a background of spirals, of an ordinary T'aot'ie with (detached) clawed legs and a raised body on either side — all quite common on Tsun bulbs. Yin or Early Chou, A style. Height 12 cm. Black, green and red patina.



Fig. 2.

Pl. 11: 1 (K. 14805). Tsun. Only the bulb is decorated: on a background of spirals, T'aot'ie with the forehead shield and nose rising in the middle to a ridge sufficiently high to recall the flanges of other vessels. The unusual feature on this vessel is the birds which flank the T'aot'ie (fig. 2). They turn their backs to the latter, have a strongly hooked beak and a curious head crest, divided into two parts: one flowerlike «upright», one trailing smoothly down to the back of the bird. Yin or Early Chou (more probably the latter), A style. Provenience: Lo-yang region. Height 24.5 cm. Red, green and grey patina.

Pl. 11: 2 (K. 14786). Hien. A big vessel of remarkably high quality. Between the upper and lower part, on the inside a grid. As décor on the lower part, the usual bovine head, almost plastically executed. In the neck band, on a background of spirals, antithetical de-tailed birds, with C-shaped beaks and S-shaped crests, separated by free animals' head. Inscription on inside wall: «K ü» (Yin criterion). Yin, B style. Height to top of handle: 36.5 cm. Green and brown patina with green and blue incrustations.

Pl. 12: 1 (K. 14794). Chī. Slightly oval in cross-section. Comparatively slender and with a fairly straight profile. In shape this Chī closely resembles a Tsun, though it is much smaller: the neck and the foot are set off against the «bulb» by raised lines, as frequently in the Tsun class. The middle part here, corresponding to the «bulb», has the T'aot'ie in fairly strong relief, with clawed legs, which so frequently occurs on Tsun bulbs. Inscription: . . . Fu Yi (. . . «To father Yi»). Yin or Early Chou (probably the latter), A style. Provenience: Lo-yang. Height 12.4 cm. Grey patina with green and red incrustations.

Pl. 12: 2 (K. 14795). Chī. Oval in cross-section, with a softly S-shaped profile common in the Chī class. On the border between the neck and the belly a narrow band with

interlocked S-shaped spirals, incised. Inscription in the inside bottom: Mu Ki tsī X (»From X to his mother Ki«). Yin or Early Chou, B style. Height 13 cm. A remarkably beautiful glossy pale-green, almost creamy patina with black patches.

Pl. 12: 3 (K. 14798). Chī. Cross-section rectangular with rounded corners. On foot, a narrow band with interlocked S-spirals. On belly, against a background of angular spirals, a continuous pattern of interlocked T's in very low and flat relief. In the neck band, antithetical dragons in the same low relief. Yin or Early Chou, B style. Height 14 cm. Dark grey patina with red and green incrustations.

Pl. 13: 1 (K. 14796). Chī with lid. Cross-section quite circular. The ringshaped knob on the lid turns this latter into a separate cup when inverted. The repetition of the free animal's head on the lid is a very unusual feature. Through this arrangement, one and the same décor band occurs on foot, neck and lid: on a background of rounded spirals, the free animal's head is provided with one snake's body in each direction, this body being covered with lozenges. The snake figure is not in much higher relief than the background, it is set-off against the latter principally through its incised contour and different pattern of filling. Inscription: X X fu Kuei »... to Father Kuei«). Yin or Early Chou, B style. Provenience: probably Lo-yang. Height to top of lid 13.7 cm. Patina flamy dark-green. A similar arrangement with a free animal's head provided with two snakes' bodies occurs e. g. on a Kuei in Wu Ying tien yi k'i t'u Pl. 71, though the bodies are there in a higher, rounded relief.

Pl. 13: 2 (K. 14797). Chī, oval in cross-section. Knob on lid adorned with whorl-circle in high relief. On upper part of the belly, a narrow décor band in which, against a background of spirals, there are two pairs of antithetical dragons, strongly stylized, traced in narrow bands of very low and flat relief. On lid, a repetition of the same décor band. Inscription in bottom of both lid and vessel: A bow inside which are two undecipherable characters. Yin or Early Chou, B style. Height to the top of cover 18.6 cm. Glossy greyish-green patina with brown patches.

Pl. 13: 3 (K. 14800, K. 14801). Ku, a pair, of which only one reproduced here. Rim strongly flaring, contrasting with a narrow bulb and foot. The décor on the bulb, a dissolved T'aot'ie with a small, plain flange forming the nose, is executed in a relief of thin, threadlike lines. Yin or Early Chou, B style. Height 21 cm. Greyish water-patina with red and green patches.

Pl. 14: 1 (K. 14804). Ku, an unusually tall and powerful specimen. On the foot, on a background of spirals, two T'aot'ie, reduced to a few simple lines in relief but not distorted, the flange (with unusually dense scores) forming the nose. Above them, two antithetical pairs of trunked dragons. On the central part (»bulb«) again two T'aot'ie. On the upper part (»neck«), at the bottom a band of consecutive snakes, above this, four very slender and long rising blades. Yin or Early Chou, A style. Height 33.5 cm. Thick dark-green patina.

Pl. 14: 2 (K. 14803). Ku. On the foot, on a smooth and undecorated background (a rare feature), two T'aot'ie reduced to a few simple lines in relief, the flange (which has no scores) forming the nose. Above them, two antithetical trunked dragons. On the central part (»bulb«) again two T'aot'ie. On the neck, at the bottom four antithetical winged dragons, above them four rising blades, simply executed in two parallel raised lines. Yin

or Early Chou, B style. Height 24.4 cm. Glossy greyish-green patina. Umehara, Seikwa Pl. 52 gives a Ku, slightly smaller (21.2 cm.), with the same bare background and exactly the same décor but four snakes inst. of dragons on the neck; a Ku identical with this and hence closely kindred to our Ku here forms one of a series of vessels made by one and the same bronze master, see BMFEA 16, Pl. 18—19, and p. 17.

Pl. 14: 3 (K. 14802). Wine vessel of a very unusual shape: in outline a Chī, it is high and slender like a Ku. The foot and belly bare, décor limited to a narrow band on the neck and four rising blades. In the band, on a background of spirals two antithetical pairs of fancifully drawn birds. Yin or Early Chou. Provenience stated to be Lo-yang — very uncertain. Smooth, glossy, greyish-green patina.

Pl. 15: 1 (K. 14789). Yu, round, of a tall, softly elegant shape seldom met with. The narrow décor bands have spiral filling, that on the neck is bordered by circle bands. On the knob of the lid, a whorl-circle. All round the lid lies a gaping dragon in relief, the body covered with scales and the tail reaching to the opening of the mouth. Another dragon, covered with scales, forms a separate piece, which is fastened on to the stem of the knob, the stem passing through the dragon's mouth. Thus, the dragon cannot become detached, but can turn round about the stem; its tail forms a loop, through which probably a now lost chain has passed which tied the lid to the handle. On the outside the handle is covered with a band of lozenges, filled with round dots, and the ends are shaped as animals' heads, the features given in incised lines. Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Height to top of handle 27.2 cm. Grey, green, red and blue patina. The vessel was already published in *Ye chung p'ien yü* III: 33.

Pl. 15: 2 (K. 14788). Yu, of a broad shape with oval cross-section and a soft, elegant profile. A very simple rope-patterned handle, fastened to plain rings. The décor in the bands on neck and lid is lozenges bordered by circle bands. The knob on the lid mushroom-shaped. Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Height to top of lid knob 20 cm. Grey-green patina, with splashes of red, green and blue incrustations.

Pl. 16: 1 (K. 14810). Kuei. Shape and handles of common type. Décor in neck and foot belt alternating whorl circles and violently deformed dragons (exactly the same kind of dragons occur on a Kuei in the Sumitomo coll., Senoku Seisho Pl. 38). Yin or Early Chou. Height 13.7 cm. Glossy green water-patina.

Pl. 16: 2 (K. 14538). Mask in shape of T'aot'ie face, with the ordinary lozenge figure on the forehead, and the horns in broad and very flat relief. Yin or Chou? Provenience: Lo-yang region. Length in median line 18.4 cm. Green, red and grey patina.

Pl. 17: 1 (K. 14511). Mask, with long horns, tusks and eyeballs that are loose (in photo placed separately). Since it is very large — breadth 58 cm. — it cannot have been in ceremonial use to cover a human face directly, but must have been applied to some object, possibly some big fancy head slipped over the bearer's own head in some ceremony or else on a coffin, a tomb wall, a throne screen or such-like. The loose eye-balls have bars at the back (like buttons), indicating that they have been fastened (sewn?) on to some support. Yin. Provenience: stated to come from An-yang. With this early date it is astonishing to find the ears fashioned in the bulbous heart shape, which is otherwise so typical of the Huai-style. Green incrustations. Much repaired.

Pl. 17: 2 (K. 14152). Axe, *luxus* specimen, probably for ritual use. If we turn the point of the blade downwards, we observe, along the central ridge, a row of strongly dissolved T'aot'ie heads, one above the other, the almost vertically turned-up bodies on both sides easily discernible. Above this row the *décor* broadens out into a big T'aot'ie face, with quills at the side of the eyes (below the horns) — a very unusual feature. Above the horns again two rows of quills such as they often appear on the backs of the dissolved dragons in the «animal triple band» (e. g. Pls. 54, 55). The big hole in the forehead has probably been filled with some precious stone. The pointed flange protruding from the base line is really two (though this is not visible in the photo) which stand at an angle of 45 degrees to each other and have gripped the wooden shaft. The tang is missing. Yin or Early Chou. Length 28 cm. Dark green patina with lighter green and brown incrustations.

Pl. 18: 1 (K. 14138). Knife, big, ceremonial object. For the typological position and affinities of this knife see BMFEA 17, p. 110 (specimen 150). The handle and the back of the knife form a very slight S curve. Along the back, a segmented flange (with alternating straight and angular cuttings), as on many ritual vessels. The blade of almost uniform breadth, only close to the point taking a sharp bend outwards. In the *décor* band strongly stylized dragons, the drawn-out beak, curling down at the end, and the body, ending in a curling-up tail, together forming a reclining S figure. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 27.5 cm. Green and brown patina.

Pl. 18: 2 (K. 14824). Shovel. Thick and heavy. The socket at a slight angle to the shovel, bending forwards a little, is hollow and semicircular in cross-section, with the diametrical side in front. In the middle of the back of it is a hole, for a rivet to hold a wooden shaft. The vertical wall of the shovel is highest (6.5 cm.) on the socket side. On the socket is a *décor* of three T'aot'ie-like animal's heads: the central and biggest one bovine, in very high relief, the small upper and lower ones in incised lines. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 38 cm. Thick green patina and patches of carbonized matting. A very similar shovel, likewise from An-yang, in *Ye chung p'ien yü* I, shang 31.

Pl. 18: 3 (K. 14130). Axe, long and narrow, the sides almost parallel until the vicinity of the edge, where they suddenly turn outwards, giving to the curved edge a breadth precisely as large as the distance from lug end to lug end at the base of the blade. The shaft-hole has a nearly circular, only very slightly oval cross-section. Whereas the axes and dagger-axes have as a rule *either* fastening lugs *or* a tubeshaped shaft-hole (see BMFEA 17), this axe has both, an almost unique feature. The tang is shaped into a big human head. The *décor* is three «hanging blades» (only one of which is complete) and a whorl circle, all incised. The head has two faces, back to back. Broad, fleshy nose, slanting eyes, big eyebrows, protruding ears, hair coiled up on the head. Yin or Early Chou. Length 18.3 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 19: 1 (K. 14131). Axe, ceremonial object. Symmetrical. The sides, first parallel for some two thirds of the blade from its base, turn suddenly and boldly outwards, so that the crescent-shaped cutting edge becomes fairly broad. At the base line two stout lugs. But since these have been made useless as fasteners through the placing of decorative dragons from the lugs to the edge's points, two rectangular holes near the base serve that purpose instead. The big round hole in the centre has probably been filled with some precious stone. The head-turning dragons have S-shaped crests on their heads, plastically protruding ears and the bodies covered with incised scales. Flanking the hole

in the blade there are incised two heads of «trunked dragons» (the trunk turned towards the tang). Below, a big head-turning bird with a big hooked beak and the tail first boldly raised and then abruptly turning straight down, in the shape of an inverted U, a crest hanging down behind the head (legs lacking). At the bottom a row of hanging blades. — On the tang a T'aot'ie in incised lines. The date of this axe is difficult to determine. The shape and pose of the two side dragons remind of certain Sin-cheng vessels. But the scales on their bodies in this particular execution are abundantly known from Yin and Early Chou bronzes, the noses of the dragons are not rolled up in Huai fashion. All this suggests a tentative date of Early Chou. Length 13.3 cm. Green, blue and red patina.

Pl. 19: 2 (K. 14132). Axe, ceremonial object, for the shape, typological position and affinities of which see BMFEA 17, p. 104 (specimen 42). The axe has a symmetrical blade, with boldly curving-out sides and curving edge, but a slightly asymmetrically placed tang. Rectangular fastening holes. The décor on the blade is two back-to-back dragons, with curled-in C-shaped bodies, the heads of which (bird-shaped with big hooked beaks) protrude so as to give an impression of being fastening-lugs. From the back of the dragon-bird's heads S-shaped crests in very low relief hang down. Between the dragons, in low relief, a realistic cicada. The eyes of the dragons at the same time form the wide-apart eyes of a T'aot'ie, and the double-S line in high relief formed by their bodies is the T'aot'ie's mouth (as clearly shown by the parallel in Pl. 21), in the middle of which two tusks (drawn in incised lines), placed slantingly against each other (clearly confirmed by BMFEA 17, Pl. 10: 55). — On the tang a T'aot'ie head in thread relief, which has certainly been inlaid; the hole in the centre of the tang has probably held some precious stone. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 18.7 cm. Green and grey patina.

Pl. 19: 3 (K. 14139). Knife with blade of a well-known Yin shape (cf BMFEA 17). The handle is formed like a gaping dragon of a type common in the décor of ritual vessels. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 13.5 cm. Green and red patina.

Pl. 20: 1 (K. 14123). Axe. For the typological position and affinities of this see BMFEA 17, p. 109. The handle shaped into a bird-like animal's head, with a strongly hooked beak and a crest on top of the head. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 27 cm. Green and blue patina.

Pl. 20: 2 (K. 14430). Finial. The socket is oval in cross-section, with a hole for passing a rivet through. On each side a bovine T'aot'ie head with incised spirals adorning the base of the horns. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 13 cm. Dull green patina, strongly corroded.

Pl. 20: 3 (K. 14124). Axe. (K. 14125, an identical axe, forming a pair). For the typological position and affinities of this see BMFEA 17, p. 108. The only decoration is a circular depression with thread relief lines, forming a whorl circle. Has certainly been inlaid. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 22.7 cm. Dark green and red patina.

Pl. 21: 1 (K. 14135). Axe. Asymmetrical. For its typological position and affinities see BMFEA 17, p. 104 (specimen 44). The T'aot'ie (identical on both blade surfaces) is formed by two dragons. The teeth in the mouth are curiously twisted. The tang has on one side a T'aot'ie, on the other an animal flanked by two scores with bent ends and a spur in the middle. These are in coarsely incised lines which have been inlaid (traces of turquoise visible). Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 23 cm. Red, green and grey patina.



Pl. 21: 2 (K. 14143). Blade of a weapon (dagger or spear-head?). Rather thin, even in the median line, double-edged. If we hold the point downwards, we can observe how the double rows of spirals flanking the central ridge are thrice interrupted by eyes (a tripled «cicada on blade» pattern). We consequently have to regard the ornament in high relief in this same position, and we then observe an eye between two C shaped figures of which the upper seems to represent either an eyebrow or a horn. Yin or Early Chou. Length 23.5 cm. Silver-like patina with green and red patches.

Pl. 21: 3 (K. 14133). Axe. Asymmetrical. For its typological position and affinities see BMFEA 17, p. 104 (specimen 35). On the tang, a y a h i n g over the head of a human figure, flanked by two vertically placed dragons, all incised and originally inlaid with turquoise, of which much is still left. Yin. Provenience An-yang. Length 19.7 cm. Steely grey patina, with green and blue incrustations.

Pl. 22: 1 (K. 14128). Axe, ceremonial object. The proportions: the very short blade of yellow jade and unusually big tang, with a long part adorned with parallel lines (quite unique in this class, cf. BMFEA 17, Pl. 23—25) before it turns into a bird's head, are so curious that one is inclined to suspect that the axe is made up of pieces which do not belong together. If we could detach the bird's head at the beginning of the parallel lines, the rest of the weapon would seem quite proportionate and convincing. But a careful examination shows that there has never been any break at that point; from the bird's crest as far as one cm. beyond the lugs the bronze is one unbroken piece, which leaves the curious great length of the tang indisputable. At that point, however, the weapon has been broken and mended, yet, apparently, with so close a fitting that it would seem that this square socket for the blade did really belong together with this tang. Whether the jade is the original one is always uncertain in specimens of this kind. — On the socket an ornamental square, which probably was inlaid, showing a badly dissolved dragon (eye to the right, if weapon held point downwards, and body going up to the left in a loop). The bird's head with hooked beak and head crest is common in this class of axes. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 27.8 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 22: 2. (K. 14136). Axe of a very unusual, broad and short type. The tang is very narrow and must have been covered entirely by the wooden shaft. If the axe is held with the edge downwards, we see the décor consisting of a row of «hanging blades» and above that a row of whorl circles, though the very strong corrosion has largely distorted the figures. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Size 14.2×19.5 cm. Thick green patina, in parts carbonized cloth. (This axe was already published in *Ye chung p'ien yü* I, hia 11).

Pl. 22: 3 (K. 14127). Axe, ceremonial object. For its typological position and affinities see BMFEA 17, p. 109. Blade of grey jade with black patches. Tang too corroded to show the décor clearly; it has been inlaid with turquoise. Yin. Provenience: probably An-yang. Length 33.5 cm. Dark green patina.

Pl. 23: 1 (K. 14489). Horse's frontlet. More triangular than the common pear-shaped type. On the reverse, one high loop in the centre of the broad upper part, and one low loop near the point. Décor: on a background of spirals two gaping dragons (backs outwards) in high rounded relief. Below, a V-shaped figure in relief. The dragons are closely cognate to that on the An-yang knife in Pl. 19: 3. Yin or Early Chou. Length 14.5 cm. Dark greyish-green patina with red patches. That this class of objects is really

horse's frontlets was confirmed by the An-yang excavations. The pear-shaped frontlets, big and small, were found close to the horses' heads, see Chinese Journal of Archaeology, No. 2, 1947, p. 19.

Pl. 23: 2 (K. 14475). Buffalo head. Hollow, with a pin on the reverse, forming a loop. The nose ends in a loop. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 3.8 cm. Thick green patina.

Pl. 23: 3 (K. 14428). Bird. The wing forms a vigorous C-curve and is adorned with parallel incised lines. The big crest sweeps down along the back and broadens out. The whole bird is very broad-set, the breadth of the specimen being about equal to its height. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 6.2 cm. Thick green patina.

Pl. 23: 4 (K. 14488). Horse's frontlet, somewhat aberrant from the common pear-shaped type. On the reverse a small loop near the point, and across the depression answering to the boss on the obverse, a cross serving as a fastener. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 21 cm. Thick green incrustations.

Pl. 24: 1 (K. 14479). Bow-shaped ornament with jingles. The use of this kind of object, which has its counterpart in the Siberian Animal-style culture (see BMFEA 17, Pl. 39), has been much discussed (see *ibid.* p. 112), and I accepted Li Kuang-t'ing's view that it was a horse's forehead ornament (the *yüe-t'i* of Chuang: Ma t'i). In Chinese Journal of Archaeology, No. 2 (1947), however, there is a plan drawing of a rich grave in An-yang, where there had been buried, with 3 men, a chariot and 4 horses. In this grave there were two bow-shaped ornaments with jingles as above, but neither of them was on or near the horses. One was on the front of the chariot box, the other some distance to the right side of the former. Thus the riddle remains unsolved. The décor on the central shield is rich: in the centre a positive-negative pattern; the negative forming, within a circular line, an 8-pointed star, the positive 8 «blades» filled with spirals (an extenuated «cicada» pattern). Inside this double pattern a ring in high relief with curved parallel strokes; in the central hole there has certainly been some precious stone. On the rest of the shield there are, on a background of spirals, two pairs of back-to-back dragons, of the «trunked» variety with enormous «bottle-horns», here exaggerated into a bulbous «mushroom» shape. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 23 cm. Green, grey and red patina.

Pl. 24: 2 (K. 14478). Bow-shaped ornament with jingles. Shape same as the preceding. Décor on central shield four cicadas in incised lines. The ring for the central precious stone (now lost) protruding quite high. Yin or Early Chou. Length 37 cm. Green and red patina.

Pl. 25: 1 (K. 14134). Axe. For this very broad, triangular type, which on the whole is rare, see BMFEA 17, pp. 105 and 113. The metal in this axe is unusually white, almost as in some Han and most T'ang mirrors. The décor on the tang (originally inlaid) is indiscernible. Yin or Early Chou. Length 23.6 cm.

Pl. 25: 2 (K. 14495). Spoon. Fairly thin and light. The shallow bowl, which has a gently curving profile, sits at a slight angle to the handle; the latter is quite straight but towards the end, where it widens a little, it bends slightly backwards. The décor consists of some distorted dragons in low relief, at the end of the handle a T'aot'ie. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 28.5 cm. Glossy green patina, on which is a brighter-green rough patina in patches. For an An-yang spoon similar in shape but with a different décor see Ye chung p'ien yü I, shang 33.

Pl. 25: 3 (K. 14433). Tube, open at both ends; at the end to the right in the photo suddenly widening, but at the back broken so that the original shape cannot be gauged. Décor: two animal's heads (T'aot'ie), the smaller with C-shaped horns over slanting eyes, the larger having the traditional forehead lozenge of the T'aot'ie, and the horns of the unusual shape which we found on the T'aot'ie on Tsüe in Pl. 5: 1. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Green and red patina.

Pl. 25: 4 (K. 14515 and 14516, a pair). Fitting on some unknown furniture. Rectangular in cross-section, closed at the slightly narrower end to the left in the photo, open at that to the right. A square hole for a rivet through both broad-sides. The décor against a background of squared spirals, consists, of gaping dragons in high, rounded relief, identical with that on the An-yang knife in Pl. 19. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length 15.3 cm. Green and red patina.

Pl. 26: 1 (K. 14806). Hu, asymmetrical and bending. The neck bends over in a very strong curve, and this is balanced on the opposite side by a handle which makes a remarkably bold turn. The lid is shaped as a bird with a long, low crest and the line emphasized by a comma-shaped figure in high relief. The base of the lid is a ring which fits into the mouth of the vessel. The loops on lid and handle have originally been connected by a chain. On the belly of the vessel there is, on a background of squared spirals, a décor in broad, very flat and low relief bands, joined together in groups of parallel bands so as to form broader bands. Above, there is the motif »wavy band», modified by sharp points at the lower turnings; below there is the motif »rising scales» embellished into bulbous figures with sharp points, and the broadest of the constituent bands is in the centre covered with a row of small scales. Inside the »rising scales» there are some mushroom-shaped figures that are very unusual. On the foot there are incised zigzag lines, on the neck, below rising blades, there are incised »volutes and triangles», a motif that became very popular later, in Huai-time. Middle Chou. Height 26.2 cm. Reddish patina with green incrustations.

Pl. 26: 2 (K. 14539). Head of a linch-pin. Arched plaque with tapering sides. The lower part of the linch-pin has been broken off. On top a loop and two kneeling men. Early or Middle Chou? Length 6.4 cm. The surface black and polished.

Pl. 26: 3 (K. 14490, 14491). Fitting, the exact use of which is unknown. The interior is hollow so that a band or leather strap could pass through from the opening at the rounded top through the opening at the pointed bottom, and likewise through the slit on the reverse. The décor, in incised lines and in part in very flat and low relief, is a simplified T'aot'ie head: the opening at the pointed end is the mouth, above this there is the traditional lozenge of the T'aot'ie's forehead, eyes and horns, the latter connected by a band forming a high bow. Middle Chou? Length 4.6 cm. Green and grey patina.

Pl. 26: 4 (K. 14448). Fitting of unknown use. This kind of mask (with or without the long »tongue») has sometimes been determined as »horse's frontlet», but the present specimen makes this exceedingly improbable. Its length is such that it would reach to the horse's front teeth; and since, in the hollow reverse, there are 3 transversal bars for fastening the piece and the lowest of them is only 6 cm. from the end, a strap to hold it would pass round the outermost and softest muzzle, and, when tightened, hinder the horse from opening the mouth. Moreover, these bars are »latitudinal» and not »longitudinal» and are thus quite unsuitably placed if designed to keep this long lath attached

to a horse's face. It is better to admit that we do not know its use. — From the animal's head (reminiscent of the T'aot'ie in having the traditional forehead lozenge), with spiral horns fashioned into curled-up snakes, protrudes a long, half-cylindrical tongue. All round these contours there is a narrow ledge. Middle Chou. Provenience: Honan. Length 33.5 cm. Green and red patina.

Pl. 27: 1 a, b (K. 14494). Fitting of unknown use. In the centre, a hollow ring with four «funnels», forming two crossing tubes. To each of the openings corresponds a loose tube, open straight through and with a ring at the end. Evidently cords or leather straps have passed through these various tubes and kept them together. The central ring is adorned with a crouching animal (1 b), the fancifully bending legs of which are defined by openwork. The head has T'aot'ie-shaped horns and the traditional forehead lozenge in relief. The loose tubes have transversal flutings and their ends are adorned with roughly fashioned animals' heads through the mouths of which the rings pass. Middle Chou. Provenience: probably Honan. Length of central piece 6.7 cm. Length of loose tubes 10.5, 11.5, 11.7, 11.8 cm. Blue and green patina.

Pl. 27: 2 (K. 14519, 14520). A pair of tigers, which have been fastened on to something, as ornaments, since they each have a loop on the reverse (the loop running lengthwise, with the body). The body is an arched plaque, the head fully plastic, protruding some 2 cm., hollow, with a wide-open mouth (for passing some band or strap through?). The stripes on the body, in part shaped as a modified «scales» motif, are in the broad, flat, band-like relief typical of Middle Chou. The head, with its cut-off and not rolled-up nose is likewise of a fairly early type. On the other hand the rest has much in common with Huai: the comma-shaped claws on the feet; and the combination of snakes and dragons: the scaly tail ends in a snake's head against which bites a curled-up dragon; back to back with this another C-shaped dragon, who bites over the body of another dragon, who again bites over yet another body; one more dragon, whose body in the photo is barely visible behind the tiger's head, has a head which bites in the tiger's neck. Probably the date should be late Middle Chou on the border to Huai. Length 8.3 cm. and 8.6 cm. respectively. Dark grey patina with green incrustations.

Pl. 28: 1 (K. 14429). Head, which has certainly formed part of some vessel. It has the lozenge on the forehead characteristic of a T'aot'ie, long S-shaped horns and big, tusk-like canine teeth. Middle Chou. Width 7.4 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 28: 2 (K. 14462, 14463). Fittings, a pair. Hollow (the bottom opening rectangular, being 28×8 mm.); they have evidently been used for passing bands or leather straps through. The décor on the front (reverse undecorated) is a dragon, partly in open-work, with the body and legs encircling the whole field in a big loop, its hind quarters accentuated by a figure like an inverted U in a slightly higher plane of relief, which balances the head to the left. All in flat, low relief. Middle Chou. Height 4.3 cm. Black and green patina.

Pl. 28: 3 (K. 14523). Finial, in the shape of a human head. The opening at the base has a cross-section in the shape of a pointed oval. It is impossible to assign a date to this specimen with any certainty. The treatment of the features of the head — nose, mouth, ear, hair — has a considerable affinity with that of the famous Yu in the Sumitomo coll. (Senoku Seishō Pl. 68) on which a monster devours a man, and which is certainly of Yin date. But of course our present head may equally well be of Early or Middle Chou date. Height 6.3 cm. Black and green patina.

Pl. 28: 4 (K. 14449, 14450). Cheek plaques on horse's bit, a pair. There can be no doubt about this function of the specimens. The MFEA possesses a complete bit, all in bronze, consisting of a short chain in the middle continued by slender rods, on the ends of which are similar plaques, with the rods passing through the central hole and finishing in a loop, which prevents the plaque from coming off. — The C-shaped contour of the small ears on the top, and of the plaque as a whole is repeated in the comma-shaped figure in the décor. The latter is adorned with a row of dot-like holes; outside it, on the margin, slanting scores and a few incised scales. Middle Chou.  $11 \times 9$  cm. Glossy, light-green and greyish patina.

Pl. 28: 5 (K. 14480, 14481). Wheel-axle caps, with linch-pins, a pair. The linch-pin has a coarse and badly corroded animal's head (nose turned towards the end of the cap), and at the back of the head has a slot, through which some leather strap may have passed. As décor, on the end of the cap, 3 concentric circles incised; on the sides, farthest out, wavy bands, inside the bends of which strongly stylized cicadas; further in on the cap a narrow belt of very elongated scales. All in flat, low relief. Middle Chou. Length 10.5 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 28: 6 (K. 14426). Tube, of unknown use. There are flanges in three places, two opposite each other, and the third at right angles to them (but none opposite this third one); each of these flanges consists of two dragons with curled-up tail. The space between the flanges is decorated with big spiral loops in low, flat relief. On the side (not visible in our photo) where there is no flange, the entire space (half the cylinder's surface) is filled up with two curled-up dragons, one of them opposite to each of the dragons of the flanges, likewise in the same low, flat relief. Middle Chou. Length 7.8 cm. Grey patina with green and red incrustations.

Pl. 29 (K. 14825). Ting. A very large and magnificent specimen with typical features of the Huai style: the squat shape with a very broad and bulky body and short, bulbously curving legs, the big »bent» ears, squared at the top, the three rings on the lid, which, if the lid is inverted, serve as legs to the lid as a dish. Two broad belts on the body and three on the lid, separated, the former through a high narrow ridge, the latter through narrow bands in rounded relief, contain, on a background of round or squared spirals, two kinds of décor figures. In the innermost belt (outside the small central circle) of the lid there are interlocked T's in a continuous pattern. In all the remaining belts, one and the same zigzag figure is repeated all round the vessel, which may be a very strongly distorted and dissolved dragon or snake figure. On the ears (handles) there are similar but simpler figures, along with volutes and triangles. The rounded ridges of the lid are covered with plait pattern. Huai style period. Provenience: Huei-hien in Honan. Height to top of handle 38 cm. Light green patina with dark-green, blue and red incrustations.

Pl. 30 (K. 14842). Bell of slightly oval cross-section. The suspending device consists of 3 dragons in each half: furthest down and outwards there is a dragon (with a somewhat snake-like head) touching the bell with his nose, and standing on his front legs, with almost vertically raised body and tail. Touching his hind part with his rump is another dragon with the body forming a big reclining S curve and with the shoulder and hind quarters emphasized by comma shapes in strong relief; his head is turned back (ears, eyes, and lower jaw clearly visible), but his cheek is covered by a round disc with a »wheel» pattern, and his upper jaw is hidden. From his mouth issues the neck of the third dragon, whose head is turned in the opposite direction; his S-shaped crest touches the back of the pre-

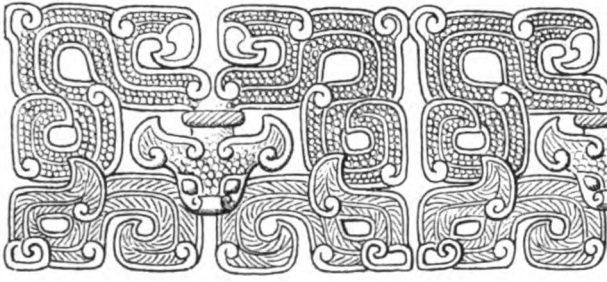


Fig. 3.

ceding dragon; his short and rolled-up upper jaw and his long and likewise rolled-up lower jaw bite over the central hoop; from his chin hangs down a tuft which conceals the upper jaw of the second dragon. The surfaces of all this part are covered with granulation, or volutes and triangles etc. The upper horizontal surface of the bell is covered with broad, flat, comma-shaped figures. On the sides, the

division into panels and belts is the ordinary one for Huai bells. The bosses are covered with whorl circles. The pattern in the horizontal belts is entirely dissolved into a maze of comma shapes, interrupted in places by granulated fields. — The principal décor in the bottom section is formed by two pairs of interlaced dragons, the salient points accentuated by comma shapes in high relief. The upper pair, with big, round protruding eyes (together forming a T'aot'ie) stands back to back, with their heads (covered with coarse granulation) turned away from each other, the crests nearly meeting in the median line. The other pair are upside down, the heads down in the lowest outer corner. Huai style period. Height 34.3 cm. Black, green and red patina.

Pl. 31: 1 (K. 14817). Bowl, of oval shape, very thin, with plain ring-shaped handles. In a broad upper belt the décor consists of interlaced snakes, in a thread-like, very low relief, on a background of granulation. Huai style period. Length diameter 13 cm., breadth diameter 11.5 cm. Dark grey patina with green incrustations.

Pl. 31: 2 (K. 14821). Tube, thick and heavy, in two sections, the lower of larger diameter than the upper (that the narrower section is really the upper is shown by the position of the heads in the décor). The base is partially closed by a ledge in 3 concentric bands (the middle one slightly depressed), leaving a central opening with a diameter of 8 cm. On the middle band of the ledge there are traces of décor (volutes and triangles), now badly corroded, showing that this was meant to be visible. Use of the object unknown (part of furniture?). — In the décor belt on the upper section there are first 6 dragons in high relief (one of them truncated for lack of space), filling the upper two thirds of the belt, each dragon (or T'aot'ie) head with two bodies cleaving out, the bodies filled with granulation rows and some principal points emphasized by comma-shaped elevations. In the lower third of the belt 6 T'aot'ie (one of them truncated) with curled-up nose, two bodies cleaving out, filled with rope pattern (fig. 3). — In the band on the lower section there are, in very low and flat relief, antithetical volutes and triangles, filled with plait pattern and triangles. Huai style period. There are reasons for believing that the specimen came from Kin-ts'un (near Lo-yang). Height 10 cm. Upper diam. 12.8 cm., lower diam. 13.8 cm. Patina with red and green patches.

Pl. 32: 1 (K. 14830). Bell. Pointed oval cross-section. In contrast to the bell in Pl. 30 this specimen does not have a straight lower line but it forms an arched line and ends in a sharp point on each side. The horizontal upper surface (not visible in the photograph) is filled with a continuous pattern of squared spirals in very low relief. The now badly corroded bosses seem have had originally spirally coiled-up snakes. In

the belts between them there are, on a background of spirals, various comma-shapes, which are vestiges of dissolved figures. In the big bottom section there is a maze of intertwining bands filled with spirals. They are, in fact, two pairs of interlaced dragons, each pair combining to form a T'aot'ie, in the orthodox fashion. In order to discern them — their bodies are all the way covered with spirals — they must be held bell upside down, and then the pattern of our Fig. 4 will be made out. Huai style period. Provenience: Honan (3 miles east of An-yang). Height 27.7 cm. Green and blue patina with earth incrustations.

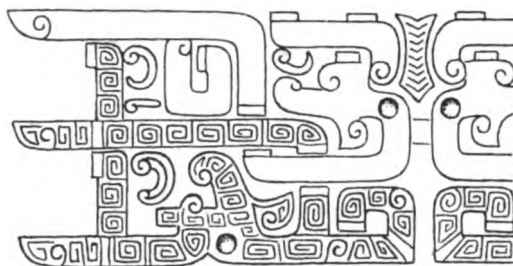


Fig. 4.

Pl. 32: 2 (K. 14807). Hu. Asymmetrical and bending. The outer line is much less strongly curved than in the Hu in Pl. 26, and the handle, balancing it, is therefore less boldly protruding. The ends of the handle are shaped like gaping dragons with curled-up noses, biting over the (rope-patterned) loop on the Hu. The lid, in the shape of a bird, has at the bottom a ring fitting into the mouth of the vessel. The upper half of the beak is movable on a hinge so that the bird can gape. It has a small crest, and the body is adorned with a big comma-shaped figure marking the line of the wing and a feather-like pattern on the back, all incised. In the neck belt there are big volute-and-triangle figures in broad bands filled with pointed spirals. On the belly are three belts, which, at a casual glance, appear to have only a coarse granulation filling. A closer examination shows that the bottom is filled with an exceedingly fine granulation, and on this there are rows of small dragons, vertically placed, with big heads and thin bodies in very low thread relief. Parts of their heads and bodies are emphasized by bigger comma shapes, and it is those which, for the most part badly corroded, are visible in our photograph. Huai style period. Provenience: neighbourhood of Yü-lin-fu in northern Shensi. Height 32.2 cm. Green and red patina.

Pl. 33: 1 a, b (K. 14808). Lien, an unusually tall variety. Its three very short legs are shaped like bears standing on their hind legs and holding their front legs together on their chests like arms. The loop, holding a ring, forms at the same time the nose of a T'aot'ie mask. The lid (1 b) has a broad belt filled with comma pattern (properly highly dissolved dragons, still discernible, with the salient points emphasized by comma-shaped dots), and in the centre a round disc, filled with two snakes, their bodies going round the loop in S-shaped curves, and their heads resting on either side at the fastening end of the loop. The comma pattern on this lid is of great interest. In BMFEA 13, 1941, p. 31—36 I have studied in detail the genesis and history of this décor element, and shown that it did not survive the date  $\pm 200$  B. C. Thanks to this lid our Lien can thus be dated in pre-Han time, and it is important to observe that this vessel shape and, above all, the small supporting bears in this posture can be proved to be pre-Han. — Huai style period. Height 23.5 cm. Green patina.

P. 33: 2 (K. 14808). Bell. Cross-section pointed oval. Square hollow «neck» for passing a wooden handle, and hole for rivet. The bottom line nearly straight for the major part, but turning down abruptly into pointed corners. Huai or Early Han. Height 13.2 cm. Pale green patina.

Pl. 33: 3 (K. 14470). Finial with ring. Cross-section oval. On the sides, one cm. from bottom, holes for passing a rivet. Décor: T'aot'ie with rolled-up nose, and horns formed by granulation-filled bands (pre-Han criterion, see BMFEA vol. 13, p. 35). Huai style period. Length (without ring) 3.8 cm. Green and red patina.

Pl. 33: 4 (K. 14435). Finial, big, tube-shaped, in open-work. The walls are formed by 6 pairs of snakes. Each pair consists of a lower S-shaped snake, with the head turned upwards and slightly deflected towards the left; and an upper snake, likewise violently bent with the head turning downwards; the latter snake throws its body round the tail of the former and then its tail over its own, nearly forming a figure of 8. The lower snake has along the back two granulation-filled bands flanking a narrow ridge; the upper has two scale-filled bands flanking the ridge. Both snakes have dragon-like heads (rolled-up nose, big ears). Huai style period. Height 10.5 cm. Green, blue and brown patina.

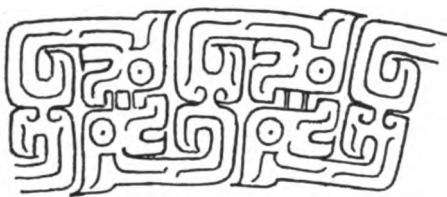


Fig. 5.

ring-shaped handles have ox-like T'aot'ie heads on top. In the lowest décor belt on the lid there are antithetical dragons in flat relief in the pattern of our Fig. 5. Above this there are rising blades filled with stylized and strongly dissolved cicadas. In the sunk neck-belt on the bowl there are spiral-shaped figures, remnants of dissolved dragons. The narrow ridge a cm. lower down (passing just above the lower end of the handle) was originally rope-patterned. Huai style period. Height to top of lid 17.5 cm. Grey, green, blue and red patina.

Pl. 34: 2 (K. 14785). Ting. The broad, squat, bulbous variety typical of the Huai era. The squared ears are bent, but with a slightly S-shaped profile. On the lid three tigers, their heads turned to the right. Together they form three legs when the lid is inverted and serves as a dish. The tigers are decorated on the legs with granulation and on the bodies with incised curves, some C-shaped, some like a C with a curve branching out in the opposite direction from the upper part. On the handles, the outside and the inside (not visible in the photograph) are adorned with incised volutes and triangles. On the bulbs of the legs there are heart-shaped hanging blades, with incised figures, which are really badly dissolved T'aot'ie. Huai or W. Han. Height 12 cm. Dark-green and black patina, with light-green and reddish incrustations.

Pl. 35: 1, 2 (K. 14530). Tiger, probably from the lid of a large Ting (cf. the position and attitude of the tigers on the Ting in Pl. 34). The décor figures on the body (mostly double-lined volutes, volutes and triangles and strongly stylized scales) and also those on the forehead and tail (more realistic scales) are incised. Huai style period. Provenience: Kin-ts'un (near Lo-yang). Length 16.4 cm., height 10.5 cm. Glossy green water-patina with green incrustations. — Two more tigers belonging to the same set (probably the same Ting lid) are known; one in the Oeder collection, one owned by Messrs. Low-Beer and Hochstadter, New York.



Pl. 36: 1 (K. 14542, 14543). Hasps, a pair, shaped like animals (tigers?). The hind quarters replaced by the loop. Huai style period. Provenience: Lo-yang region. Length 7 cm. Brown patina with green patches. — W. C. White has published similar specimens from Kin-ts'un, see Tombs of Old Lo-yang, pl. 21.

Pl. 36: 2 (K. 14469). Cross-tube. (Common type). The back is open in its central part, the front decorated with a stylized cicada in very high relief. Huai style period? Length 4 cm. Grey and light-green patina.

Pl. 36: 3 (K. 14438). Finial. The lower part is hollow, with a rectangular bottom opening which measures  $5.5 \times 0.5$  cm. The finial may have adorned the top of some piece of furniture or possibly a comb or a brush. The lower part has been gilt only in the fine incised décor lines, the upper part was gilt all over, and the gold is worn off on the more protruding parts. The upper part, in open-work, has at the bottom two fighting beasts (tigers?) in a scene directly borrowed from the Ordos art: the beast to the right in the photograph (whose lifted tail forms the outward border of the plaque) is half-raised, turns the face to the left, and bites over the neck of the beast to the left, which stretches its head below the belly of the former. This arrangement of the fighting beasts is very common in the Northern Animal Style. Evenly balanced over both beasts is a violently twisted four-legged dragon. His head is stretched up so as to form the top of the whole ornament, the long neck slanting down towards the right, and balanced by a broad, C-shaped crest (segmented by incised lines). From the bulging shoulder of the dragon, the right front leg goes straight down and his realistic claws rest on the back of the dragon to the right. The left front leg, of which we see here only the reverse (it is quite visible from the other side), is raised in a sharp angle. Just behind the shoulder the right wing goes down in a bold, broad C line, whereas the left wing is attached further back and rises in a graceful curve to the left. The right hind leg (again with realistic claws), rests on the tail (lifted in an S curve) of the left beast, the left hind leg rests on the neck of the right beast. The rectangular lower part has an incised pattern, which is closely cognate to those we know from the Han-time specimens excavated in Korea by the Japanese scholars, e. g. Oba, *The Tomb of Wang Kuang of Lo-lang*, 1935, Pl. 48. But a comparison with certain mirror designs (revealing that our embellished S-figure here is a remnant of a dissolved dragon), e. g. BMFEA 13, Pl. 41, spec. E 11, shows that this design was already elaborated *in nuce* in pre-Han time. Han. Height 8.5 cm. Black and dark-brown patina. — An almost exactly similar specimen, though much damaged, was found in the excavations of Han graves in Lo-lang by the Japanese scholars, see Sekino, *Archaeological Researches in the ancient Lolang district*, fig. 485.

Pl. 36: 4 (K. 14440, 14441). Finials, a pair. Cross-section of the socket U-shaped. The bird's head ends in a long drawn-out, flattened bill. Behind the round eye, encircled by a row of granulation, there is a figure which makes the whole design reminiscent of the common motif «volute and triangle». This latter motif crops up in several places in the décor of spirals in low, flat relief on the socket. Huai style period. Provenience: Shou-chou. Length 9 cm. Brown patina.

Pl. 36: 5 (K. 14427). Finial. The specimen is hollowed out right under the back of the bird, the cross-section of the hollow being pear-shaped, and a hole shows where a rivet has fastened it on. The finial has only roughly the shape of a bird, and the bird's details are therefore depicted by bands in thin silver (how these have been fastened on to

the bronze surface is enigmatical: there are no grooves under them into which they could have been hammered). The eyes and beak, neck and crest are inlaid with gold lines, and there are similar gold lines — spirals and pointed angles — on various parts of the body and tail. Huai style period (or later?). Length 6.7 cm. Green patina on which the silver bands now show dark-brown.

Pl. 36: 6 (K. 14835—840). Bells, a set of 6. The suspending device consists of two antithetical dragons holding the loop in their widely gaping mouths, their lower jaws (or tongues?) hanging down so as almost to close the circle of the loop. On their comma-shaped crests there are scales, on the comma-shaped figure marking their shoulder there is granulation. The décor field at the bottom (impressed with a stamp in the wax) has interlaced snakes and dragons, made in bands of parallel lines, the snakes' heads and dragons' eyes being in higher relief. The same décor on the flat top surface, and rudiments of it in the narrow belts with bosses. The specimens are of rather poor quality, their interest lies in the size of the set. Huai style period. Height 13.9, 12.7, 11.5, 11.3, 10.5 and 9.8 cm. Steely grey patina with some green incrustations.

Pl. 37: 1 (K. 14499). Fitting, slightly convex, possibly an ornament for a door or a beam. Fashioned as a modified T'aot'ie mask. The upper part is such as the T'aot'ie is commonly stylized in the Huai art (cf. Pl. 38: 1), with comma-shaped figures in relief accentuating the salient features. But at the bottom the nose is prolonged and formed into a tortoise's head with ears, and from the chin line of the T'aot'ie two vertical half-loops are shaped as the legs of the tortoise, with raised lines representing claws. On the reverse there are, in the upper corners, two stout square studs 12 mm. high, which have been sunk into the wood for fastening the mask, and the half-loops forming the feet are prolonged backwards about 10 mm., to be sunk in the wood so far that the tortoise's head rested against the wood. Obviously a ring has passed through each of the loops (it could not have been one big ring through both, the tortoise head being in the way). Huai style period. Provenience: Honan. Width 9.5 cm. Green, reddish and blue patina.

Pl. 37: 2 (K. 14518). Fitting, rectangular, with ring. At the back three lugs. The décor motifs are so extremely stylized that they can barely be discerned. The stout loop forms the nose of a large T'aot'ie mask, the round eyes, enclosed by several rings, set close above, and the rest of the face being drawn in a jumble of spirals and volutes. The lower half in the photograph has exactly the same pattern turned in the opposite direction. Low, very flat relief; it seems probable that the bottom surfaces (showing grey in the photograph) have been inlaid with sheets of silver. Huai style period. Provenience: Shou-chou. 12.5 × 9 cm. Steel-grey, black and green patina.

Pl. 38: 1 (K. 14448, 14497). Fitting, a pair. One of them (K. 14497) has still a big ring in the loop, the other (K. 14448), better preserved in the details otherwise, has lost the ring. On the reverse, just behind the loop, a stout, 8.5 cm. long, dub of square section (2 × 2 cm. just behind the plaque, 2 × 3.5 cm. at the end) projecting straight outwards from the plaque; it has been sunk in a wooden beam. — The big loop, shaped on top as an animal's head turned inwards (see 1 b, the eye well visible), at the same time serves as nose in a T'aot'ie head, the salient points of which are emphasized by comma-shaped figures in high relief (cf. BMFEA 13, p. 32). Huai style period. Provenience: a grave in Ku-wei-ts'un in Huei-hien (Wei-huei-fu) in Honan. Width 13.5 cm. Dark-green and brown patina, with light-green incrustations.

Pl. 38: 2 (K. 14512—14). Three fittings, with rings. On the reverse, in the middle of the plaque, a square stud 1 cm. high for fastening; the half-loop at the bottom continues for nearly 1 cm. backwards and its end has been sunk in the wood. The mask has eyebrows in such high relief that the eyes are heavily shadowed in the photograph. The S-shaped horns and the broad, clumsy nose have the same high relief, whereas the forehead shield and the out-turned flaps in the upper corners (which may be simplifications of the two dragon bodies forming a more complete T'aot'ie, here reduced to details in the mask) are in a lower plane. Huai or Han. Width 5 cm. All gilt, the gilding now of reddish hue in many places. A practically identical mask though rather badly corroded, still attached to its ancient wooden beam, was found in a Han grave in Korea, see Oba, *The Tomb of Wang Kuang of Lo-lang*, 1935, Pl. 60. On the other hand there is a very close affinity between our mask and one from Kin-ts'un near Lo-yang, of the Huai style period, see White, *Tombs of Old Lo-yang*, Pl. 40, specimen 104. Hence this variant of the mask appears to have enjoyed a very long life.

Pl. 38: 3 (K. 14500). Fitting (ring now missing). Stud on the reverse, and prolonged half-loop, as in the preceding. The general plan of the mask is the same as in the preceding, though much simplified. Huai or Han. Width 9 cm. The whole specimen has been gilt, but is now for the most part covered with green and blue patina and big splashes of iron rust.

Pl. 39: 1 (K. 14418). Finial, perhaps for the end of a dagger-axe shaft. Cross-section very nearly pointed oval (a slight tendency towards »pear-shape«). Inlaid with silver, applied in thin threads and hammered so as to form sheaths. The pattern on the side not visible in the photograph is exactly the same (though inverted) as the one represented. The theme is three figures, which are probably vestiges of violently twisting dragons. Huai style period. Provenience: probably Lo-yang. Length 14.3 cm. Dark reddish-brown patina with green incrustations.

Pl. 39: 2 (K. 14419). Finial, perhaps for the end of a dagger-axe shaft. Inlaid with gold, applied in thin threads and hammered so as to form sheaths. The pattern in the photograph is repeated three times round the tube. Huai style period. Length 10.4 cm. Red patina with green incrustations. Carbonized traces of silk wrapping showing at the end.

Pl. 39: 3 (K. 14417). Finial, perhaps for the end of a dagger-axe shaft. Inlaid with gold and silver. This specimen was studied in detail by J. G. Andersson in *BMFEA* 7, 1935. We reproduce here his unfolded pattern drawing, showing which parts are gold (grey in the figure) and silver (white): Fig. 6. Huai style period. Provenience: Kin-ts'un near Lo-yang. Dark reddish-brown patina.

Pl. 39: 4 (K. 14525—14526). Finials, a pair, perhaps for some part of a sedan chair, a chariot or a piece of house furniture; inside the socket there are remnants of wood. Inlaid with silver.



Fig. 6.

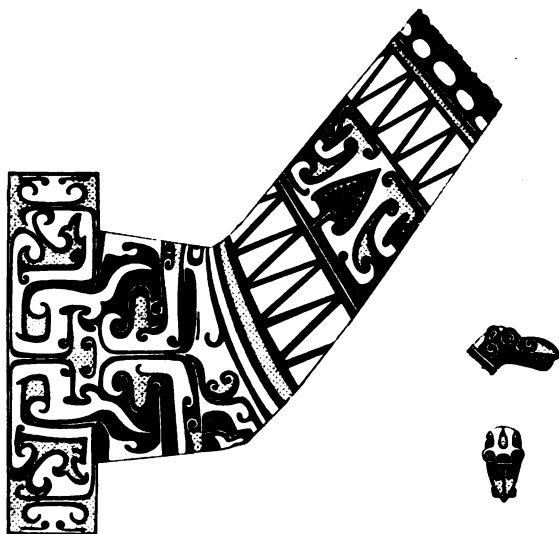


Fig. 7.

the rectangular plaque is hollow and has two long studs (one now broken) for fastening into wood. The bird's neck is likewise hollow. In the short part nearest the plaque it is oval in cross-section, in the long part, after the bend, it is circular in section. In fig. 7 we show the unfolded pattern drawing of the décor, gold showing grey, silver white and bronze black. The fanciful play of geometrical figures has almost entirely obscured the original animal shapes, which are here dissolved; but on the rectangular plaque it is still possible to discern the S-shaped bodies of two antithetical dragons. Huai style period. Size: a straight line from the bill of the bird to the lower left-hand corner of the plaque is 14.5 cm. Dark-brown patina.

Pl. 40: 2 (K. 14522). Fitting, a corner protection on some piece of furniture. The pattern on the principal surfaces is exactly the same as on the finial in Pl. 39: 4; on the narrower borders there are volutes and triangles. Huai style period. Provenience: Shou-chou. Length of each arm 4.8 cm., height 2.5 cm. Green and brown patina.

Pl. 40: 3 (K. 14483). Wheel-axle cap. Inlaid with gold and silver. It is one of a pair which has been studied in detail by J. G. Andersson BMFEA 7, p. 10, where he gives an unfolded pattern drawing. Huai style period. Provenience: Kin-ts'un near Lo-yang. Height 8.5 cm. Dark-brown patina.

Pl. 40: 4 (K. 14437). Finial, in the shape of an animal's head; the beak being formed into a loop, it would seem that it has served as a hinge for some now lost additional part. The specimen has been entirely gilt, but is now covered with incrustations over the major part. Huai or Han. Length 4.5 cm.

Pl. 40: 5 (K. 14420). Finial, crowned with a bird with turned head. Cross-section of socket circular. Huai style period. Provenience: Kin-ts'un near Lo-yang. Height 6.5 cm. Green and red patina.

The cross-section of the socket (open to the right in the photograph, closed to the left) is rectangular, the opening being 4.8 cm.  $\times$  2 cm. J. G. Andersson has studied a specimen of exactly the same kind belonging to the MFEA, and given a drawing of its pattern (BMFEA 7, Pl. 15). The bird is no ordinary bird, but a «dragon bird» since it has ears. Huai style period. Provenience: Kin-ts'un near Lo-yang. Length (from point of beak to upper right-hand corner) 19 cm. Green, blue and reddish-brown patina.

Pl. 40: 1 (K. 14525). Fitting. Inlaid with gold and silver. The rectangular plaque to the left in the photograph is really bent in a smooth bow, and has a border, 8 mm. broad, at right angles to the surface. On the reverse,

Pl. 41: 1 a, b (K. 14540). Container of unknown use (lamp? vinegar bottle? oil for the table?). Down through the lid, reaching 1 cm. below it, passes a tube, as seen in 1 b, which would make it possible to shake out a small amount of the contents. The high, conical foot is hollow. Round the waist of the vessel a plait band; on the handle an animal's head. Huai or Han. Height 12 cm. Green and brown patina.

Pl. 41: 2 (K. 14436). Finial. Round the body, a lizard-like dragon in high relief, surrounded by scrolls which probably depict clouds. Probably Han. Height 6.7 cm. Red and green patina.

Pl. 41: 3 a, b (K. 14531). Horse (two views). The legs are short and stiff, the shoulders and hind quarters heavy, the whole body very broad, the tapering neck, on the contrary, slender and the head proportionately small (tail broken and only a small stump left). In all these respects this specimen is closely akin to a horse reported to come from Kin-ts'un, near Lo-yang, in White, *Tombs of Old Lo-Yang*, Pl. 84. About this latter, White writes: 'Incised lines revealed the muscular contours'. On our specimen there are likewise shallow incised lines (hardly visible in the photographs) but they have nothing to do with the muscular lines. They are a row of acute angles with apices upwards ('rising blades') round the neck, and similar angles apices downwards, ('hanging blades') on the upper part of the legs. On the breast, just above the meeting-point of the legs, there is a big circle, divided by a diametrical line. On the shoulder a row of parallel, slightly curved lines (possibly roughly indicating wings?). Huai style period. Provenience: reported to come from Huei-hien, Honan. Height 18.5 cm. Dark-green patina with brighter-green, brown and red incrustations.



Fig. 8.

Pl. 42: 1 (K. 14532). Dog. This animal is somewhat difficult to define. The side here photographed might suggest a ram with downward-curving horn, but the other side shows that this is only a very big ear-flap, hanging down and with a depression in the centre. Since the foot has 3 toes clearly divided by incised lines (not visible in the photograph), it cannot be the cloven-hoof of a pig. Probably it is a dog. Tail broken and missing. The stiff legs and the patina remind very much of the horse in 41: 5. Huai or Han. Height 110 cm. Green patina with brown incrustations.

Pl. 42: 2 (K. 14424). Finial, probably for the end of a dagger-axe shaft or spear shaft. The socket has a pear-shaped cross-section (broad and rounded on the tail side), the narrow end-part is octagonal. Observe the curious slanting position of the raised band close to the rivet holes. This specimen was published by J. G. Andersson in *BMFEA* 7, Pl. 8, and we reproduce here his pattern drawing. (Fig. 8). In the lower part on the photograph we can discern only some drooping quills, and a raised tail to the right, all filled with scales. On the upper and middle bands, several variants of 'volutes and triangles'; on the latter, moreover, a 'free animal's head' (uncertain whether a bird with hooked beak, if specimen held as in the photograph, or a dragon with horn, if specimen held the other way round?). Huai style period. Length 14 cm. Light greyish-green, brown and red patina.

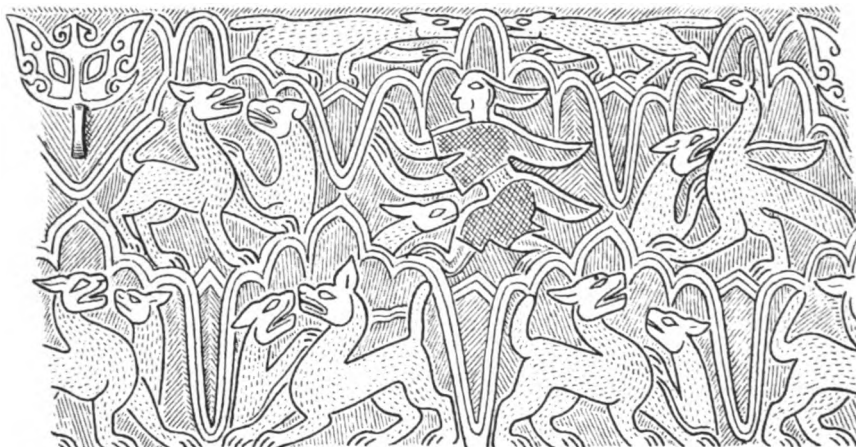


Fig. 9.

Pl. 42: 3 (K. 14425). Finial, probably for the end of a dagger-axe or spear-shaft. Socket has pear-shaped cross-section (broad and rounded on the nose side). Narrow tapering end octagonal. Slantingly placed ridge. The T'aot'ie head, with a pear-shaped ear (poorly visible in the photograph), below the rivet hole, and the forceful nose-and-mouth line, »rope»-patterned, indicates an early date within the Huai style period. Provenience: Lo-yang. Length 8.5 cm. Green and red patina.

Pl. 42: 4 (K. 14423). Finial, probably for the end of a dagger-axe or spear-shaft. Cross-section pear-shaped (broad and rounded on the tail side). Narrow end-part octagonal. The transversal band formed by the body of the bird is only very slightly raised in a flat relief. The incised patterns on the bird, volutes and triangles, are placed so as to adapt themselves to the shape of the body; on the upper socket a common pattern in 5 bands which is really composed of modified volutes and triangles placed back to back. For a pattern drawing of this specimen see J. G. Andersson in BMFEA 7, pl. 8. Huai style period. Provenience: Shou-chou. Length 18 cm. Grey patina.

Pl. 43: 1 (K. 14517). Container, tube-shaped; lid with a loop. An almost identical specimen belonging to the MFEA has a length of tiny chain fastened to the loop on the lid and such a chain has evidently connected the lid loop with the side loop. — The vessel proper is entirely covered with décor: at top and bottom narrow bands with a lozenge pattern incised. The principal surface filled with stylized cliffs and plants, fighting animals and a running human figure (a *sien* »immortal«?) all in typical Han style in low, sometimes slightly rounded relief (Fig. 9). The surfaces of the cliffs and plants are filled with fine parallel slanting lines, those of the man with crossing slanting lines and the bodies of the animals with dots to denote fur. There is a very close affinity indeed, both in shape and technical execution, between these animals and those on a Lien cover excavated by the Japanese scholars in Lo-lang in Korea, see Sekino, *Archaeological Researches in the ancient Lo-lang district*, 1925, fig. 281. Above the loop, a mask. Incised on the lid are two boars placed antithetically, as is common in the Northern Animal style. (Fig. 10). On the borders of the lid are dense, sharp-pointed »rising blades«. Han. Height 10.3 cm. Dark-green patina with big patches of bright-red and light-green.



Fig. 10.

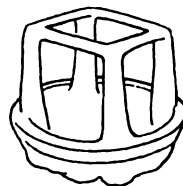


Fig. 11.

Pl. 43: 2 (K. 14547). Container with 3 small legs. Soldered on to a dish with 3 correspondingly placed legs. There can be no doubt that these parts belonged together originally, for the patina on the points of juncture on the dish is quite genuine. The bird forms the handle of a small round lid (still removable), which fits into the big top-lid. The only décor is on the latter: four broadly heart-shaped figures, encircling the inner lid, a motif common on mirrors. Probably Han. Height 10.7 cm. Grey, green and blue patina.

Pl. 43: 3 (K. 14546). Fitting of unknown use. On the reverse a cube-shaped frame (Fig. 11). The décor is a crouching bear in relief, surrounded by a narrow border with rope pattern. Han? Diameter 3.5 cm., height 3 cm. The whole disc has been gilt, now largely covered with green incrustations.

Pl. 43: 4 (K. 14536). Support for a mirror or a jade disc. The short socket at the bottom, of rectangular cross section, has evidently been fastened on to a wooden base. The horned dragons at the ends with their peculiar excrescence on their noses and their tuft under the chin are to be found, absolutely identical, on a spear mount from middle Han time (Sekino, *Archaeological Researches on the ancient Lo-lang District*, Fig. 324). On the other hand W. C. White in *Tombs of Old Lo-Yang*, pl. 46, has a stand exactly like our specimen here, which, if it really comes from the Kin-ts'un tombs, is of pre-Han date. This is strongly supported by three bronze quadrupeds (White, Pl. 54), with dragon heads and long-legged bodies, likewise with a Kin-ts'un provenience: their heads are closely akin to those of our stand here. And even more important, a very similar head, with an excrescence on its nose and tuft under the chin, recurs on a class of mirrors, e. g. BMFEA 13, Pl. 29, specimens D 17 and D 18, which can with certainty be dated in the 4th c. B. C. It would seem, therefore, that this peculiar kind of dragon motif has had a long life, from Huai-style time down through the Han era. Huai or Han. Width 34 cm. Green patina. On the horn to the left in the photograph fragments of carbonized silk stuff.

Pl. 44: 1 (K. 14528). Bear, gilt. This specimen was exhibited in the London exhibition and there (see *Cat. of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art, 1935—36*, no 497) labelled as »Han». Its date is, however, obscure, and in fact is at present impossible to determine. Length 7.8 cm.

Pl. 44: 2 (K. 14764). Slender bronze object, entirely gilt, of unknown use. It can hardly be a finial, since the square hole in the socket is very shallow (1.7 cm. deep). The curled dragon, biting over the end of the stem, gives rather an impression of being a handle. Was it some sort of key? Or was it a seal-holder? A very similar specimen, though too

corroded to show the details, was found in Kin-ts'un (White, Tombs of Old Lo-Yang Pl. 69). Huai style period. Provenience: Shou-chou. Length 14 cm. Patches of green and blue patina on the gilding, which for the most part is very well preserved.

Pl. 44: 3 (K. 14434). Jingle for a horse's yoke (Luan). The upward tapering rectangular socket is hollow throughout, with some thin raised lines and short ridges for décor.

This class of object is a school example of the risk of accepting uncritically the definitions and datings in the old Chinese archaeology. The Sung catalogue K'ao ku t'u first defined such specimens as «bells held in dancers' hands» and dated them as «Han», and first Po ku t'u lu and then later the Imperial catalogue of the last dynasty, Si ts'ing ku kien, accepted this classification and dating. Yüan Yüan (early 19th c.) was the first to identify these objects as jingles connected with horses, and Lo Chen-yü more precisely defined them as the Luan of the classics; he argued that they must have been placed on the horse's yoke. This was happily confirmed by the excavations in Sün-hien, where such jingles were found close to yoke bronzes on horses (see Sün hien yi k'i Pls. 124, 125, text p. 18). One of them had a character (h o u prince) inscribed in early Chou script. In Tsun ku chai so kien ki kin t'u 4: 39 there is another specimen with an early Chou inscr. (W u t s o p a o «Wu has made the precious object»). Our present specimen is not quite identical with the said early Chou pieces, the outer ring being here quite open except for four points of connection, whereas those have open-work of another kind. But the similarity is so great that we have no reason whatsoever to preserve the traditional Han date: the class as a whole is much earlier. Early or Middle Chou. Height 17 cm. Thick dark-green patina.

Pl. 44: 4 (K. 14574). Fitting, gilt, in the shape of a sitting bear, with the front paws kept on the knees of the hind legs. The reverse is hollow, the whole specimen being a fairly thin plaque, bulging out 12 mm. at the highest point (the eyebrows). Period very uncertain (Han?). Height 4.6 cm. The gilding largely superseded by a dark-green patina, which has been strongly polished.

Pl. 45: 1 (K. 14815). Tripod. Undecorated, except for the end of the handle, which is in the shape of a dragon's head. The long horns of the latter are laid backwards, close along the nape of the neck. Han or earlier. Height to rim of vessel 12.8 cm. Dark and light green patina.

Pl. 45: 2 (K. 14841 a). Bell. (The collection has one more bell, K. 14841 b, quite similar to this one in type and décor though higher, 35 cm., and without inscription). The cross-section is a narrow and pointed oval, not more than 6 cm. across just below the central field, but 12.5 cm. from corner to corner (extreme lower points to right and left in the photograph). Handle hollow. The specimen is undecorated, except for the «double rope pattern» dividing the upper side into panels. In the central field an inscription: T a k i l i , y i t s i s u n «Great good luck and profit, may you have sons and grandsons». On the lower part of the side, to the left in the photograph, an inscription: H u a n g l u n g y ü a n n i e n L i C h ' a n g t s a o «Made by Li Ch'ang the 1st year Huang lung» (i. e. 49 B. C.). Thus: Western Han. Height 31.8 cm. Dark-green and black patina richly suffused with spots of bright-green; in parts earth-incrustations.

Pl. 46: 1 a, b (K. 14156). Sword. There is only a slight, smooth thickening in the central part, no median ridge. The rings on the hilt and the flat pommel are undecorated. On the guard a face with slanting eyes, broad, clumsy nose and a curved slit for mouth,



in the corners claws. On the blade, in rounded relief, a monster: a quadruped with long tail, a big wing curling forwards in a bold volute, a human head turned to the right. Huai style period. Length 46 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 46: 2 (K. 14155). Sword. A ridge along the median line. The guard and the rings on hilt inlaid with turquoise. On the pommel, incised concentric circles. Huai style period. Provenience: Shou-chou. Length 50.5 cm. Grey patina with green incrustations.

Pl. 46: 3 (K. 14154). Sword. A very slight ridge along the median line. The guard is a rhomboid thin plaque, undecorated. To the pommel disc there has probably been attached some jade ornament, now lost. On both sides of the blade a scene of two confronting animals, the one a quadruped (tiger?) with claw-shaped feet, the other a bird with hooked beak and horns. This feature is of extreme value for the dating of this type of sword with a plain hilt, without extra rings, and a disc-shaped pommel. It has mostly been dated as Han. But these incised animal figures point to Huai time. In Umehara, *Etude des bronzes des Royaumes combattants*, 1936, pl. 77.2, there is a Hu in the Ota coll., Kyoto, which on the neck has incised animal figures so astoundingly similar in almost every detail that one would be inclined to attribute the Hu and our sword to the same master. Now this Hu has round the belly a broad band filled with an absolutely typical Huai style décor (»warts«), clearly pre-Han. Our sword thus likewise: Huai style period. Length 55.5 cm. Flamy green and red patina.

## APPENDIX

### REMARKS ON THE DATING OF EARLY CHINESE BRONZES

The attribution of bronze vessels to the periods of the Middle Chou style and of the Huai style offers no great difficulty, once these styles have been duly recognized and defined; there exist specimens of a transitional character, it is true (e. g. some of the Sin-cheng vessels), but on the whole they are few and little apt to complicate the system. Quite different is the case of the periods anterior to that of the Middle Chou style.

Historically, we have to operate with two periods: Yin (or, as many authors prefer to call it: Shang; the two terms are synonymous — in the wake of Confucius, I use the term Yin<sup>1)</sup>) and early Chou. According to the orthodox chronology the latter was 1122—circa 950 B. C., but according to the corrected chronology (see my article in *BMFEA* 17, 1942, p. 114—121) 1027—circa 900 B. C.

To this »early Chou« period belong such vessels as have a style anterior to the Middle Chou style and carry inscriptions that either contain Chou-time names and facts or have a script ductus that is obviously too advanced to be attributed to the Yin era; if an inscription is sufficiently long and elaborate, it is

<sup>1)</sup> That the An-yang city was called Shang in the oracle bone inscriptions of course does not prove that the Royal family and dynasty was called Shang at that time.



Fig. 12.

sometimes quite possible to determine its Chou date in this way by comparing it with datable early Chou inscriptions.

To the »Yin« period belong such vessels as *either* are safely attested to have been excavated in An-yang, *or* carry Yin inscriptions.

In my work *Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes* (BMFEA 8, 1935—1936), I singled out three kinds of inscriptions which I considered to be criteria of Yin age: Ya, so-called *Y a - h i n g* fig. 12 a; the so-called *S i t s i s u n* fig. 12 b (a traditional »interpretation« which is certainly quite wrong but which may be conventionally used *faute de mieux*); the so-called *K ü* in two variants fig. 12 c (just as meaningless an interpretation, which, however, for the same reason may be conventionally maintained). When I attributed these symbols to the Yin dynasty and considered them obsolete and hence not in use during the Chou era, this was by no means a new idea of mine: it had always been the opinion of the Chinese palaeographers. When in 1917 the famous scholar Lo Chen-yü published his *Yin wen ts'un* »Yin inscriptions«, he recorded there 62 cases of *Y a*, 32 cases of *S i t s i s u n* and 29 cases of *K ü*. When in 1935 Wang Ch'en made a sequel to Lo's work, *Sü Yin-wen ts'un* »Continued Yin inscriptions«, he added 194 *Y a*, 61 *S i t s i s u n*, 65 *K ü*. On the other hand, when in 1918 Tsou An published his *Chou kin wen ts'un* »Inscriptions on Chou bronzes«, as a counterpart to Lo's repertory of Yin inscriptions, he recorded 816 vessels, but as a rule these inscriptions had no *Y a*, *S i t s i s u n* or *K ü* (only 6 exceptions, all of them erroneous). Jung Keng, in his voluminous compilation about Chinese bronzes, *Shang Chou yi k'i* 1944, is of the same opinion as far as the first two are concerned (since he operates only with vessels illustrated in his own book, his figures are more restricted): he records 50 vessels with *Y a*, and he places them all in Shang (Yin) time; he has 10 vessels with *S i t s i s u n*, all placed in Shang (Yin); he has 20 vessels with *K ü*, of which he places 18 in Shang (Yin), and 2 in early Chou (quite unnecessarily, since there is nothing in these two to prevent them from being Yin); against this he has 150 illustrated vessels whose inscription he records as being of early Chou date (not a single one of them having *Y a* or *S i t s i s u n*).

Ch'en Meng-hia, in *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, I, p. 45, argues that these 3 symbols were not limited to Yin (Shang) but were also current

in early Chou time. An assertion of this kind lacks value as long as no proof has been adduced. Though there are hundreds of bronze inscriptions, some of them quite extensive, containing *Y a*, *S i t s i s u n* and *K ü*, as a rule none of them contain Chou-time names and facts; and there are hundreds of inscriptions containing Chou-time names and facts, but as a rule none of them contain *Y a*, *S i t s i s u n* or *K ü*. This is a rule with practically no exceptions. But even if there should happen to crop up one or a few specimens which run counter to this rule,<sup>1)</sup> it is of very little consequence: it is, of course, quite possible that in an exceptional case a Chou artisan used, in an archaizing spirit, symbols that were as a rule obsolete at his time. In the world of human functions, laws cannot be as absolute as the laws of natural science: to every rule there are some exceptions. If we were to limit our language grammars to such rules as are valid without a single exception, we should have no grammars. It is just the same in art: no style law can be absolutely binding and free from exceptions, because the human mind is not made that way. Our palaeographic and art-style laws are generalizations based on the great numbers. If we can confidently state that out of 100 vessels inscribed with *Y a*, 98 are of Yin date, and 2 are of early Chou, then this is quite sufficient for our purpose, for we can afford to leave aside the exceptional cases. This is so in all humanistic sciences, and I fail to see why we should demand absolute exceptionless rules in Chinese archaeology, and reject a very useful law because it obtains only in 98 cases out of 100. In short, when we find a vessel with a *Y a* inscription, we can state that there is a 98 % probability that it is of Yin time, and this is quite sufficient to be a highly valuable *point d'appui*.

Indeed, my adoption of the traditional view as to the Yin date of those three inscriptional symbols was singularly well-founded, for it has been happily confirmed in the years following my work cited above. New publications have brought fresh materials. In *Cheng sung t'ang ki kin t'u*, *Tsun ku chai so kien ki kin t'u*, *Sung chai ki kin sü lu*, *Yen k'u ki kin t'u lu*, there are 38 bronzes with the *Y a*, 6 with *S i t s i s u n* and 8 with *K ü* — all of them in good Yin style; and in *Ye chung p'ien yü* (An-yang Antiquities) II, III (published after my paper of 1935) there are no less than 17 bronzes with *Y a* and 2 with *K ü* the Yin date of which is attested by their provenience. Further, of the bronzes excavated in An-yang and which have found their way to Western collections I know from personal experience quite a number which bear one or other of these 3 symbols.

The novelty in my operating with them in my book of 1935 was not that I considered them as Yin criteria but the fact that I singled them out and placed them in opposition to various other short symbols, such as »a man holding a banner», an »animal lying on its back with a knife on top» etc. (for a selection of such

<sup>1)</sup> One possible exception from the *Y a* rule is a *Yu* vessel found in grave 60 in the Sün-hien excavations, Sün hier. yi k'i p. 15. It ends by *Y a* but has a décor which is kindred to that of a *Tsun* found in the same grave with an early Chou inscription.

inscriptional symbols, see BMFEA 16, 1944, p. 4 ff.) — a long series of brief symbols which had likewise been traditionally considered to indicate Yin date. I did so for statistical reasons. When a symbol such as the Y a occurs on hundreds of bronzes but never in combination with Chou-time names and facts, this is conclusive, in spite of its being negative evidence. But if »a man holding a banner» occurs on 10 bronzes, without being combined with Chou-time names or facts, it proves nothing at all; it may very well be a symbol typical of early Chou — we cannot know, since the materials are too limited. Thus I refused and still refuse

to accept as criteria of Yin time those scores of brief inscriptions which, because of their terseness and »primitive» appearance, have always been considered to be »Yin»<sup>1)</sup> but which are not attested with sufficiently great frequency to allow of conclusive arguments being drawn from them. On the other hand, there are certain brief symbols that are nearly as frequent as Si t s i s u n and K ü, but are none the less of no avail as Yin criteria: such, for instance, is the very common symbol fig. 13 a, ingeniously interpreted by Kuo Mo-jo as the clan

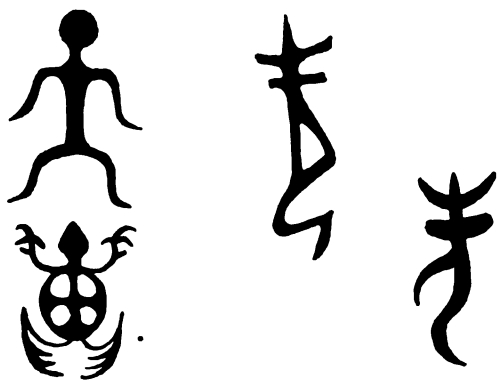


Fig. 13.

name T' i e n y ü a n, which Lo Chen-yü records as Yin criterion in Yin wen ts'un in 13 cases; this is quite unallowable, for we have this same symbol at the end of long inscriptions containing Chou-time names and facts (e. g. Hien hou ting, BMFEA 8, p. 31 [B 12], Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 3: 15), and consequently this symbol is by no means a criterion of Yin date.

In short, our three symbols Y a, Si t s i s u n and K ü, and quite particularly the most important of them, the Y a, are *even better proof of Yin date* than the An-yang provenience, for, except in the few cases in which An-yang vessels have been excavated by the Academia Sinica, we have to rely on the reports of art dealers, and more than once their statements about the origin of a vessel have been unreliable.

In placing early bronzes in the scheme of development, we have two alternatives to choose between.

On the one hand, we can judge by style exclusively and constitute as one great style group all material that is anterior to the beginning of the Middle Chou style. Yetts has followed this course, in using the term »First phase» (an unhappily chosen name, since the elaborate Yin art necessarily presupposes a more primitive »phase»

<sup>1)</sup> A typical example of this kind of dating is Lo Chen-yü's Yin wen ts'un quoted above: along with the undoubtedly Yin symbols, Y a etc., he records all kinds of brief inscriptions, about the date of which we can really know nothing whatsoever.

before this «first phase»). This procedure has the great disadvantage that it brackets together as «first-phase vessels» very elaborate and advanced vessels from early Chou-time, of types which are quite unknown in the Yin era, with regular and typical Yin specimens.

On the other hand, we may try to carry through a really chronological nomenclature, based on the dynastic names Yin (or: Shang), and (early) Chou. This is easily accomplished in regard to two large groups of bronzes: such as have been excavated in An-yang or have Yin inscriptions (see above); and such as have early Chou inscriptions.

After we have disposed of these there remains the enormously large group of early bronzes which neither have a known provenience nor have sufficiently revealing inscriptions. How are they to be chronologically labelled?

Nevertheless, Chinese and Western archaeologists alike have always striven to give them a label fixing them in the one dynasty or the other: a vessel is either defined as «Shang» (Yin) or as «Chou» (or: «early Chou»). How do the classifying scholars proceed in determining which is which?

Obviously they do not go by inscriptions in the very numerous cases in which the vessels are uninscribed; nor in the equally numerous cases in which they have but simple and uninforming inscriptions like *fu Yi* «to father Yi»; *tsu Sin* «to grandfather Sin». To assert that such inscriptions are Yin rather than Chou would be very foolish, all the more so as the characters *fu Yi* and *tsu Sin* recur in datable Chou inscriptions with exactly the same script ductus as on the vessels where they alone form the entire inscription. And, for the reasons given above, there are hundreds of vessels with simple symbols (one or two graphs, often undecipherable) which can no more be proved to be Yin than Chou; if they happen to occur on a vessel from An-yang, that does not prevent their occurring again in Chou time. Thus, for instance, the symbol fig. 13 b, which occurs on an An-yang Ting (*Ye chung p'ien yü* III, Shang 7), recurs at the end of the inscription of the famous Ch'en Ch'en Ho, only slightly varied: fig. 13 c (interpreted by Lodge and Wenley as = *sien*, which seems very doubtful). It is quite evident that the scholars who are ready to apply a label: either Shang (Yin) or Chou, in all the cases of uninscribed or too indifferently inscribed vessels — and they form the majority of all the early vessels — do not base their determination of period on *inscriptions*. There remains, then, the typological criteria: A bronze is declared to be «Shang» (Yin) if the *vessel itself* agrees closely in style with another vessel known to hail from An-yang or having a Yin inscription. It is regarded as «Chou» if it agrees in essential features with a vessel known through its inscription to be of early Chou date.

This seems quite reasonable and legitimate, and it is the constantly applied method in all archaeology and art history: the specimen A is very closely identical with a specimen B; consequently A belongs to the same epoch as B, probably also to the same *milieu*, perhaps it was even made by the same master. Through such

stylistic analysis, the early Chinese vessels have all from the Sung catalogues down to modern art publications<sup>1)</sup> been assigned *either* to «Shang» or to «Chou» — a decision has always been made between the two chronological alternatives. It rarely occurs that any hesitation is expressed: «Shang or early Chou», The attribution, based on style comparisons, is generally very definite: the vessel *is* «Shang».

Jung keng<sup>2)</sup> goes very far in this respect. He attributes a dynastic date («Shang» or «early Chou») to every vessel. In his section «Kuei vessels», he registers 59 Kuei which he labels as «Shang» (Yin), and 57 which he defines as «early Chou». Of the former, only 16 have Yin inscriptions (Y a, S i t s ī s u n, K ü) or come from An-yang. The remaining 43 either are uninscribed (9 vessels) or have only one or a few characters of no distinguishing quality (a single char. s h ī 'scribe' or a single k u o 'dagger-axe' could prove no Yin date; one of his «Shang» vessels, bears exclusively the inscr. t'ien yüan (our fig. 13 a), which, as we have seen, recurs on Chou bronzes. For his uninscribed or indifferently inscribed vessels Jung has evidently had no other principle to guide him than a consideration of *the style* of the vessels themselves, their similarity to An-yang vessels.

We are now faced with the important question: is it allowable to define a vessel as being of «Shang» (Yin) *date* (observe: a *chronological* attribution), if it agrees stylistically in every particular or at least in its essential and principal features with another vessel safely attested to be «Shang» (through provenience or inscription)? All the authors alluded to above have evidently answered this question in the affirmative; witness the definite labelling in their books even of uninscribed vessels as «Shang» or «Chou», and it might seem over-cautious to call in question a method of dating which agrees with all long-approved principles in general archaeology and art history. Nevertheless, it should in this case be answered with a very definite and emphatic *no*, for the peculiar conditions in ancient China make this method inapplicable and misleading.

The fact is that, on the one hand, the conservatism was evidently extreme in certain respects. The same types of vessels with the same décor were repeated during long periods — in all probability as a sacred tradition within definite *ateliers* of prominent caster families. On the other hand, when the Chou conquered the Yin and established a new dynasty, they took over from their foes their best artisans, and made them continue their art in the old grooves. This went on for about a century (1027— circa 900 B. C.). True, a certain amount of innovation set in immediately, modifications in vessel types and décor schemes cropped up (the so-called «Yin-Chou style», see in detail BMFEA 9, p. 93—94); but at the same time the time-honoured vessel types and décor schemes continued to be produced,

<sup>1)</sup> For instance C. F. Kelley and Ch'en Meng-chia, *Chinese Bronzes from the Buckingham Collection*, 1946; J. E. Lodge and A. G. Wenley, *A descriptive and illustrative catalogue of Chinese bronzes*, 1946.

<sup>2)</sup> In his book *Shang Chou yi k'i* 1944.

in an unbroken line, all through that first century. I have had frequent occasion to point out and emphasize this phenomenon earlier but it seems that this simple fact has never been seriously taken into account by the art historians alluded to above; if it had, they would not have been so positive and apodeictic in defining a vessel as «Shang». In reality, the fact that *the traditional Yin types were repeated unaltered* in early Chou time makes it unallowable and impossible to define (*chronologically*) a vessel as «Shang» (Yin) by stylistic analysis alone. What could be made in Yin time could always be calqued in the first Chou century. We could at the most say that it is «in Shang (Yin) style», leaving it open as to whether it was made in Shang (Yin) or early Chou time. (Observe the difference here between *style* and *time*). But when a catalogue labels a vessel as «Shang» the reader must necessarily understand this to mean that it was cast during the Shang (Yin) dynasty, anterior to 1027 B. C. (and it is thus that the catalogue authors obviously wish their attribution to be understood). In fact, however, the vessel, though agreeing in style with attestedly Shang (Yin) vessels, might equally well have been cast in early Chou time, posterior to 1027, in a different political and cultural context altogether. It should therefore conscientiously be labelled not «Shang» but «Shang (Yin) or early Chou».

Since it has proved impossible to make the modern historians of Chinese art realize this simple fact (Yetts alone has fully realized it and created his terminology with full consideration of it), we shall have to give some concrete examples here.

A. The Li-ting in Pl. 47: 1 (Mengwei, sü 4) <sup>no bronze</sup> has a Yin inscr. and represents a standard type among vessels from An-yang (e. g. Ye chung I, shang 11, 12, Ye chung III, shang 12). The Li-ting in Pl. 47: 2 (Cheng sung t'u, shang 16) is practically identical in shape and décor. If it were uninscribed, one would consider it self-evident that it is likewise a Yin (Shang) vessel. It has, however, a Chou-time inscription, being one of the famous Ch'en Ch'en series of early Chou time. Consequently, Li-ting vessels of this type with indecisive inscription or none at all, and of unknown provenience should never be defined as «Shang» (Yin) but always «Yin or early Chou».

B. The square Ting in Pl. 48: 1 (Shang Chou yi k'i fig. 129) <sup>no bronze</sup> has a Yin inscr. and is correctly defined as Yin by Jung keng. The square Ting in Pl. 48: 2 (Shan t'u 44) is quite identical in its essential décor, and would undoubtedly be typologically classed together with the former as a Yin specimen, if it were not that it has a long Chou inscription (it comes from Lo-yang).

C. The tall Yu in pl. 49: 1 (Umehara, Seikwa pl. 82) <sup>no bronze</sup> has a Yin inscription and is correctly placed as Yin by Jung Keng. The Yu in pl. 49: 2 (Umehara, Seikwa 84) is identical in every detail — shape décor — and would certainly, if uninscribed, have been defined as Yin on the strength of its similarity with the former; but it has a clear Chou inscription (the same Ch'en Ch'en set as in A above) and is consequently placed as «early Chou» by Jung Keng.

*horns and eyebrows are entirely different.*  
 D. The Li-ting in Pl. 50: 1 (Shuang chien: shang 6) has a Yin inscription and is hence of Yin date, whereas that in Pl. 50: 2 (Senoku I: 2) has a long and elaborate Chou inscription and is of early Chou date. The two specimens are so astoundingly alike, even to the highly peculiar way in which the body of the T'aot'ie is stylized (the only difference being that the one has 3, the other 4 comma-shaped figures) that judged by style criteria alone they should have been attributed not only to the same period and milieu, but even to the same master and the same set.

*both may be Chou.*  
 E. The Ting with supporting animals in Pl. 51: 1 (Tsun ku chai 1: 17) has a Yin inscription and is closely allied to a Ting from An-yang (Ye chung I, shang 13). The Ting in 51: 2 (Shī er kia, Süe 3) so closely resembles 51: 1 in every particular that it would necessarily have been defined as a Yin vessel as well, if it were not that it has a Chou-time inscription. 丁'K'131

*does not look like Yin, rather Chou. In Wu'ing, Jung Keng said "Chou"*  
 F. The Square Ting in Pl. 52: 1 (Wuying 8) has a Yin inscription and is correctly placed as Yin by Jung Keng. The Ting in 52: 2 (Shang Chou yi k'i fig. 133) comes from Sün-hien and has a Chou inscription. The Chou innovation in the latter is obvious: the hook-like projections into which the segmented flanges have been corrupted (the winged dragons and the scaled snakes are both well known from Yin as well as Chou vessels). But the striking fact here is that the curious way in which the bodied T'aot'ie is stylized and embellished on the Yin vessel is repeated even down to the minutest details on the Chou vessel. This is a most amazing example of how slavishly the artisans in early Chou time could sometimes follow the patterns of the Yin artists. An identical embellished representation of the T'aot'ie (here again even down to the finest details) is to be found on the famous Yi of the Nie Ling set of early Chou time (Umehara: Seikwa pl. 10).

G. The Kuei in 53: 1 (BMFEA 8, pl. 13) has a Yin inscription, the Kuei in 53: 2 (Shang Chou yi k'i fig. 262) came from Lo-yang, where it was excavated together with the famous Ch'en Ch'en set. They differ slightly in shape, in that the Yin vessel widens upwards, but this shape is well attested in Chou time as well (e. g. Shang chou yi k'i, figs. 285, 286, Chou inscriptions). The shape of the Chou vessel is exactly the same as that of many attested Yin vessels (e. g. Ye chung p'ien yü III, shang 28). The décor arrangement of the Chou vessel here: bare belly, décor limited to neck and foot band, is very common on attested Yin vessels. But the important feature in our example here is this: the peculiar décor elements, the neck band with alternating turning dragons and whorl circles (bosses) is the same in both. In fact, this motif recurs on a Kuei with Yin inscription (Shang Chou yi k'i fig. 248, correctly labelled as Yin by Jung Keng), and on a Kuei in Sung chai ki kin sü lu with a Chou inscription. If our Kuei 53: 2 had had no known provenience and hence date, we could with just as good reason have labelled it Yin as Chou — all its features are exceedingly well attested in Yin time.

H. The Ting in Pl. 54: 1 (Wuying 21) has a Yin inscription and is correctly



placed under Yin by Jung Keng. The characteristic feature is here the »animal triple band», the dissolved dragon having here left as traces a row of quills along the back. Exactly the same décor (belly bare, neckbelt with triple band) recurs on the Ting 54: 2 (Cheng ts'iu 4), which has a Chou inscription. Stylistically the two vessels agree so closely that one would have thought that they had been made by the same master. Again, the Kuei in Pl. 55: 1 (Trygger collection, Stockholm) has a Yin inscription and has as its principal feature the same »animal triple band», with quills, as the preceding vessels. The Kuei in Pl. 55: 2 (Meng wei, shang 25) has the same principal feature, the triple band in the same execution, its shape and its handles are common in Yin vessels. And yet it has a Chou inscription. In short, the dominant feature in all these vessels is a bare belly and a neck-band with »animal triple band». If 54: 1 and 55: 1 were uninscribed, we might be justified in labelling them as Chou on comparison with the Chou-inscribed 54: 2 and 55: 2. Or, *vice versa*, if the two latter were uninscribed, the former having their present Yin inscriptions, we would be equally justified in defining 54: 2 and 55: 2 as Yin upon comparing the style with that of 54: 1 and 55: 1. Briefly, on typological and stylistic grounds alone it would be impossible to date these four vessels other than »Yin or Early Chou».

I. The two Tsun in Pl. 56 are stylistically very closely cognate. The disposition of the décor is the same: two raised lines above and below the T'aot'ie face on the bulb. In the latter there is a great similarity in the details: eyebrows, ears, forehead shield. The Tsun 56: 2 is broader and more squat, the Tsun 56: 1 is more slender and elegant: the former could be suspected of being somewhat more primitive and earlier than the latter. But, in fact, 56: 1 has a Yin inscription (Pao yün 99), whereas 56: 2 (Shuang kien, shang 24) has a Chou inscription.

K. The Kuei in Pl. 57: 1 was excavated by the Academia Sinica in Anyang (Chinese Journal of Archaeology, n:r 2, 1947) and the Kuei in Pl. 57: 2 is likewise from An-yang (Ye chung III, shang 25). The Kuei lid in 58: 1 is stylistically very closely cognate to them: the lozenges with spikes and the lei wen filling in the lozenges are exactly the same. (The circle bands are common on attested Yin vessels). There is not the slightest doubt that if this lid had been uninscribed, it would have been dated as Yin upon comparison with 57: 1, 2 and many similar Yin-inscribed vessels (e. g. Ch'ang an huo ku 1: 16, Heng hien 43, two Kuei which the lid would fit admirably). And yet our lid has one of the most famous early Chou inscriptions (BMFEA 8, p. 30: 137). This case is one of the most serious reminders that a »Shang» dating may easily be premature, since an exact repetition in early Chou time is not only possible but often well attested.

L. The Hien in Pl. 11: 2 (Hellström Collection see above) has as its dominant décor feature on the upper part the »de-tailed» bird. This Hien has a Yin inscription. The Ting in 58: 2 (Meng wei, sū 6) has exactly the same principal décor, the details being practically identical. This Ting has a Chou inscription.

We have given here twelve examples of attestedly Yin vessels of which either there are extant exact replicas, made in early Chou time, or at least the dominant style features of which were faithfully, not to say slavishly, reproduced on Chou-inscribed vessels. These examples could be continued. Moreover, if we take up the various décor elements characteristic of the two Yin styles (BMFEA 9, p. 14) separately, we can find practically all of them, recurring, in quite the same execution as on Yin vessels, on various Chou-inscribed vessels.<sup>1)</sup>

The conclusion to be drawn from all this cannot be but one: for a great many early vessels we are not authorized, on stylistic grounds alone, to indicate a date »Shang (Yin)» or »Chou»; we are forced to apply a wider framework and label them »Shang (Yin) or Early Chou».

One objection could legitimately be made here. It might be allowable to operate with a calculus of probabilities based on frequency. The realistic cicada, for instance, is very common on attested Yin vessels (it occurs on a great many Yin-inscribed bronzes, on several specimens excavated in An-yang by the Academia Sinica, and on many bronzes in Ye chung p'ien yü, i. e. An-yang bronzes), whereas it is rare on Chou-inscribed vessels; I know of only two cases, a P'an in the Eumorfopoulos' coll., and a Kuei in the David-Weill coll. (both in BMFEA 8, pl. 16). It might seem safe then, when we obtain an uninscribed Ting, for instance, with a row of realistic cicadas either placed in a band, or hanging all round the belly, such as we know them from many attested Yin bronzes, to conclude that this new bronze is Yin rather than Chou, and to label it as »Shang» (Yin). And *vice versa*, the so-called »de-tailed bird», such as we have it in Pl. 58: 2, is exceedingly common on Chou-inscribed vessels, but it is rare on Yin-inscribed vessels (I know of only 3 cases: two Hien and one Yu); here again, it is tempting to say, when we have to classify a new vessel having »de-tailed birds», to label it as »Chou», preferably to »Shang» (Yin). But I wish to insist that even in such cases we should formulate more cautiously, in the former case: »Shang (Yin) or Early Chou, probably the former»; and in the latter case: »Shang (Yin) or early Chou, probably the latter». The reason for this is the fact that decisions based on frequency may sometimes turn out to be fallacious. This is particularly so because some large groups of bronzes — Ku, Tsüe and, mostly, Tsun — have only writing space for very short inscriptions, such as have no chance of revealing any Chou-time names or facts, and when it comes to the hundreds of vessels belonging to these classes, with a highly varying décor, we have no possible means of ascertaining whether they are Yin or Chou; if we could know that, they might influence the frequency computation considerably in the one direction or the other. Moreover, I have had some

<sup>1)</sup> Thus, for instance, the »bodied T'aot'ie» and »vertical dragons» occur on a Chou Ting in Senoku I: 3. The »bovine T'aot'ie» on a Chou Ting in Pao yü 12. The »realistic cicada» on a Chou P'an in BMFEA 8, pl. 16. The »interlocked T's» on a Chou Kuei *ibid.* The »eyed band with diagonals» on a Chou Kuei in Meng wei, shang 34. The »vertical ribs» on a Chou Kuei in Meng wei, shang 33. The »circle band» and the »realistic snake» on various Chou bronzes, etc.

wholesome lessons on the risk of drawing conclusions from too limited materials. In 1935 I proposed (Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes) that the vessel type P'an was a Chou innovation; this proved to be wrong, quite a number of Yin P'an having appeared since then. If I had said instead: »P'an with ears», I believe I should have been right, for — at present at least — it seems that the Yin P'an is, as a rule, earless, whereas the Early Chou P'an frequently has ears. Further, I proposed (*ibid.*) that what I called »bent ears» appeared earliest in Chou time, since my Yin material at that time included no safe examples; but later on the Academia Sinica has excavated several vessels with »bent ears» in An-yang, and my theory was therefore erroneous.

This does not mean that it is impossible to find features in the early Chou bronze art that were innovations and never existed in Yin time. Such are, for instance as far as it is possible to judge at present, the »hook projections» into which the earlier »segmented flanges» have developed (e. g. on our Pl. 52: 2); the dragons with a big spiral body (BMFEA 9, Pl. 13); the big tail-raising birds placed back to back (BMFEA 8, Pl. 21); and, apparently, also the so-called »S-dragon» (BMFEA 9, Pl. 12). But new finds and new types crop up every year, and our calculations run the risk of being overthrown at any moment. The only safe scheme for dating early bronzes, therefore, is the following:

a) Yin-inscribed vessels and vessels safely attested as having been excavated in An-yang should be labelled »Yin» (or: »Shang»).

b) Chou-inscribed vessels of a type anterior to the Middle-Chou style should be labelled »Early Chou».

c) Uninscribed or indifferently inscribed vessels of unknown provenience of a type anterior to the Middle-Chou style should be labelled as follows:

α. If they have some of the undeniable criteria of Chou innovation (e. g. »hook projections» instead of segmented flanges; »tail-raising birds» etc.) they should be labelled »Early Chou».

β. If they have no such features of Chou innovation they should be labelled »Yin or Early Chou» (never simply: »Yin»). On this point we are entirely in agreement with Yetts.

By following this cautious course, we do not run the risk of deceiving the less initiated public. If we boldly classify an uninscribed early vessel of unknown provenience as »Shang», we profess to know more than we really do: we determine the chronological period more narrowly than our premises allow, for, as shown above, there is always the possibility that it is, instead, an Early-Chou vessel repeating the traditional Yin style. And nothing is really gained by such pretension to a knowledge which we do not in fact possess. It is much better to use no greater precision in our chronological definitions than we can really vindicate by proofs.

We need not expatiate on judgments like the following, so often heard among enthusiasts: »This vessel is exceedingly forceful and primitive — it is sure to be

Shang!» Or: »The details of the décor have a wonderful precision; it is a product of the highest artistic period — it must be a Shang piece!». In fact, the Ting in Pl. 47: 2 (Chou) is just as forceful and primitive as that in 47: 1 (Yin). And the famous lid (Chou) in Pl. 58: 1 is worked with all the exquisite finesse of the best Yin art. In some rare cases the »An-yang patina» can be of help. But patina is a risky criterion. It is often possible to distinguish very decidedly between a Shou-chou patina and an An-yang patina. But to base a decision on the distinction between the patinas of An-yang and Lo-yang, two places in the same Northern-Chinese province Honan, would be very bold indeed.





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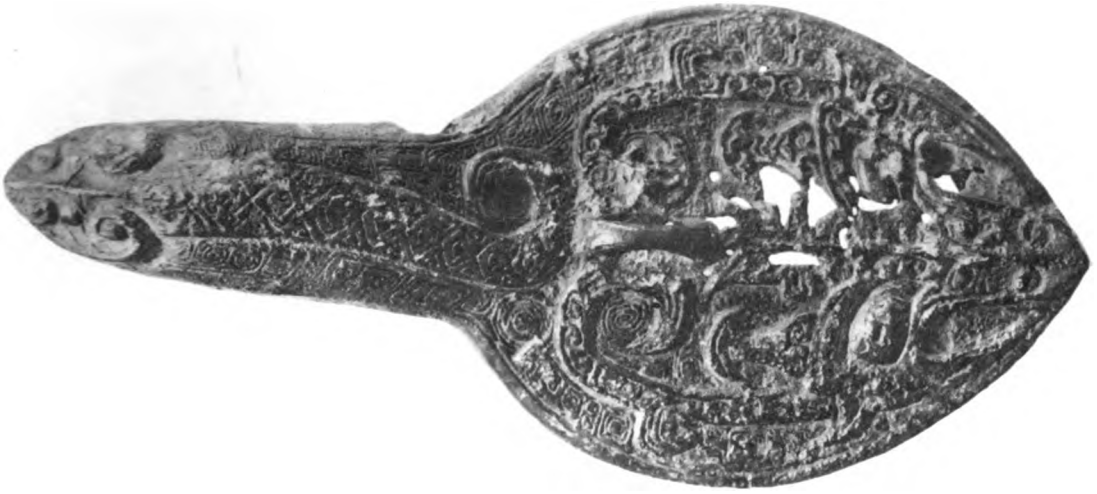


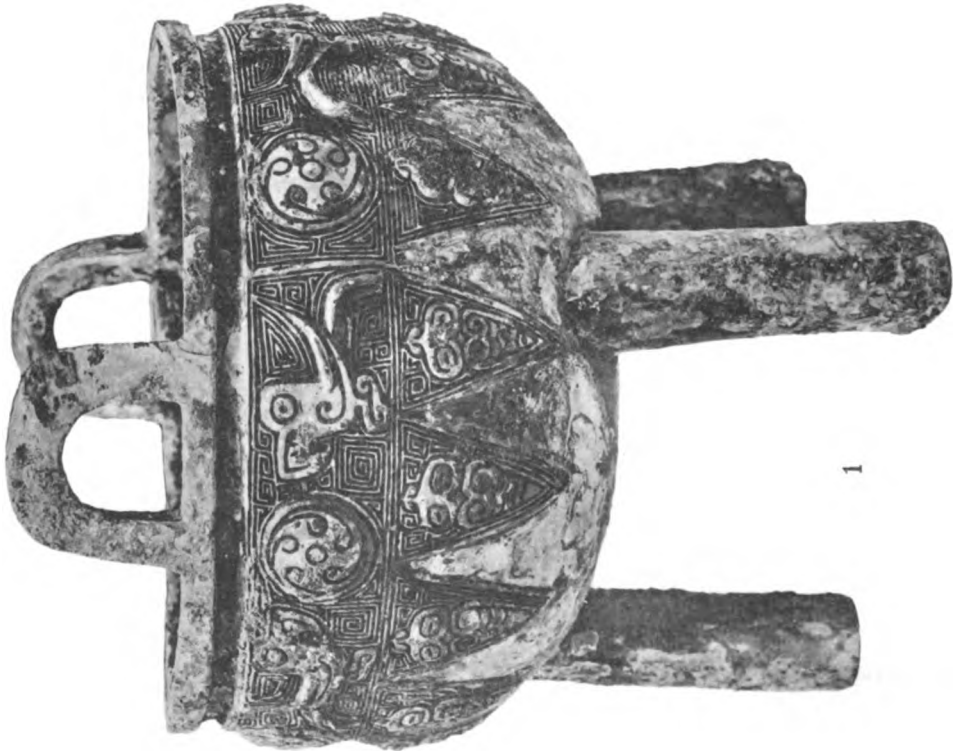
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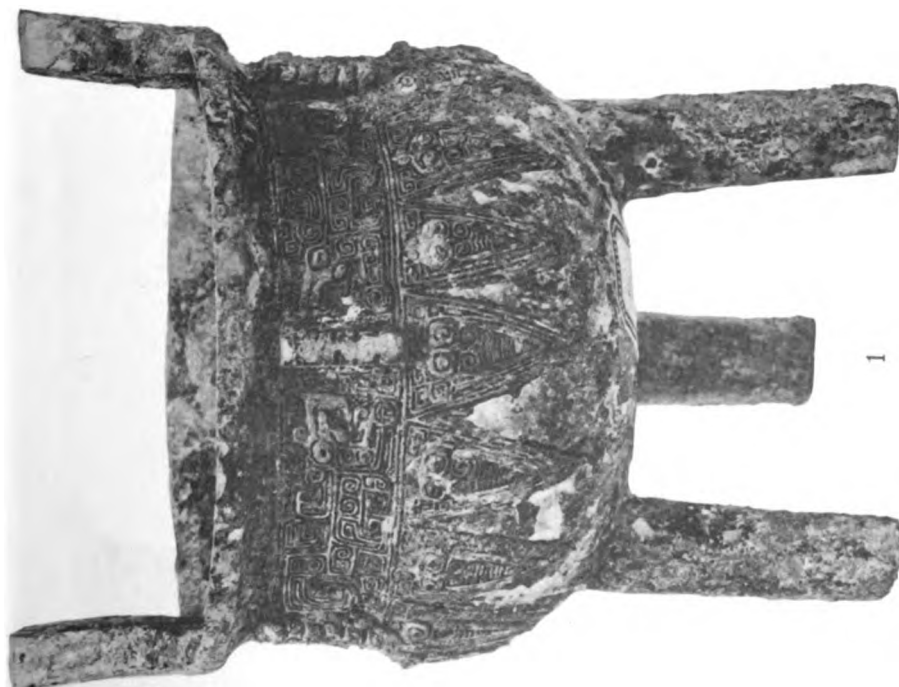


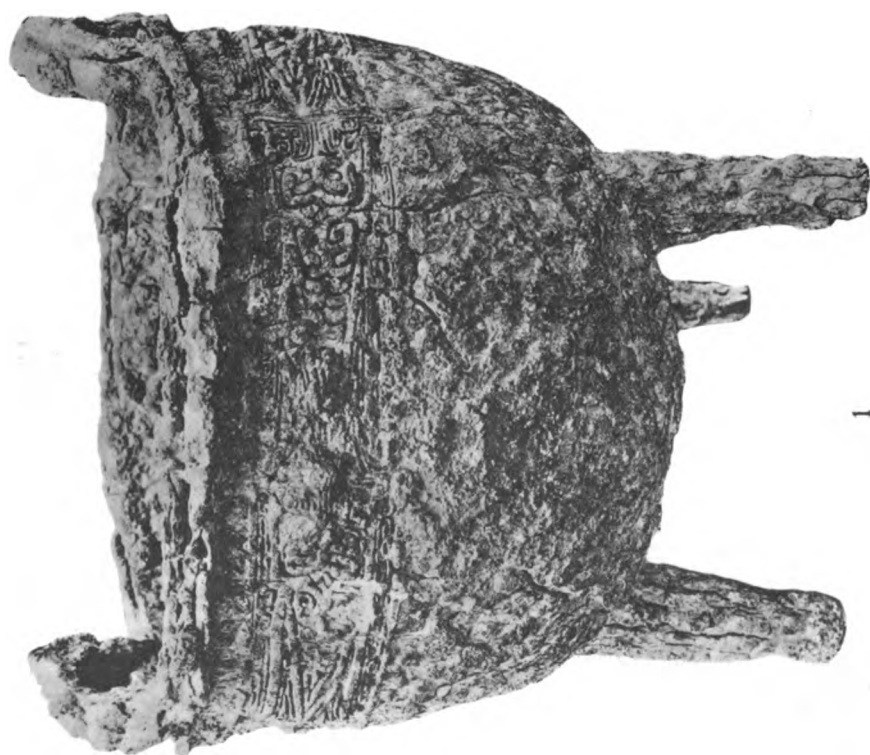


















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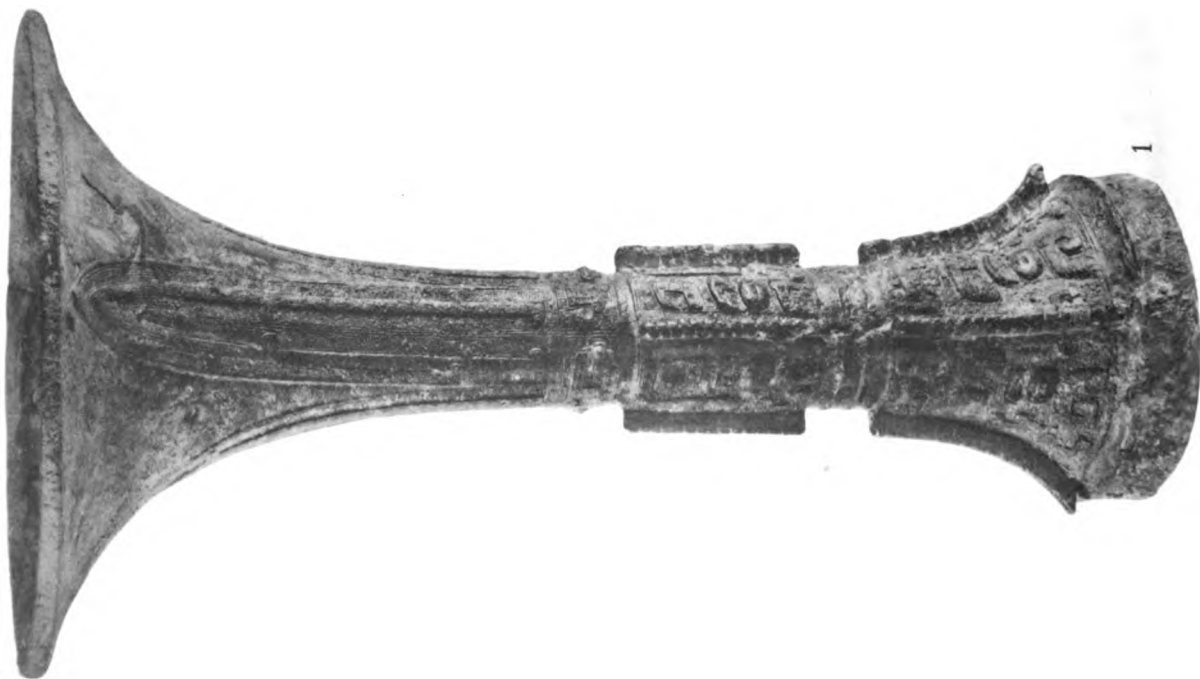
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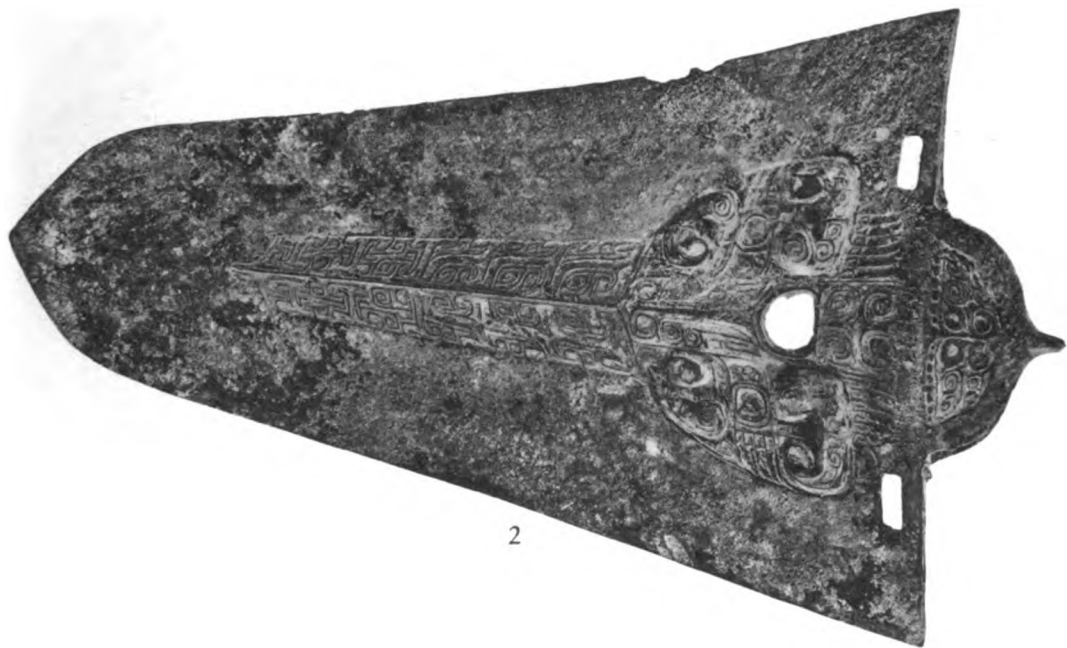
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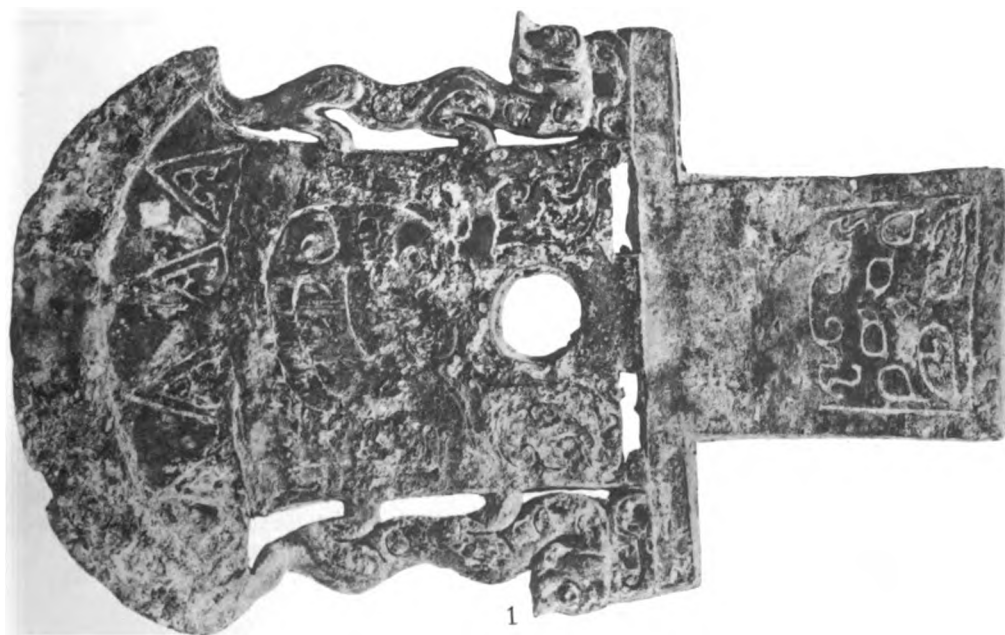
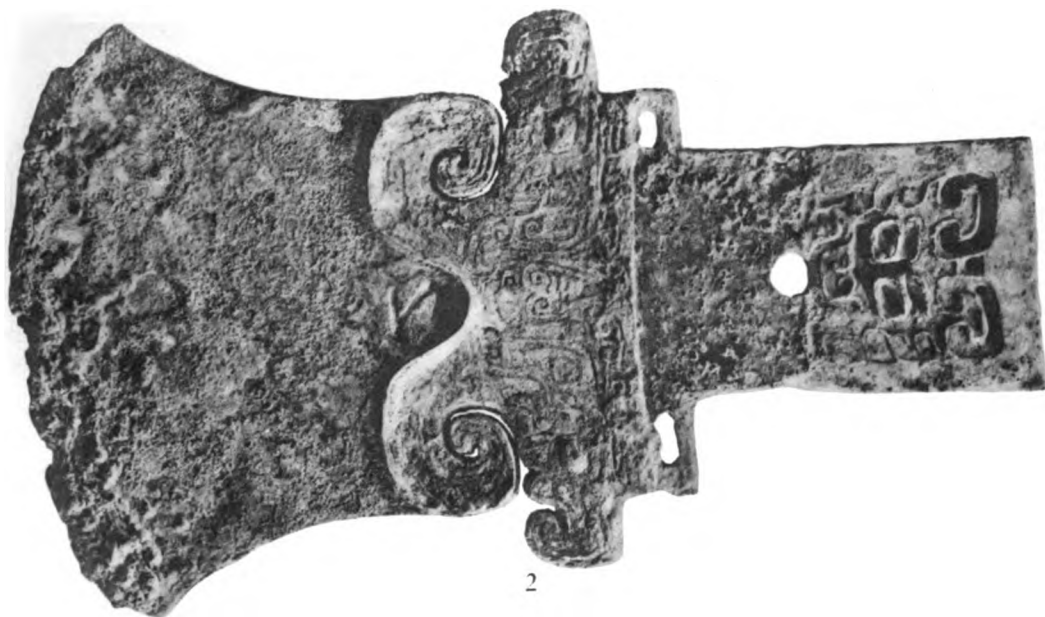


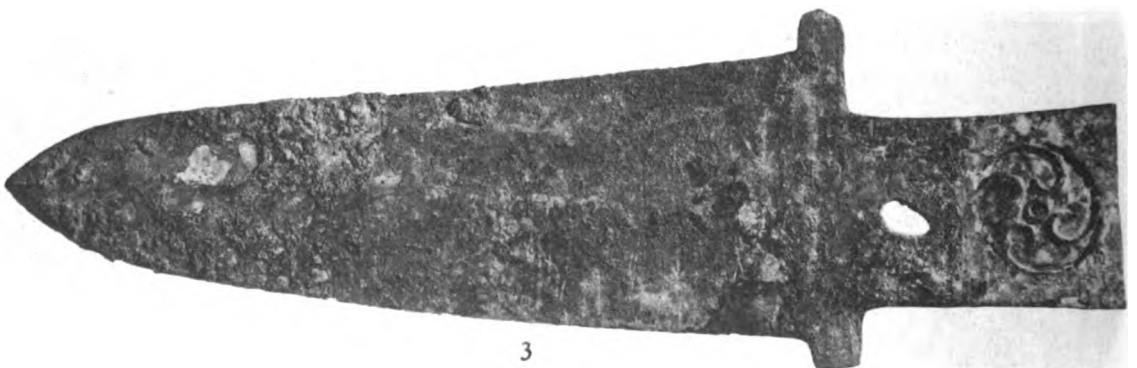
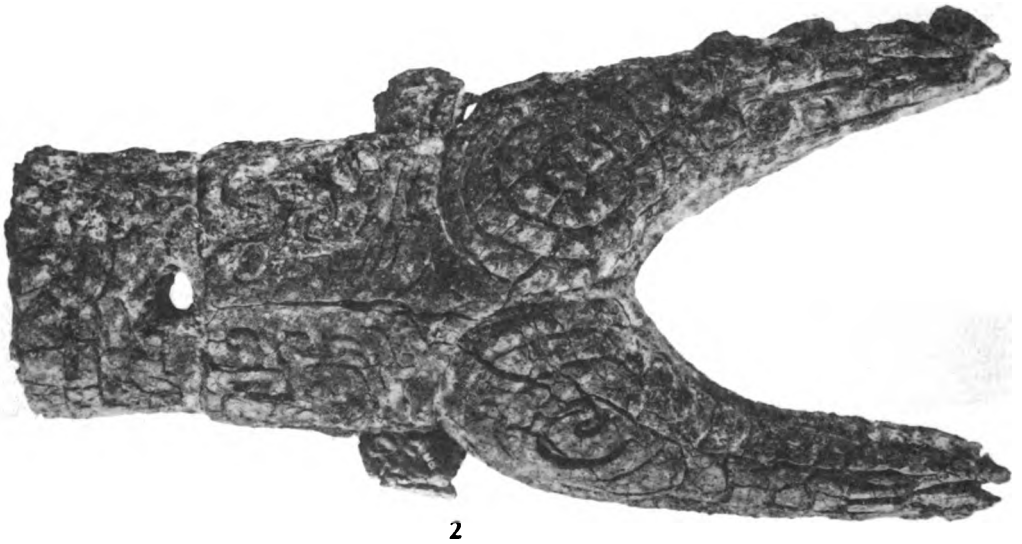
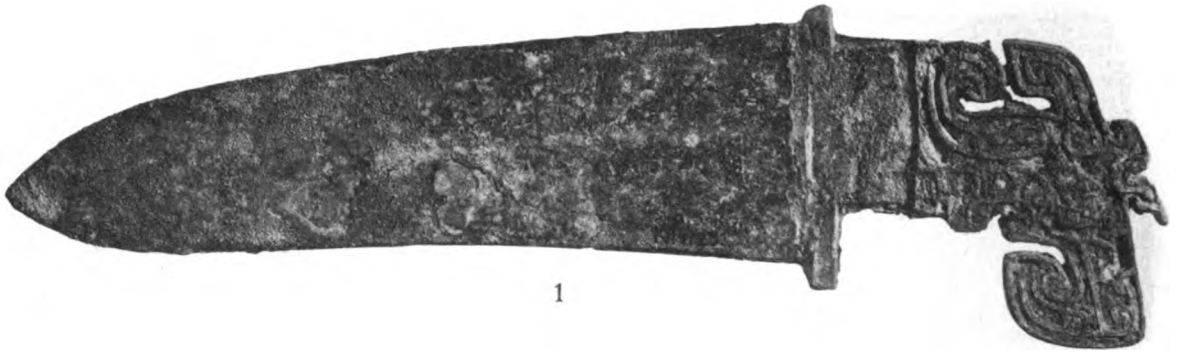
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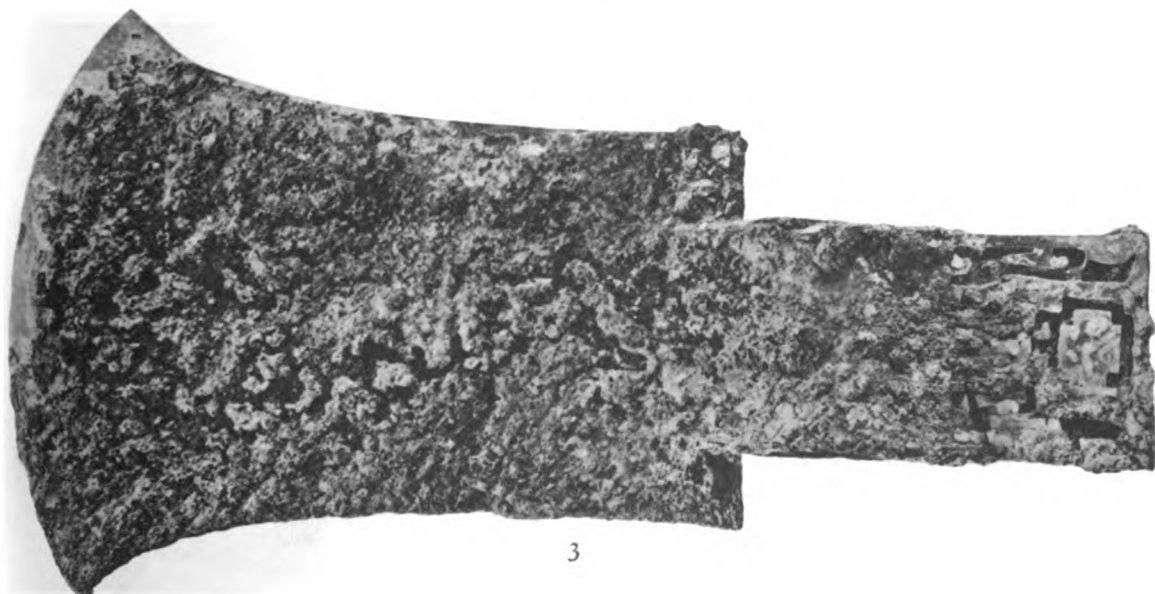




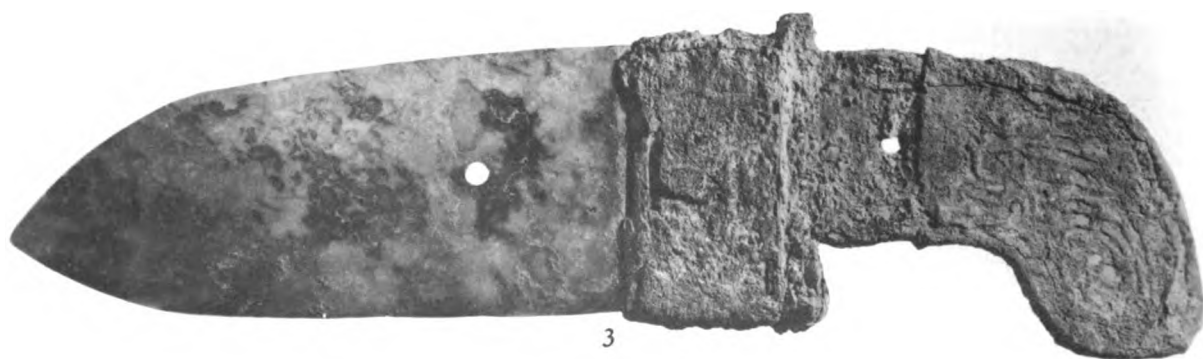
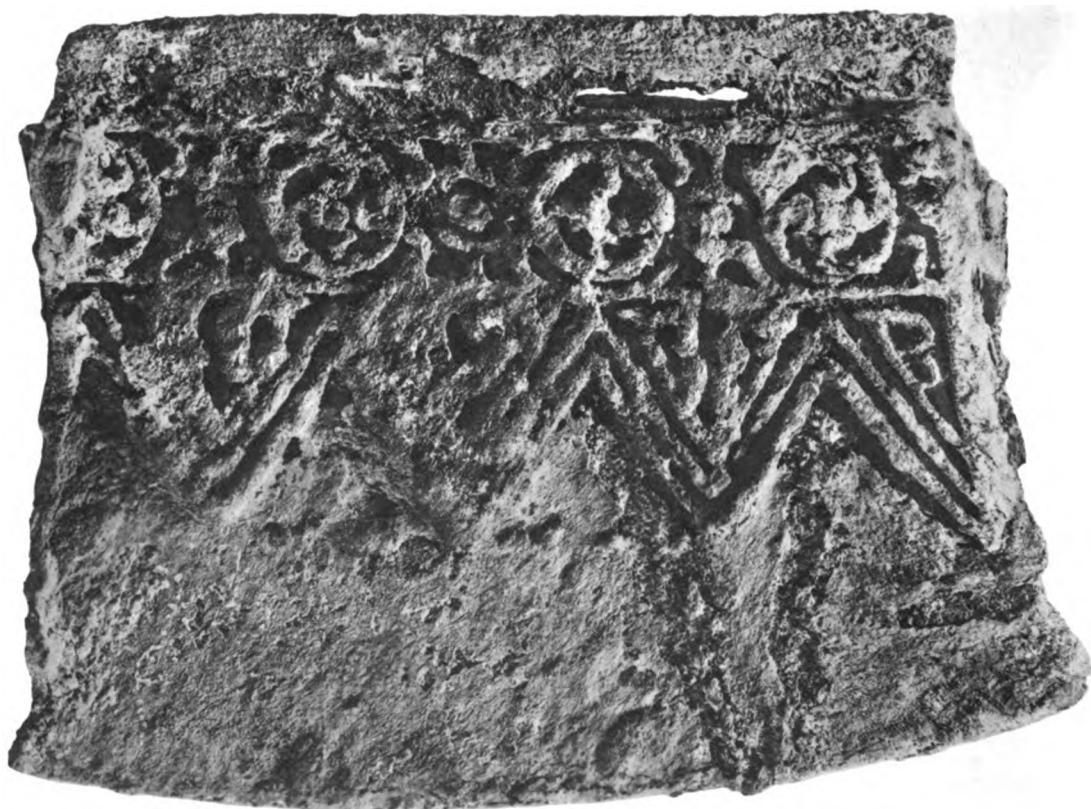
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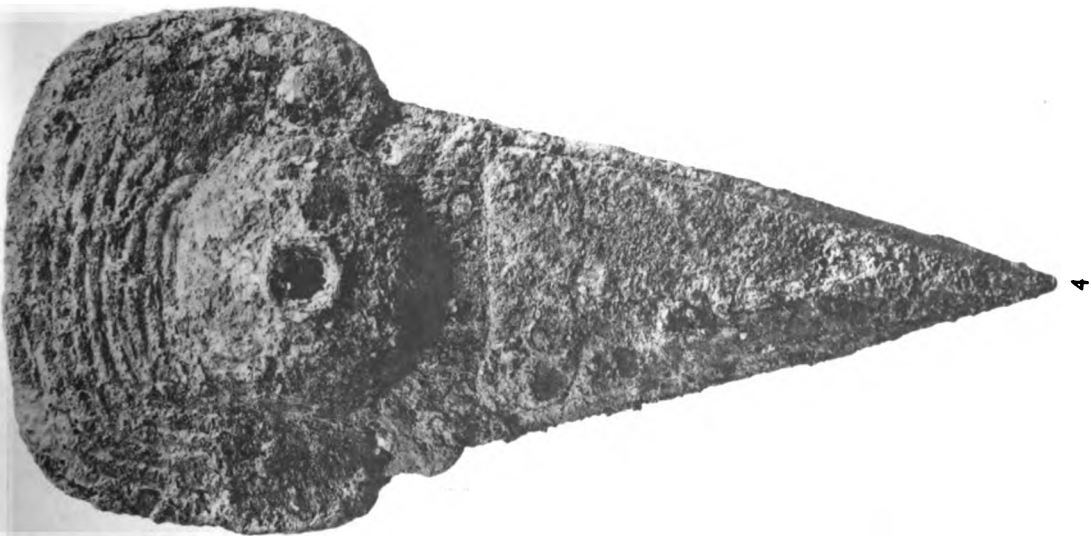
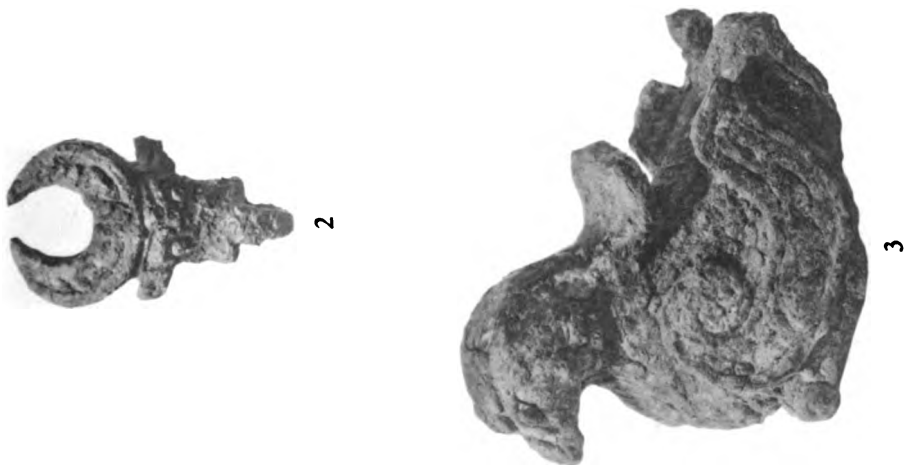
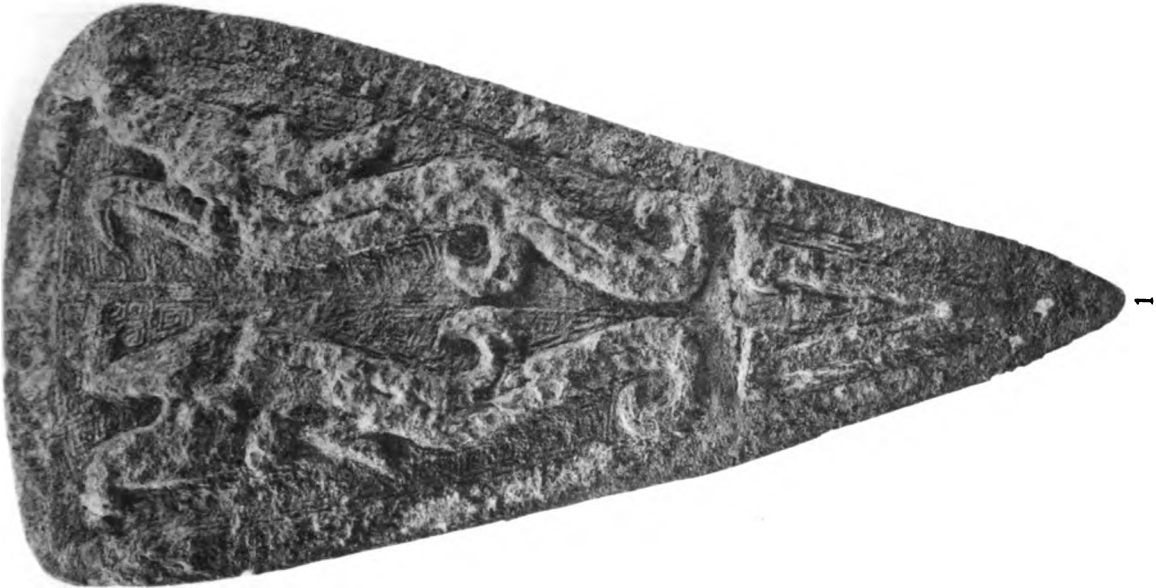


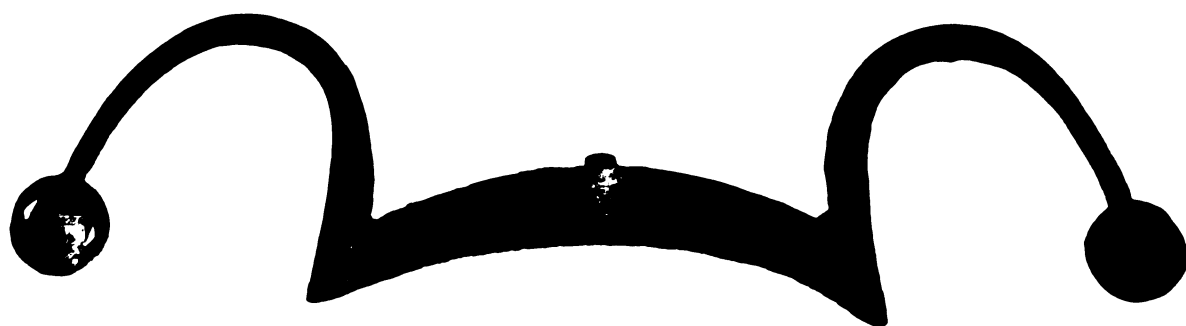
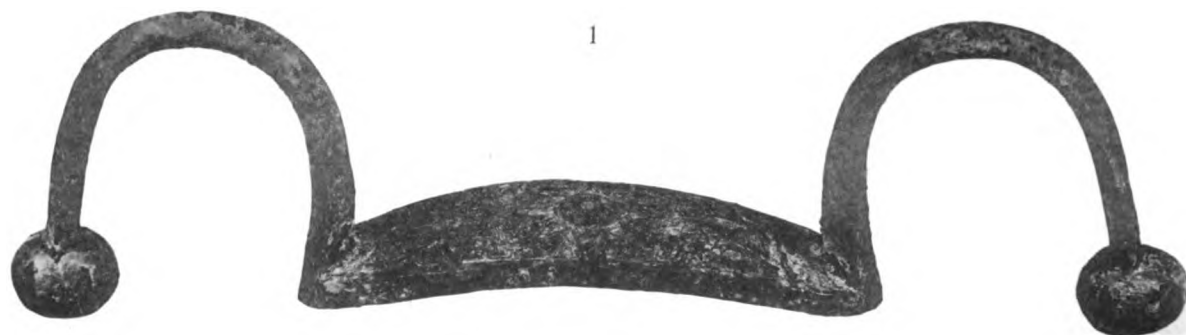
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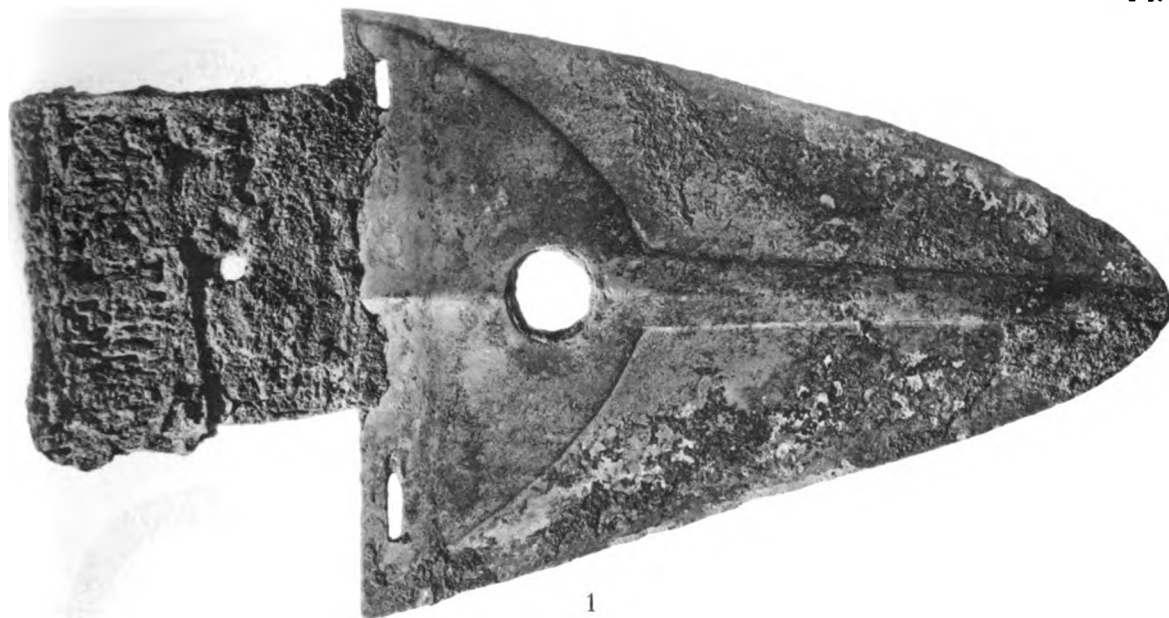


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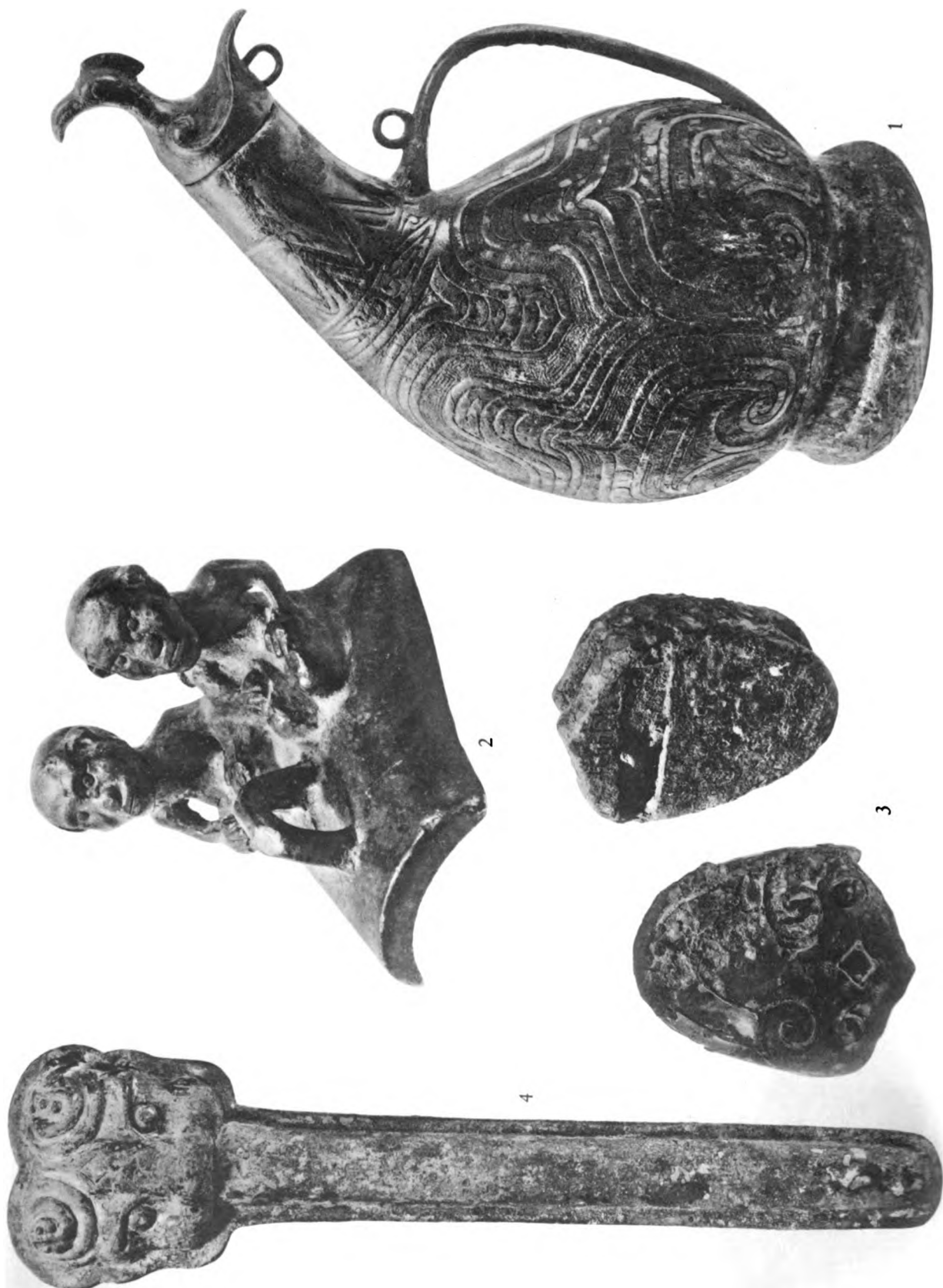


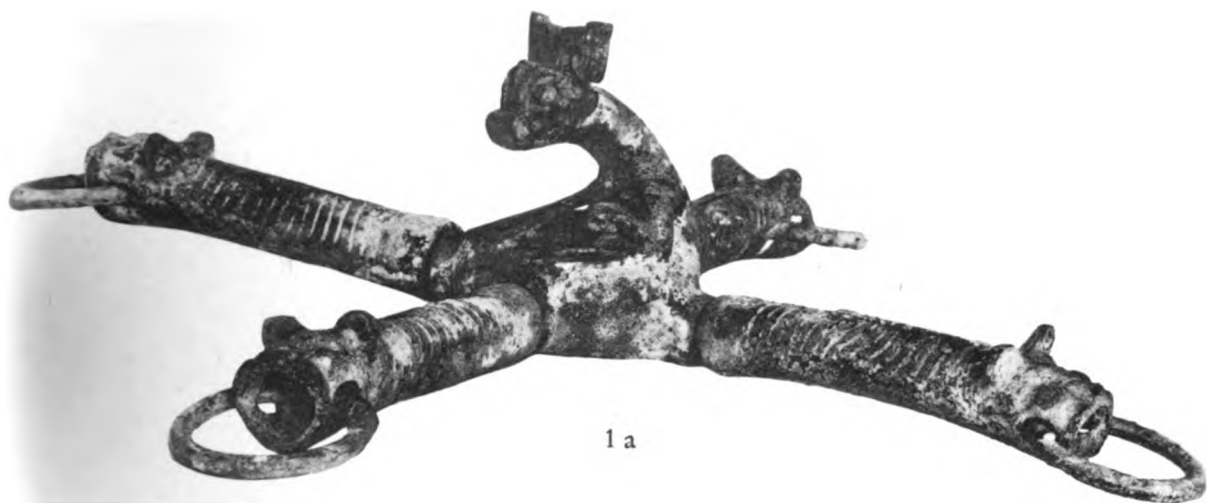
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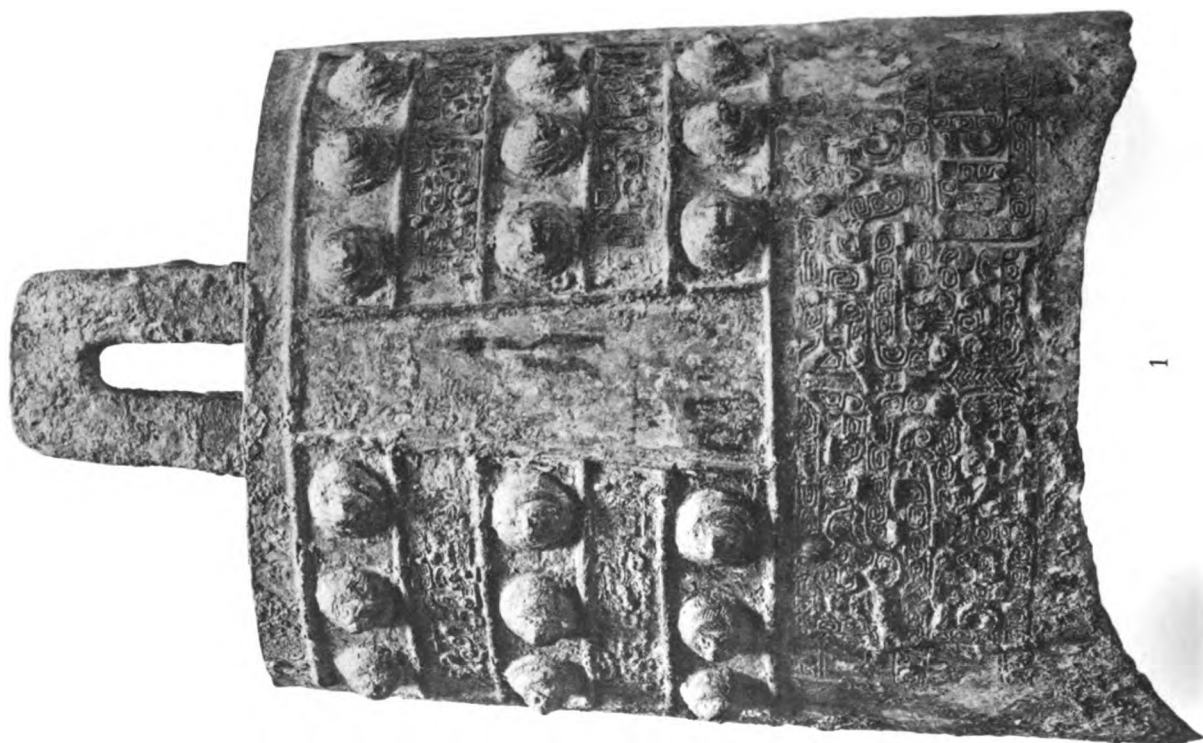




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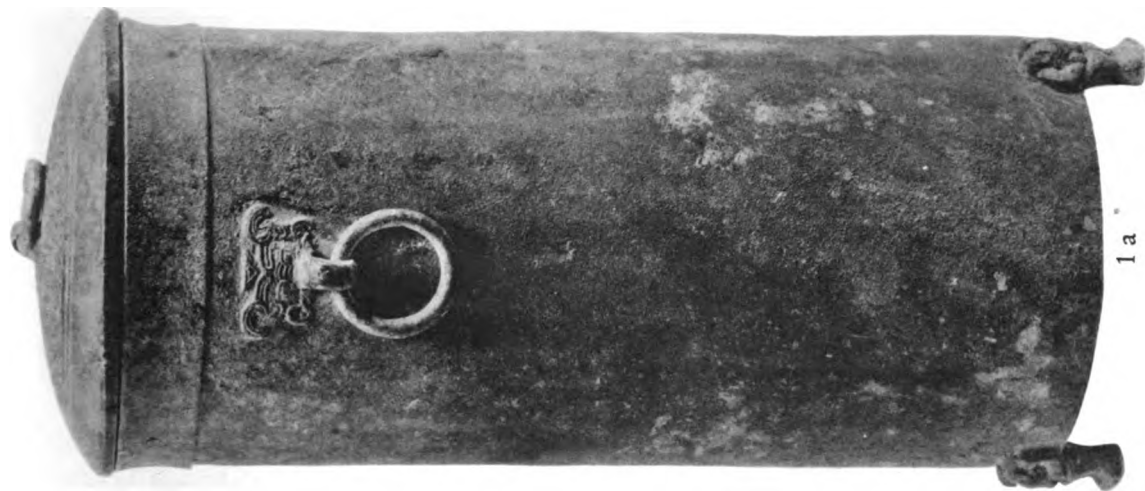
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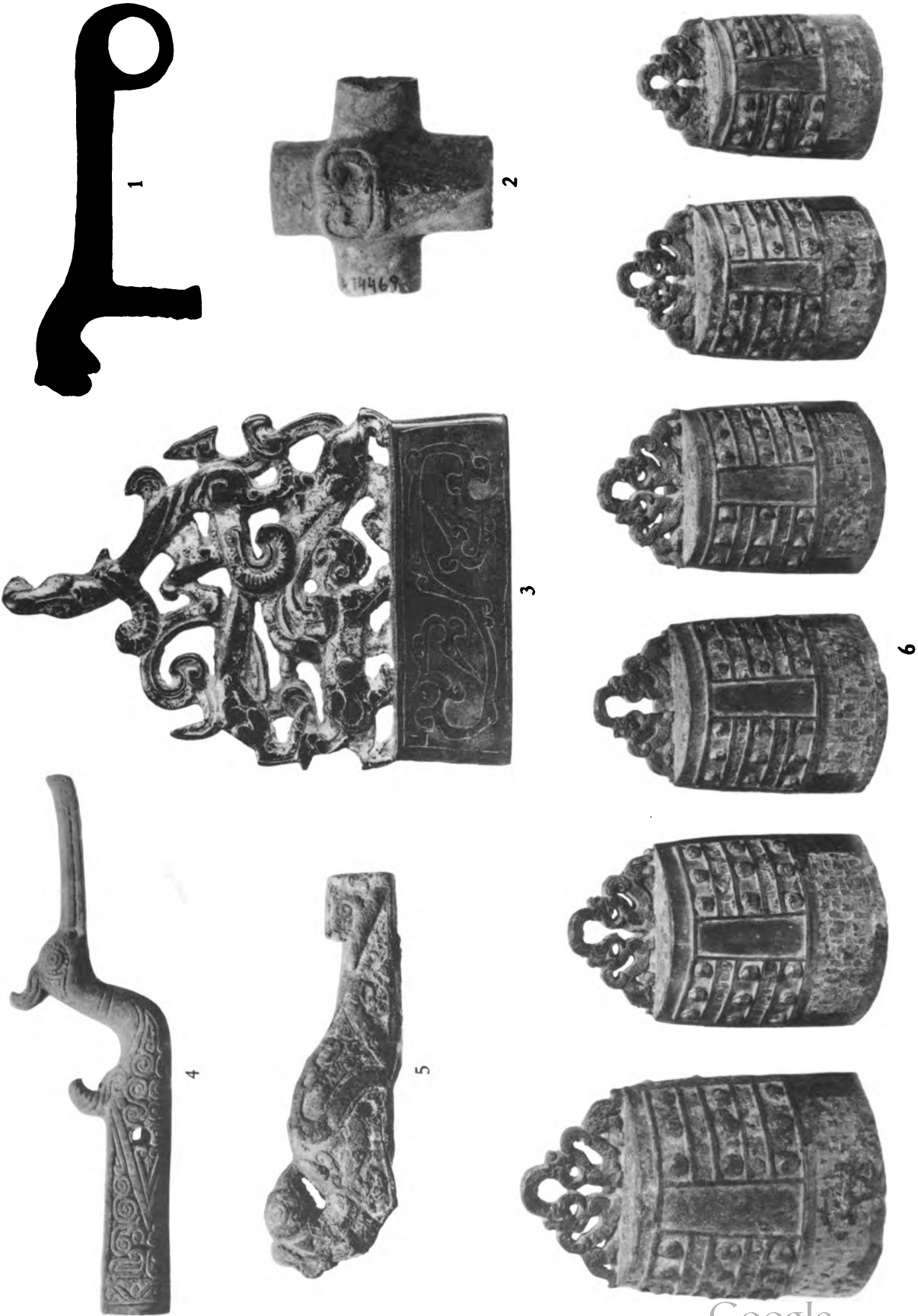


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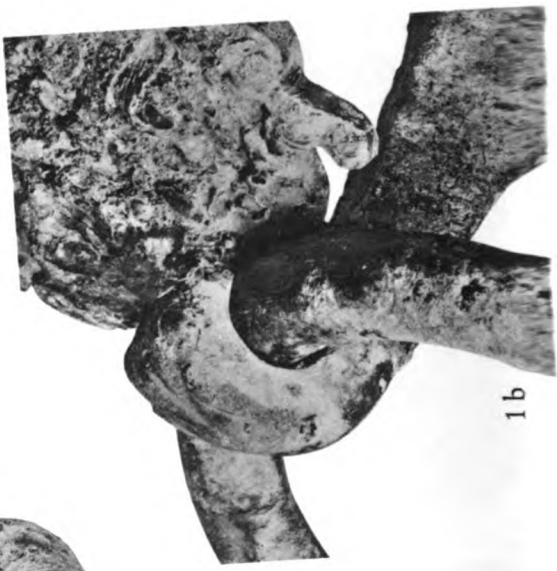
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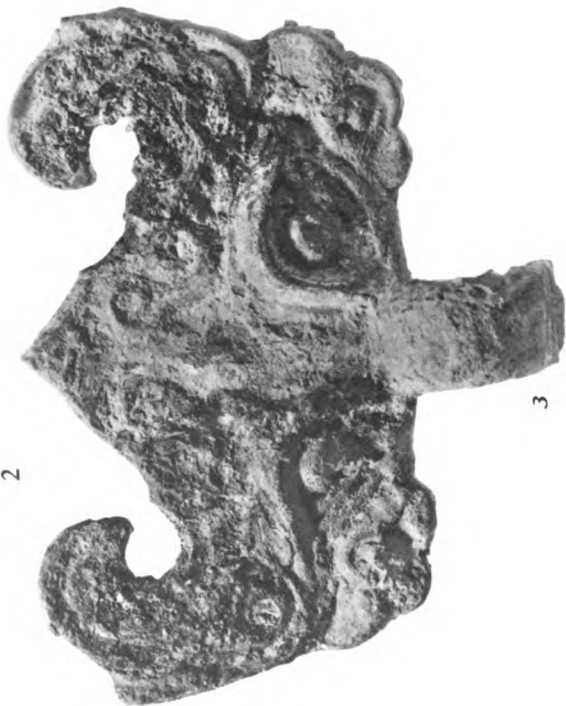
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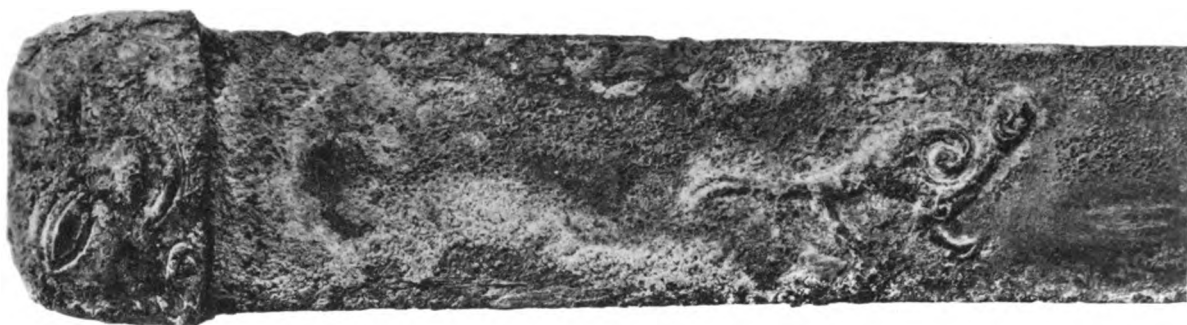


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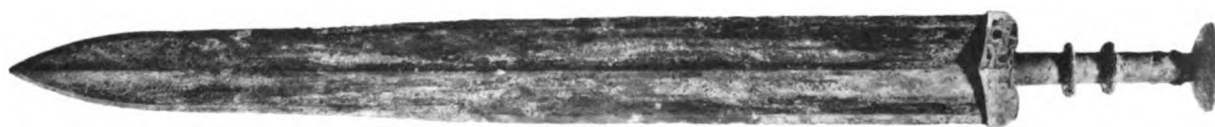




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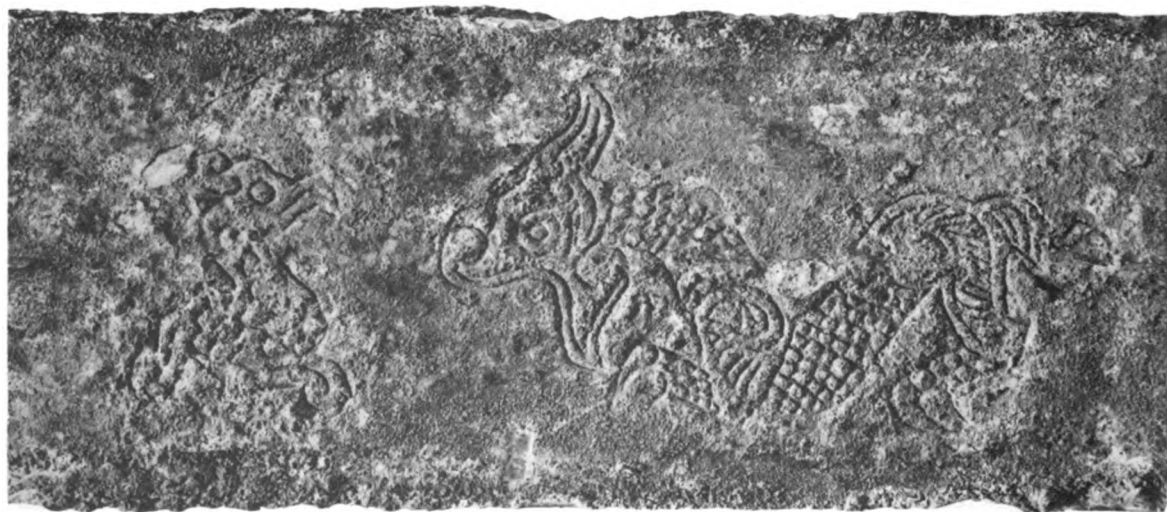


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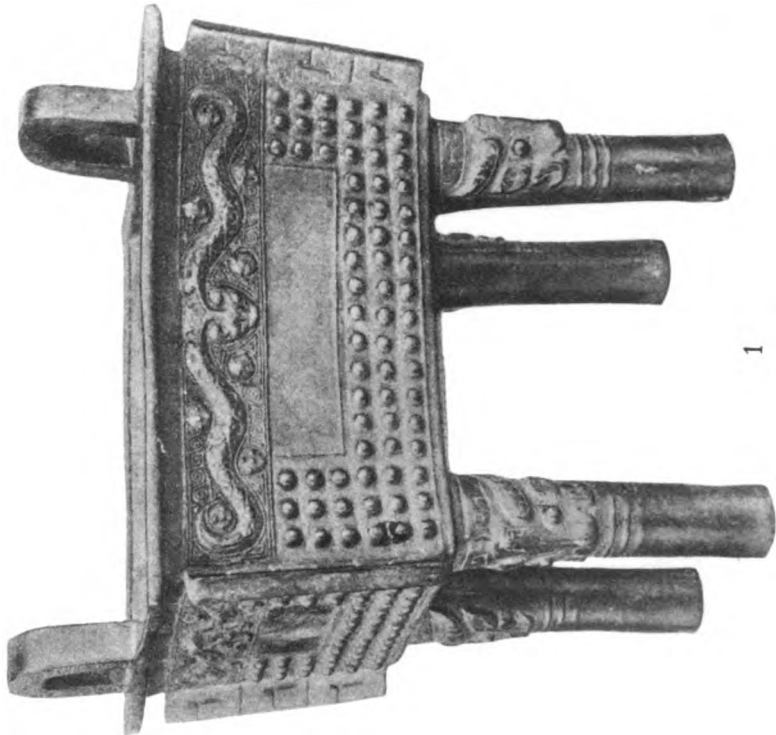


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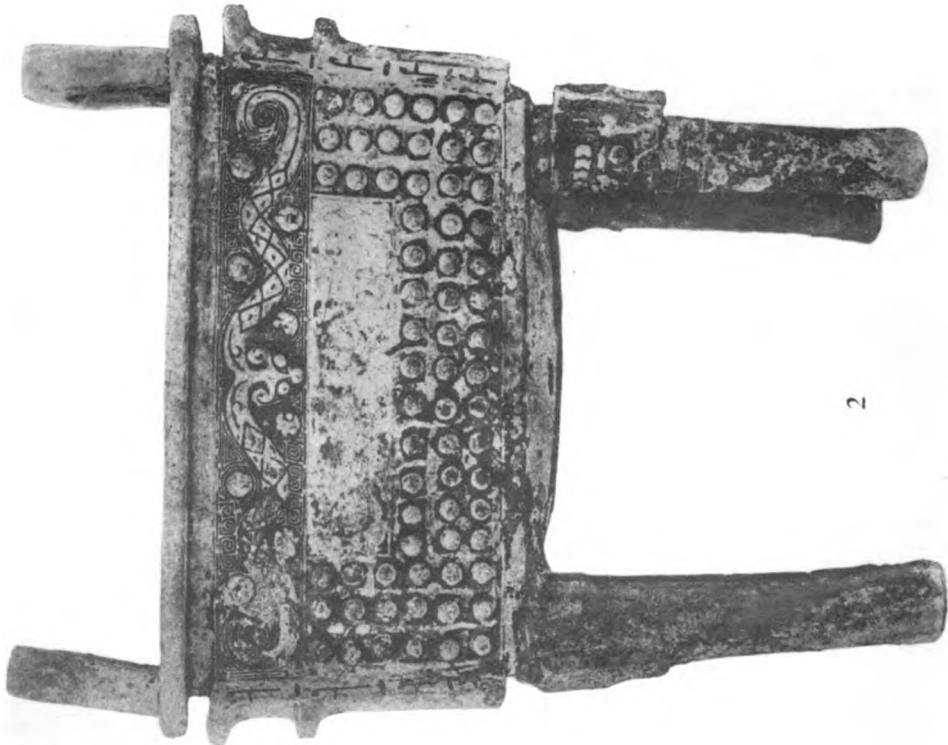
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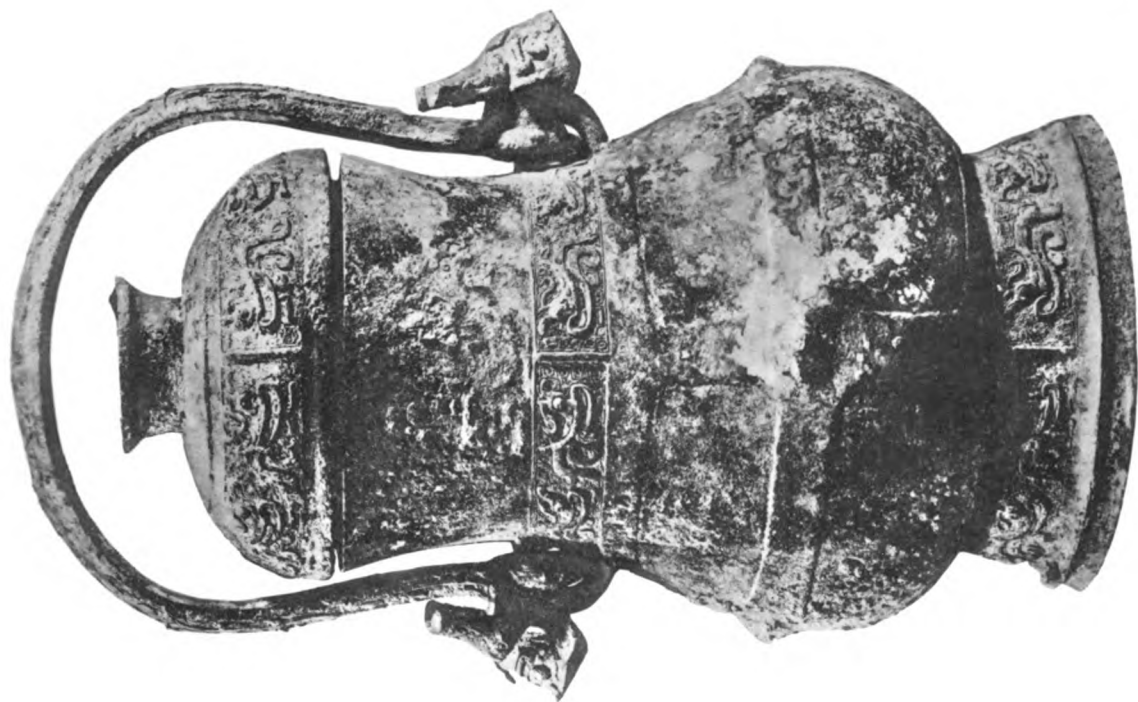




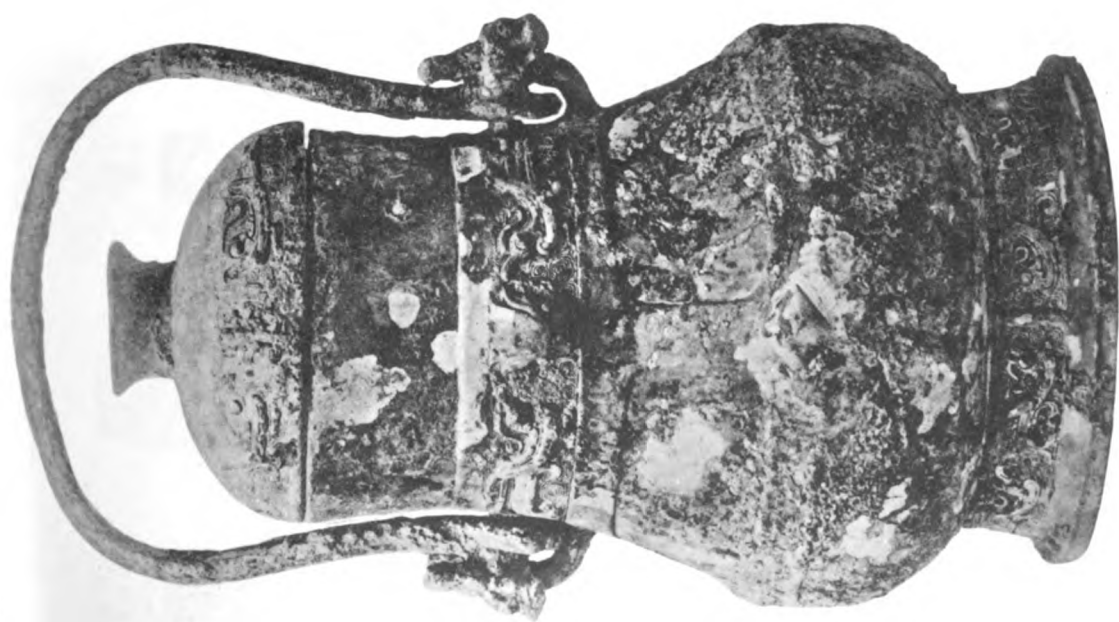
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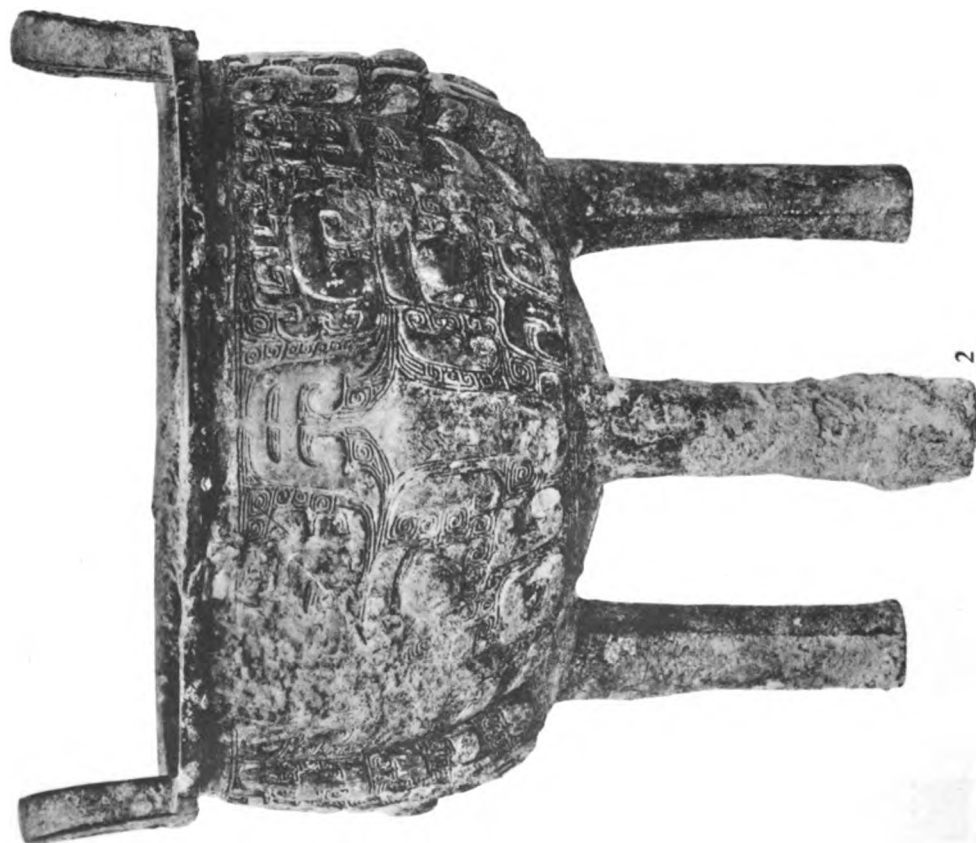
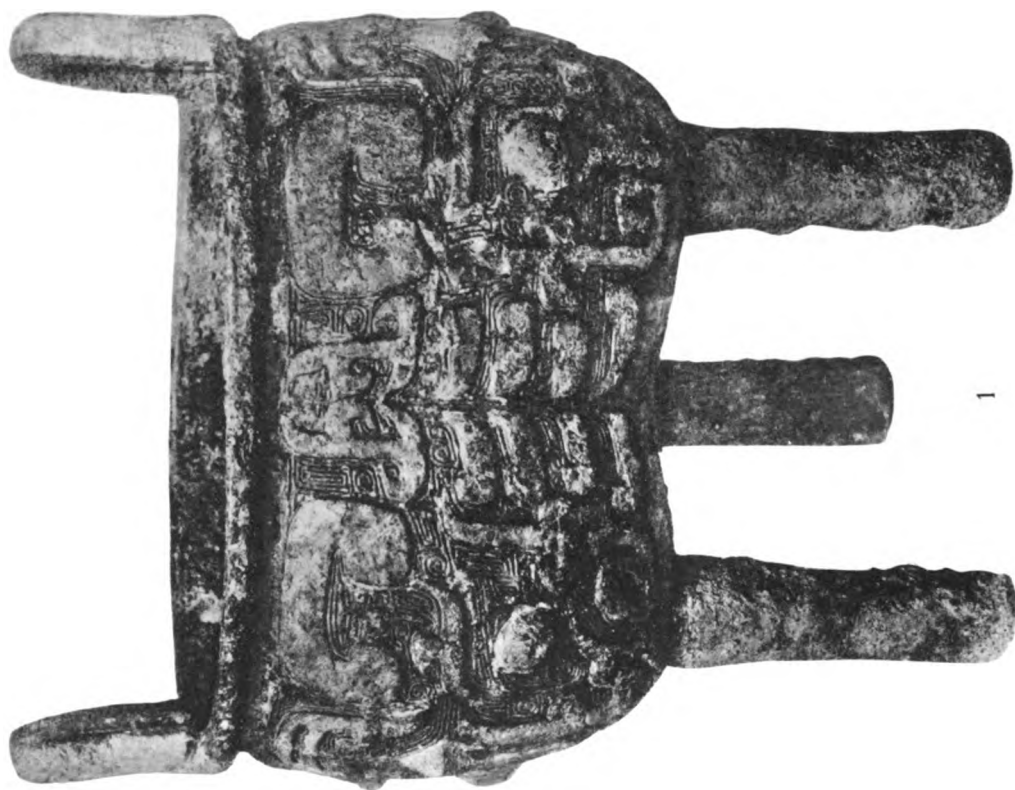
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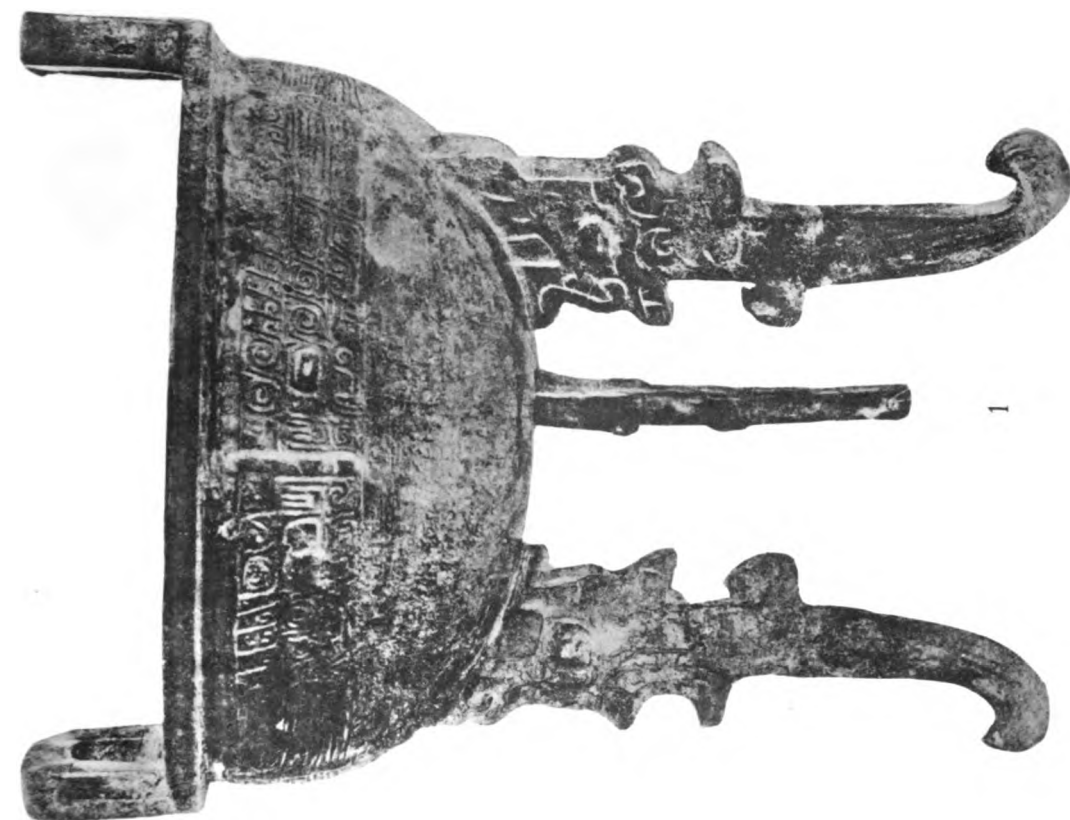
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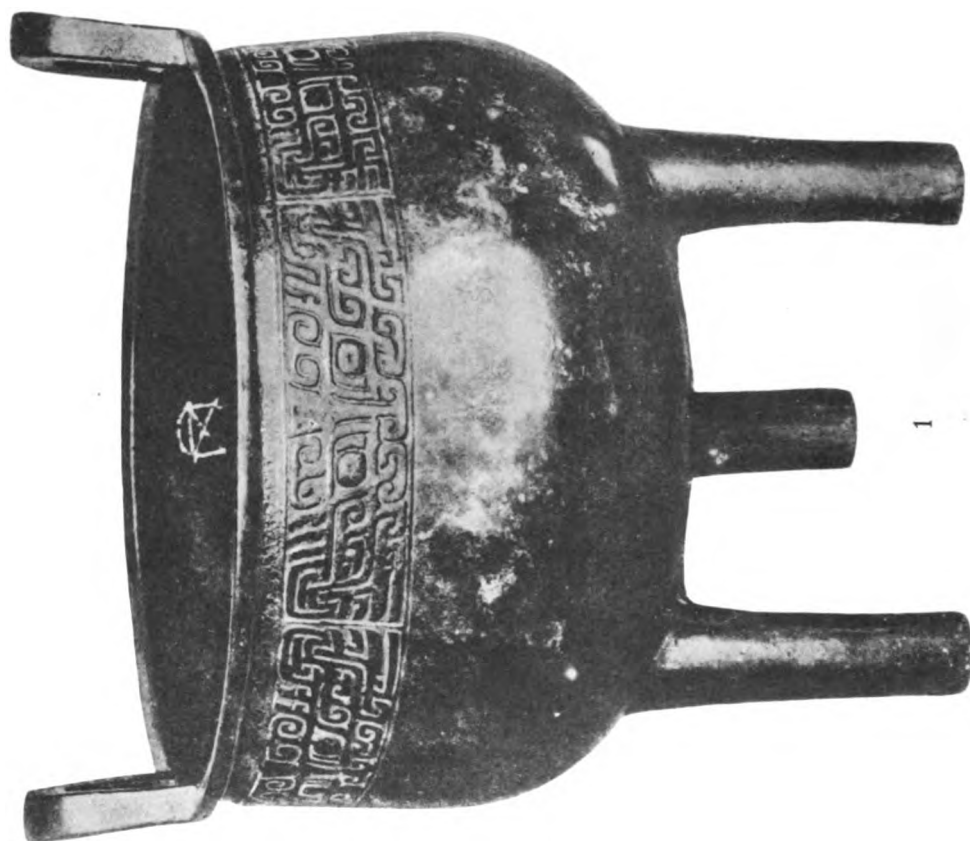




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# GLOSSES ON THE BOOK OF DOCUMENTS

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

The present work is a direct sequel to my papers *Glosses on the Kuo feng Odes*, 1942, *Glosses on the Siao ya Odes*, 1944, *Glosses on the Ta ya and Sung Odes* 1946 (BMFEA 14, 16, 18). In order to facilitate brief references, the present glosses are numbered in sequence to those earlier ones, our first gloss here being n:o 1207.

A fundamental principle in all my glosses is a constant reference to the Archaic Chinese phonology. Only with the aid of the archaic pronunciation of the words is it possible to solve the intricate problems of the so-called *kia-tsie*, phonetic loans, and the true meaning of a word can often be best decided by etymology, i. e. through determining to which word family it belongs, what is its word stem (cf. B. Karlgren, *Word Families in Chinese*, BMFEA 5, 1933). The correctness of the decisions thus reached with the aid of phonology presupposes that the phonetic system of Archaic Chinese is sufficiently known and that my reconstruction of that system (as summed up in my *Grammata Serica*, BMFEA 12, 1940) is in the main trustworthy. Some writers have called in question the reliability of this reconstruction or have simply sweepingly condemned it. Their reason for this judgment is principally this: that the language of the Odes is not homogeneous, that it is a conglomerate of a series of disparate ancient dialects, and that no reconstruction of one definite »High-Chinese» early Chou language can be effected with the aid of the two principal sources, to which I have had recourse: the rimes of the Odes and the composition of the *hiesheng* characters (those characters which have a »phonetic»).

In favour of the thesis that the language of the Odes is heterogeneous, representing several or many ancient dialects, two arguments have been advanced. One is the classical tradition that the section *Kuo feng* means »The customs (*moeurs*) of the states», and that they are popular songs culled in various feudal states and simply brought together in a collection. This thesis was long ago definitely refuted by H. Maspero, and, as we shall see presently, it is utterly untenable. Moreover, as I have proved in Gloss 757, though *feng* 'wind' can certainly mean in many contexts 'a current, a custom', its meaning in the Odes is quite different. It means 'air', melody, and the *Kuo feng* (*Pei feng*, *Cheng feng* etc.) are court poems composed in the Chou capital but *sung* with the airs of the various feudal states (»the airs of *Pei*, the airs of *Cheng*» etc.). The second argument, which has sometimes been advanced with strong emphasis and in a very

apodictic way, is that the earliest dialect dictionary, the Fang yen, reveals that many words that occur in the Odes were dialect words, not general words (what the Chinese call *t'ung hing hua*): words used only in certain provinces and quite unknown in other parts of early China. The heterogeneous nature of the Odes seems thus to be definitely proved, since part of its vocabulary can be shown to be «dialect words».

This argument only goes to prove that its propounders lack even an elementary knowledge of linguistic science, its laws and methods. Fang yen was written by Yang Hiung, who died in 18 A. D. It depicts the dialect vocabulary of middle Han time. The Odes were composed for the most part in Western Chou time (1027—771 B. C.), a few of them slightly later, but none later than the 6th century B. C. There is a gap of 600—900 years between the Odes and the Fang yen. It is quite impossible and unallowable to draw any conclusions whatever regarding the language of the Odes from a document like the Fang yen written so many centuries later than the former. If a writer in the field of Anglo-Saxon philology were to propound that a word now only occurring in certain English dialects but not in High English must *eo ipso* have been merely a dialect word and not a general word in the language 1100—1200 A. D., he would be dismissed immediately as an ignoramus. The simple fact, known to every serious linguist, is that when a word becomes obsolete and dies out in a language it does not do so suddenly and simultaneously in all the parts of the language field. When a once frequent and general word loses ground and becomes forgotten in the leading regions of the total field, it almost invariably lingers on, sometimes for many centuries, in certain parts of the field: from being a general word it becomes a dialect word, and finally, perhaps, dies out altogether. We can never conclude from the fact that a word is today limited to one dialect only that it was not a general word some centuries ago. A few examples: In Ancient Nordic there was a general and regular frequently occurring word which meant 'head': Icelandic *hauss*, Anc. Swedish and Anc. Danish *hös*. In Mediæval Nordic texts it recurs *passim* as a normal word for 'head'. Today it is entirely forgotten in most parts of Sweden and Denmark; in central and northern Sweden it is entirely unknown, and in High Swedish it is so dead that a Stockholmer has no idea what a *hös* means. But in some dialects in the south of Sweden and likewise in a few Danish dialects it still lingers; there it is still a living dialect word meaning 'head'. An English parallel to this is the word *bairn* ('child') which is now a dialect word (Scottish dialect), but which earlier was a general word (it already occurs in Beowulf in the form *bearn*). It would be easy to adduce scores of English examples of this kind. In precisely the same way a word which Yang Hiung (in Fang yen) in middle Han time describes as a dialect word occurring only in the provinces of Yen and Ts'i may very well have been a general and regular *t'ung hing* Chinese word 900—600 years earlier, and as such occur in the Odes. Fang yen can prove nothing whatever to the contrary. From being a general word in early

Chou time it has become more and more obsolete in the lapse of many centuries and lingered on in middle Han time as a dialect word only, in the regions of Yen and Ts'i (just like *hōs* and *bairn*).

If the arguments adduced for the linguistically heterogeneous nature of the Odes thus fail utterly, it does not necessarily follow that the theory as such is wrong: a true theory can sometimes be advocated with faulty arguments by ignorant writers. Let us therefore examine the case somewhat more closely.

The principal source used for the reconstruction of Archaic Chinese is the rimes of the Odes (Shī king). In my *Grammata Serica* (pp. 90—110) I have tabulated all the rimes in the Kuo feng, Siao ya, and Ta ya sections and those parts of the Sung which have a regular riming system. There are altogether 1815 characters which occur in a riming position (the words are actually more numerous, for many characters occur with two or several meanings, and sometimes with two or several readings). They stand as rimes in 4925 stanzas. These high figures are important. We have here a very extensive material indeed, and thanks to these voluminous materials it is possible to determine with a great measure of certainty which rimes are regular and which are not. In other words, it has been possible to establish the riming categories of the Odes. Such and such finals rime regularly with such and such other finals, throughout the large collection of rimes. In this way, basing myself largely on, but further developing, the results of a number of great Ts'ing scholars, the best of them being Tuan Yü-ts'ai and, particularly, Kiang Yu-kao, I have established 26 rime classes, each of them comprising a certain number of Archaic finals. The 4th class, for instance, contains the finals which, when supplied with their reconstructed sound values, were as follows: *ān : wān : an : wan : ian : iwan : ian : iwan : ǎn : wǎn : ǎn : iwan*. All these finals rime freely and regularly with each other. Similarly, the riming finals of class 21 were: *ək : wək : iək : iwan : ek : wek : iūk : əg : wəg : iək : iwan : eg : weg : iūk*.

If we now examine those rime lists more closely, we shall find that the number of cases in which a word rimes with one or several others in a regular way, i. e. within the limits of the established rime classes, is 1571. Besides these 1571 strictly regular rimes, there are, on the one hand, 92 rimes which might be called «subsidiary rimes», i. e. rimes that are not strictly regular (keeping within the established classes) but are still phonetically very understandable, a slight *licentia poetica*, the phonetic similarity being still sufficiently strong to warrant a makeshift rime.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand there are 27 frankly bad and faulty rimes, e. g. *d'ioḱ : d'ieg ; twər : g'iwed ; gl'iam : xiəng ; iəm : tsong*.

<sup>1</sup>) Such subsidiary rimes have: 1. The same final consonant, but principal vowels which do not rime in the strict system: *en* (*et*) which properly rimes in the *en* (*et*) class, in 14 cases rimes in the *ēn* (*ēt*) class; *og* and *og*, which in the strict system are not allowed to rime, form subsidiary rimes in 13 cases; *ong* (*ok*, *og*) occasionally rime with *ung* (*uk*, *ug*); *am* and *ām* with *əm*, *ad* with *əd*, *ān* with *ēn*. 2. The same principal vowel, but different final consonants, which in the strict system do not rime (however, they are still consonants that are genetically cognate: both dentals, or both gutturals), e. g. *əd* with *ər*; *ən* with *ər*; *əg* with *əng*.

These figures: 1571 strictly regular rimes (often with quite a number of words in the riming series) and 92 subsidiary rimes as against 27 faulty and irregular rimes, afford indeed absolutely crushing evidence. Such a high degree of regularity is remarkable. It reveals two important facts:

First, there cannot be any possibility whatsoever that the Kuo feng odes are popular songs culled in the various farmers' regions. The system is far too strict (the faulty rimes in the Kuo feng are indeed very few: 8 cases). No folk songs have ever such precision in their rimes. The Odes, even the Kuo feng, are all court poems composed by scholars who had a marvellous versificatory technique, quite remarkable in view of the early era of the Odes.

Secondly, the language of the Odes must on the whole be quite homogeneous. If it were heterogeneous, if the various odes represented different archaic dialects, it would be absolutely impossible to establish those 26 riming classes, so strictly adhered to (1571 and 92 cases against 27). The consistency, indeed the very severity of the riming system in the Odes at once and irrevocably proves that the language of the odes is one, i. e. the language of Chou, the Royal court.

But let us for a moment suppose, for the sake of argument, that, after all, a certain number of »dialect words», not really belonging to the court language of Chou, had crept into some odes. Would they, *eo ipso*, by their presence in the Odes, invalidate our system of phonetic reconstruction? By no means. In order to be »dangerous» they would have: 1. to stand in a riming position (since the reconstruction is solely based on the riming functions; words in the middle of the lines are not pertinent to the reconstruction question); 2. to be the only representatives of certain reconstructed finals. As a rule, however, this never happens. If we examine the said 1815 characters which occur as rimes, we find that circa 1200 (two thirds, a very high figure) are such as belong to the most common stock of the general language: m a 'horse', k u o 'state', t u n g 'east', y u 'to have', etc. The remaining circa 600 are less common, but the great majority of them are such as are, after all, attested in three or four other archaic texts independent of the Odes, and may therefore, with a large measure of certainty, be expected to have been general (t' u n g h i n g) words. But then there are, at any rate, a few riming words, which are indeed exceedingly rare, some of them even quite unknown outside the Odes. Are these not risky materials, since we have no means of judging whether they are general words or »dialect words»? No, because the reconstruction scheme is not based on them. In ode 8 we have a rare rime word 持 \*kiet / kiet / kie 'to take in the held-up flap', but the Archaic final *iet* was not reconstructed with the aid of that *hapax legomenon* but of common and general words like 節 \*tsiet / tsiet / tsie and 結 kiet / kiet / kie. In ode 28 the rime word 頌 g'âng / yâng / h a n g is a *hapax legomenon*; but the Archaic final *âng* is based on a long series of very common words, riming in the Odes, such as 剛 當 藏 喪 桑 康.

The general conclusions that can be drawn from the preceding are as follows:

1. The language of the Odes is on the whole quite homogeneous (the court language of Chou) and can safely be used as a basis for the reconstruction of its Archaic phonology. 2. The rimes of the Odes are sufficiently numerous and sufficiently strict in their rules to allow of a systematic reconstruction. 3. The Archaic phonology thus reconstructed (as recorded in dictionary form in *Grammata Serica*) can safely be used for philological purposes, in the interpretation of difficult texts.

If we now revert to the present glosses on the Book of Documents, we should add a few remarks.

The Shu king (Shang shu) is a collection of exceedingly difficult and, largely, very obscure texts, and it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible definitely to determine its correct form and interpretation. In the cases in which we happen to know (through ancient quotations) the so-called Kin-wen version, we frequently find that it deviates badly from the traditional Ku-wen version. This makes it tempting to conclude that in the numerous cases, known only in the Ku-wen version, which are obscure and difficult to construe, the text is too badly corrupted to admit of a successful analysis. But in my opinion this should not deter us from endeavouring to unravel as much of its secrets as is possible by the aid of the materials available. If we can arrive at a fairly reasonable interpretation of a difficult Ku-wen passage, there is always a good chance that the text is not spoiled but is simply difficult because of its high age and archaic language.

Owing to the great difficulties of most of the Shu chapters, the divergences among the Chinese scholars as to the true division of the lines and meanings of the phrases have been very considerable. The Shu king literature is immense, and it would be impossible to adduce, in every case, all the proposals for interpretation that have been advanced. That would have required several stout volumes. It has been necessary here to select and submit to the student the opinions of a limited number of leading scholars. The authorities most frequently referred to are the following:

Ancient and mediaeval authors:

Cheng Hsüan (2nd c. A. D.); the glosses of this author that are known today are all recorded, for instance, in the works of Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen below. A few glosses of Cheng's teacher Ma Jung are likewise known.

Pseudo-K'ung An-kuo (3rd c. A. D.; his name here always abbreviated into: PK'ung), in the main embodying the teachings of Wang Su. His glosses are to be found in the *Shi san king chu su*.

K'ung Ying-ta (beginning of the 7th c. A. D.), in *Shi san king chu su*.

Ts'ai Ch'en (beginning of the 13th c. A. D.) the summarizer of the Sung school interpretations. In: *Shu king tsi chuan*.

Ts'ing and later scholars:

Kiang Sheng, in: *Shu tsi chu yin su* (in: *Huang Ts'ing king kie*).

Sun Sing-yen, in: Shang shu kin ku wen chu su (*ibid.*).

Liu Feng-lu (largely incorporating the ideas of Chuang Shu-tsu) in: Shang shu kin ku wen tsi kie (in: Huang Ts'ing king kie sü pien).

Wang Yin-chī, in: King yi shu wen (in: Huang Ts'ing king kie).

Ch'en K'iao-tsung, in: Kin wen Shang shu king shuo k'ao (in: Huang Ts'ing king kie sü pien).

Yü Yüe, in: K'ün king p'ing yi (*ibid.*).

Sun Yi-jiang, in: Shang shu p'ien chī.

Chang Ping-lin, in: Ku wen Shang shu shī yi.

Wang Sien-k'ien, in: Shang shu K'ung chuan ts'an cheng.

Yü Sing-wu, in: Shuang kien yi Shang shu sin cheng.

More occasional references are made to many more scholars, for instance, Su Shī, Lin Chī-k'ī, Lü Tsu-k'ien, Chu Hi (all Sung), Wu Ch'eng (early Yüan), Huei Tung, Wang Ming-sheng, Tuan Yü-ts'ai, K'ung Kuang-sen, Chu Tsün-sheng, Yüan Yüan, P'i Si-juei (all Ts'ing), Wang Kuo-wei, Ku Kie-kang.

#### Yao tien (including the Shun tien of the orthodox version).

##### 1207. Yü e j o k i k u t i Y a o y ü e F a n g h ü n 1.

For y ü e 2 there is the variant 3 in quotation by Li Shan: comm. on Wsüan. In Wang Yi's Lu ling kuang tien fu we find 4, which suggests that Wang had a Shu version with 3.

Y ü e j o :

A. Y ü e, written 2 or 3 or 5 (all \**giwʰt/jiwt*/y ü e) is a common initial particle, untranslatable; very common in the Shī etc. J o 6 is similarly often a mere initial particle, cf. Shu: Kün Shī 7, where j o does not mean 'if', since it is equal to Shu: Ta kao 8, both j o and y ü e being mere particles equal to w e i 9 (for more ex. see Wang Yin-chī, King chuan shī ts'ī). In our phr. above, y ü e - j o is a binominal initial particle, as already recognized by Ts'ai Ch'en (= 10), though he tries to invest it with a fuller sense akin to that of y ü e 2 'to speak': Y ü e - j o = 11 »the saying is like this«, i. e. »namely, *enim*«. This is vetoed by the variants 3 and 5 of the particle, and it cannot be carried through in Shu: Shao kao: y ü e j o l a i s a n y ü e 12, where y ü e j o is obviously an empty particle (cf. Gl. 1715). — B. Various ancient comm. took j o 6 to be a verb, see below. Yang Hiung had already understood it as a verb, since in his Ki Ts'in mei sin (in Wsüan) he says j o k u c h ê c h ' e n g Y a o S h u n 13 »Among those who accorded with antiquity, one praises Yao and Shun«, evidently alluding to our Shu passage. — C. Cuvreur takes both y ü e j o in their modern sense: »I say, if« we examine etc.). This disregards the ancient variants of y ü e. — A is confirmed by conclusive text. par.

The whole sentence:

A. The oldest interpr. may be gleaned from Yi Chou shu: Wu mu: Y ü e j o k i k u, y ü e c h a o t ' i e n c h i t a o 14, which can only mean: »Examining into antiquity (we find that) the way of Bright Heaven . . . .«. It is quite evident that k i 15 here must have its common meaning of 'to examine'. The phr. is modelled after our famous Shu passage above, and it is clear that the Chou time author punctuated after k u : y ü e j o k i k u, t i Y a o y ü e F a n g - h ü n and interpreted: »Examining into antiquity (we

find that) the emperor Yao was called Fang-hün». (So also Legge). Cf. Shu: T'ai shī (ap. Han shu: P'ing Tang chuan): Cheng ki ku, kien kung 16. Here the first phr. ends by ki ku, just as in our yüe jo ki ku, ti Yao yüe above. — B. Various Han and later authors punctuated after Yao: Yüe jo ki ku ti Yao, Yüe Fang-hün. This must already have been the opinion of Pan Ku, for in Po hu t'ung: Sheng jen he cites the quite analogous phr. in Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yüe jo ki ku Kao Yao yüe Yün ti etc. 17), in a way which shows that he punctuated: yüe jo ki ku Kao Yao, yüe Yün ti: »Examining into the ancient Kao Yao (we find that) . . .», and he must necessarily have understood our Yao tien phr. above in the same way. For the rest, the interp. vary. — α. Cheng Hün: jo 6 = 18 'to accord with, to be concordant, obedient' (common); ki 15 = 19 'to accord with': ku 20 = 21 'Heaven'. Thus: »The emperor Yao who was jo concordant (obedient) and ki ku agreed with (»the ancient one» =) Heaven, was called Fang-hün». For support have been adduced: Li: Ju hing 22, on which Cheng Hün says ki 15 = 23: »The scholar has present men with whom he associates, and ancient men with whom he accords»; but ki 15 here may equally well be taken in its ordinary sense: »and ancient men with whom he studies»; Hanfei: Chu tao 24 — here ki is sure enough combined with t'ung 19, but it still means 'to examine': »We keep on our course and scrutinize and accord with it»; Chou li: Siao tsai: »He regulates the conscriptions for war and hunts 25 according to registers and (investigations =) calculations» — though Cheng Chung here says ki means 26 'counting' or 23 'bringing together', i. e. »summing up», it fundamentally means 'investigation', and Cheng Chung's ho 23 has here not the sense of 'to accord with'; Chuang: Siao yao yu 27 — here Lu Tê-ming reads ki and Si-ma Piao says ki = 28 »The great flow (comes to, reaches:) joins Heaven», but Sü and Li read k'i as in k'i shou 29: »The great flow knocks against Heaven», which is certainly preferable. Thus Cheng Hün's gloss ki 15 = t'ung 19 lacks true support; ki never really means 'to accord with'. Ku 20 = 21 'Heaven' refers to Yi Chou shu: Chou chu 30. But this is exceedingly scholastic. — β. PK'ung: jo 6 = 18 (with Cheng above), ki 15 = 31 'to examine' (common), paraphrasing: 32 »The one who could accord with and scrutinize the ancient (norms) and practise them was the emperor Yao». — γ. Ts'ai Ch'en simplifies the interpr. by taking ku as an attribute to ti Yao: »Investigating the ancient emperor Yao». — A is the earliest interpr. and supported by a good Shu par.

Fang-hün:

A. PK'ung reads \*piwang/piwang/fang in rising tone: »(The one who) imitates the merits (of the ancestors)». — B. Cheng Hün and Wang Su read \*piwang in falling tone: »(The one who) spread everywhere his merits». — It is really futile to try to choose between these attempts at the etymology of the name.

1208. K'in ming wen sian an 33.

For k'in 'respectful', ming 'enlightened', wen 'accomplished' there are various lengthy abstract definitions in the early comm., not worth while reproducing here.

1 曰若稽古帝堯曰放勳 2 曰 3 粵 4 粵若稽古帝漢祖宗 5 越 6 若 7 若天棗忱 8 越天棗忱 9 惟 10 發語辭 11 其說如此也 12 越若來三月 13 若古者稱堯舜 14 曰若稽古曰昭天之道 15 稽 16 正稽古建功 17 曰若稽古舉陶曰允迪 18 順 19 同 20 古 21 天 22 儒有今人與居古人與稽 23 合 24 保吾所以往而稽同之 25 以簡稽 26 計 27 大浸稽天 28 至 29 稽首 30 天為古 31 考 32 能順考古道而行之者帝堯 33 欽明文思安安 34 思 35 道德純備 36

A. PK'ung (Ku-wen) read as above: wen sī a n a n. Shīwen reads 34 \*sīag/si/sī in falling tone, or in the ordinary way, in even tone. Cheng Hūan took it in its ordinary sense of 'to think', thus: 'thoughtful'. Ma Jung on the other hand says 35 'the virtue being pure and complete is called sī'. This is based on Yi Chou shu: Shī fa 36. Some Ts'ing scholars imagine that Ma took 34 \*sīag to be loan char. for 37 \*sək 'sincere' of B below, but this is not convincing. His definition, that of Yi Chou shu, may just as well be a free paraphrase of sī 34: 'thoughtful = wise, sage'. There is nothing to prove that the Chou shu definition refers to our Shu passage. PK'ung took k'in ming wen sī as subject and a n a n as verb: 'By his reverence etc. he tranquillized (the world)'. Ts'ai Ch'en more naturally takes a n a n as an adjective coördinated with the preceding: 'He was respectful, enlightened, accomplished, thoughtful and peaceful'. — B. Another version (Kin-wen) ap. Shang shu k'ao ling yo read wen sê yen yen 38: 'Respectful, enlightened, accomplished, sincere, peaceful (mild)'. For 39 \*sək/sək/sê 'sincere' see Gl. 73, with text par. Whether the orig. Shu had 40 \*ân / ân / a n or 41 \*an / an / y en, the meaning is 'peaceful, mild', with Ts'ai Ch'en above. — We have sê 39 in precisely this kind of enumeration of virtues in the Shī (see Gl. 73), and version B therefore seems preferable.

1209. Kuang pei sī pia o 42.

PK'ung (Ku-wen version) read like this; the Han shu: Wang Mang chuan (Kin-wen version) had 43.

A. Cheng Hūan (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en), disregarding the Kin-wen, takes kuang 44 with its ordinary reading and sense: 'His brightness (glory) (covered =) reached to the four extreme points'. — B. PK'ung, saying kuang 44 = 45 'fully (extensively)' takes 44 as short-form for 46 (Erya 46 = 45), which is a variant of 47 (both \*kwāng, falling tone), thus considering the Ku-wen form kuang 44 as a variant for the kuang 47 of the Kin-wen: 'He extensively (covered =) possessed the four extreme points'. This is logically best and confirmed by many text par., see Gl. 899. PK'ung thinks that the subject of the clause is the virtue told before: '(His virtuous fame) (fully =) extensively (covered =) spread out over the four extreme points', but the parallels adduced in Gl. 899 show that the subject is Yao himself. The following phr.: (Ku-wen:) ko yü shang hia 48 (Kin-wen: kia yü shang hia 49 — the words 50 \*klāk / kvk / ko and 51 \*kâ / ka / kia were synonymous) should be explained thus: 'He reached to (Heaven) above and (Earth) below', i. e. he obtained the favour both of God in Heaven and the people on earth. — We compare: Shu: Kao Yao mo (now Yi Tsi): Ti kuang t'ien chī hia chī yü hai yü 70. Here again (with Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen) kuang should be equal to 46, thus: 'Oh emperor, extensively, all under Heaven, even to the corners of the seas...'

1210. K'o ming tsün tê 52.

The word \*tsiwen / tsiuēn / tsün 53 means 'great, eminent', and in the Odes it is often wr. 54 (same reading), see Gl. 561. Li: Ta hūe quotes our line k'o ming sün tê 55, the 56 \*siwen / siuēn / sün meaning 'high, lofty', a cognate word. It is impossible to tell whether the orig. text had \*tsiwen or \*siwen. Probably the Chou graph was simply 57, and the Han scholars have supplied either rad. 'man', taking it to be \*tsiwen 'great', or 'mountain', taking it as \*siwen 'lofty'.

A. The oldest interp. is that of the Ta hūe author, who clearly expounds the meaning as: 'He was able to make bright his lofty (great) virtue'. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Ch'eng ts'ai) follows this interpr., and Cheng Hūan in comm. on Li: Ta hūe. — B. Cheng Hūan in comm. on Shu says tsün tê means 'men of eminent virtue' and PK'ung expounds further: 'He was able to (make bright =) promote those of eminent virtue'. (Both Legge and Chavannes MH I, 41 take tsün and tê separately: 'the tsün eminent, able and the tê virtuous', but that was certainly not Cheng's idea). —



C. Si-ma Ts'ien (Wu ti pen ki) renders the line *neng ming hün tē* 58. Possibly Si-ma had a text with *hün tē*, but that is not certain, for he frequently replaced words in the Shu text by interpretation synonyms (e. g. here *neng* for *k'o*). It is therefore more probable that he thought the 53 \**tsiwan* or 56 \**siwan* of the text was a loan char. for 59 (or, perhaps, for 60 \**d'üwan* / *dz'üen* / *shun* 'docile, obedient', which he then glossed by 59). This 59 \**xiwan* / *xiuän* / *hün* is etym. id. w. 61 (same sound). The stem means 'to teach, to train' and also '(taught, trained =) docile, obedient, concordant'. Sū Kuang (early 5th c.) briefly says 59 = 61. But Si-ma's line has been understood in two ways: — *α*. Si-ma Cheng (8th c.): 59 = 60 (cf. above): 'He was able to make bright his (docile:) concordant virtue'. — *β*. Sun Sing-yen: 59 = 61 as an active verb, referring to Cheng Chung's comm. on Chouli: T'u hün (*hün* = 62 'to guide'), thus: 'He was able to make bright his (training =) instructing virtue', which is more far-fetched. — There is no reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

1211. Yi ts' in kiu tsu 63.

«And so he made affectionate the nine branches of the family». There have been two expl. of the term *kiu tsu*.

A. Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan, foll. by PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: the 9 branches were from great-great-grandfather down to great-great-grandson, all of the same *sing* 64 family name. Pan Ku (Han shu: Kao ti ki) records that in 200 B. C. «one instituted the office of *tsung cheng* 65 governor of the clan in order to regulate *kiu tsu* the 9 branches of the family»; here *kiu tsu* can only mean those who had the same *sing* and clan temple. — B. The schools of Ou-yang and Hia-hou (ap. K'ung Ying-ta's comm. on Tso: Huan 6): the 9 branches were collateral branches on both the father's and the mother's side and those relatives by marriage for whom one wore mourning. Po hu t'ung: Tsung tsu (compiled by the same Pan Ku quoted under A above) enumerates them in detail, adding the amusing speculation that though *kiu* 66 certainly means 'nine' branches, at the same time it means *kiu* 67 'exhaustively', all those who are tied together by bonds of *ts' in* kinship affection. — It might seem that, since Yao himself personally, through his virtue, «made affectionate the 9 branches», this cannot, with interpr. A, have in view 9 generations alive simultaneously. But the expression *kiu tsu* may, of course, have been generalized from the literal and technical sense of «the nine generations of the clan» into a more general and vague expr. for «the whole clan». In archaic China it was certainly the branches which had the same *sing* 68 that were felt to be the fundamental unit of the family, and those who had a different *sing* 69 — relatives on the female side and relatives by marriage — were much more outsiders. Hence interpr. A in the general sense of «the whole clan» is more plausible than B.

1212. Pien chang po sing 71.

It has long been established that *p'ing* 72 (small seal form 73) is a scribe's error for *pien* 74 (small seal 75) = *pien* 76 'to distinguish' (Si-ma Ts'ien rendering it by the loan char. *pien* 77, and Cheng Hüan reading *pien chang* 78), see Gl. 716 with

道德純一曰思<sub>71</sub>憲<sub>72</sub>文憲<sub>73</sub>晏晏<sub>74</sub>塞<sub>75</sub>安<sub>76</sub>晏<sub>77</sub>光被四表<sub>78</sub>橫被<sub>79</sub>光<sub>80</sub>充<sub>81</sub>桃<sub>82</sub>  
 42 橫<sub>43</sub>格于上下<sub>44</sub>假于上下<sub>45</sub>格<sub>46</sub>假<sub>47</sub>克明俊德<sub>48</sub>俊<sub>49</sub>駿<sub>50</sub>克明峻德<sub>51</sub>峻<sub>52</sub>交<sub>53</sub>  
 54 能明馴德<sub>55</sub>馴<sub>56</sub>順<sub>57</sub>訓<sub>58</sub>訓<sub>59</sub>告道<sub>60</sub>以親九族<sub>61</sub>姓<sub>62</sub>宗正<sub>63</sub>九<sub>64</sub>突<sub>65</sub>同姓<sub>66</sub>異姓<sub>67</sub>  
 70 帝光天之下至于海隅<sub>71</sub>平章百姓<sub>72</sub>平<sub>73</sub>弓<sub>74</sub>采<sub>75</sub>石<sub>76</sub>辨<sub>77</sub>便<sub>78</sub>辨<sub>79</sub>章<sub>80</sub>百姓<sub>81</sub>光

Shī parallels. When PK'ung foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en takes 72 in its ordinary reading p'ing and sense: »He tranquilized . . .» he is wide of the mark. P o s i n g »the hundred clans», in spite of the fact that it often means »the people» generally (*passim* in the Shu), here, with Cheng Hsuan and PK'ung, undoubtedly means »the gentry» (those who held official positions), as shown by the context: Yao's influence regulates first k i u t s u his family, then p o s i n g the gentry (the great families), then w a n p a n g »the myriad feudal states» and finally the l i m i n »multitude of the (common) people». Sun Sing-yen points out that we find the same distinction in Kyü: Chou yü: p o s i n g c h a o m i n 79 »the hundred clans and the multitude of the (common) people», on which Wei Chao: p o s i n g = 80 »the hundred officers». For Ts'ai Ch'en's idea that p o s i n g here would mean »the common people of the Royal domain proper» there is no support whatever. Thus our line means: »He distinguished and (gave marks of distinction to =) honoured the hundred clans (the gentry)».

### 1213. L i m i n y ü p i e n s h i y u n g 81.

For l i m i n : not »the black-haired people» but »the numerous people» see Gl. 430. Yü Sing-wu believes that l i 82 is equal to l i 83 »to benefit»; but the standing phr. l i m i n is very common in contexts where 83 would make no sense.

A. The orthodox version reads as above. PK'ung says nothing of the awkward y ü 84 and explains: »The numerous people were (changed:) transformed and then became concordant». Y ü 84 has been explained in two ways. — *α*. Ying Shao (2nd c. A. D.) in comm. on Han shu (cf. below) says y ü 84 = y ü s h i 85 »thereupon'. It is true that both Erya and Mao's comm. on Shī say y ü a n 86 »thereupon' = y ü 84 and Sun Sing-yen in consequence says that y ü p i e n is equal to y ü a n p i e n 87 »thereupon was transformed». But in fact there are no text par. whatever with y ü 84 alone and by itself serving in the sense of y ü s h i 85 = 86. Moreover, in the Shu the regular preposition is y ü 88 (\**giwo*), not y ü 84 (\**io*); in a few instances the present orthodox text has 84, but then there are always early text variants with the 88 that is typical of the Shu and is hence correct, and the 84 is due to errors of scribes. — *β*. Ts'ai Ch'en, realizing that 84 cannot be the preposition y ü, therefore reads the char. 84 \**o/uo* / w u, an interjection common in the Shu and the Shī, thus: »The people — lo! — were transformed». This, however, is equally impossible, for this interjection must always commence the clause (*passim* in Shu and Shī), and the line should then have run: w u, l i m i n p i e n s h i y u n g. — B. An imperial edict of 23 B. C. (Han shu: Ch'eng ti ki) quotes the line: l i m i n y ü f a n s h i y u n g 89. This has been differently explained: — *α*. Ying Shao (comm. *ibid.*) takes f a n 90 (\**b'iwǎn* / *b'iwǎn* / f a n) as loan char. for the 91 (\**plian* / *piän* / p i e n) of the A version, which is plainly impossible. — *β*. Wei Chao (comm. *ibid.*) says f a n 90 = 92 »much, plenty», which is the ordinary meaning of the word (»luxuriant, ample, prosperous»). Again, Wang Fu in Ts'ien fu lun: K'ao ts'i (2nd c. A. D.) expounds Y a o y a n g l i m i n e r c h i s h i y u n g 93 as »Yao nourished the numerous people and caused them to be concordant». Sun Sing-yen thinks that by y a n g 94 »to nourish» Wang expounded the word f a n 90, but that is not correct. The w. 95 \**io* / *iuo* / y ü (that this word had no final consonant in Archaic Chinese is proved by a rime in Ode 164) »to give plenty of food, to satiate» had a variant 96. Tso: Siang 26 k i a s h a n t s ê y ü s i 97 »When they increased the number of their dishes, they gave abundantly (to their ministers)» (Tu Yü: y ü = 98 »to satiate»). This expr. y ü s i 99 recurs written y ü s i 100 »to give plenty of food» in Hou Han shu: Ma Jung chuan. The variant 96 for 95 is not known from any text earlier than this, but Wang Fu's explanation of our Shu line above (y a n g 94) reveals that it was current in Han time and that Wang took the y ü 84 (\**io* / *iuo* / y ü) of the text to be a short-form of 96, a variant of the well-known archaic word 95 (\**io* / *iuo* / y ü) »to give plenty of food»; this is the reason why he glossed

it by *yang* 94 'to nourish'. Just as in the preceding line *pien chang* 1 is a combination of two analogous words: 'to distinguish' and 'to (give marks of distinction to =) honour', so here we have *yü-fan*, two analogous words: *yü* 84 (= 96 = 95) 'to give plenty of food to' and *fan* 90 'plenty, ample, prosperous'. Thus the B text line means: **«The numerous people were amply-nourished and prosperous, and then became concordant»**. The short-form 84 for 96 has nothing astonishing about it. In the same way the phr. *yü yi* 2 (Ch'u: Kiu pien) recurs with the short-form *yü yi* 3 in a Wei-time stone inscription. — C. A Han-time stone inscr. in the Li shi has a third text version: 4. The Ts'ing scholars discuss whether *pien* 5 is a loan char. for the 91 of A or the 90 of B. Chang Ping-lin would take this *pien* 5 = 6 (= Shuowen 7) to mean 'to rejoice', since Mao Heng defines it as such (then loan char. for 8) in Ode 197; but that is not admissible, see Gl. 591. There is thus no safe text corroboration for a meaning 'to rejoice'. — In the orthodox A text the char. 84 constitutes an almost insuperable difficulty, whether with interpr.  $\alpha$  or  $\beta$ . No such difficulty mars the version B, which is attested early (W. Han time) and makes very good sense. On the other hand, it can hardly be claimed that the *pien* 91 (\**pijan*) of A was a loan char. for the *fan* 90 (\**piwän*) of B. We have, in fact, two different and irreconcilable versions, of which B is decidedly preferable.

#### 1214. Nai ming Hi Ho 9.

In my paper *Legends and Cults in ancient China* (BMFEA 18) I have extensively studied this and the following paragraphs and arrived at the conclusion that the Yao tien is here composed of two different parts. The primary part consists of the first 18 words: *Nai ming Hi Ho k'in jo hao t'ien, li siang jī yue sing ch'en, king shou jen shi* «And then he charged Hi Ho (i. e. one person, the cult-master of the sun) reverently to follow the august Heaven» etc. followed by the calendar passages: *jī cheng sing niao, yi ying chung ch'un, k'ue min si, niao shou tsī wei; jī yung sing huo, yi cheng chung hia, k'ue min yin, niao shou hi ko; siao chung sing sū, yi yin chung ts'iu, k'ue min yi, niao shou mao sien; jī tuan sing mao, yi cheng chung tung, k'ue min yū, niao shou jung mao*. This primary passage has been embellished and tampered with by the editor in Western Chou time. He wanted to have the four seasons of the calendar specially represented each by one cult-master, and so he took the Hi Ho above to be two men: Hi and Ho, and invented younger brothers for them, who were sent to the east (Hi Chung), the south (Hi Shu), the west (Ho Chung) and the north (Ho Shu). He therefore added a secondary part, four passages inserted at the head of each season of the original calendar: *Fen ming Hi Chung tsē Yü-yi yue Yang-ku, yin ch'u jī, p'ing chī tung tso...*; *shen ming Hi Shu* etc. That this is so follows clearly from the fact that in the primary text it is said: *Nai ming Hi Ho*, whereas, if these were originally meant to be two and the elder brothers of the rest, the passage would necessarily have run: *Nai ming Hi Po Ho Po* (corresponding to Hi Chung, Hi Shu, Ho Chung, Ho Shu). The reasons for concluding that Hi Ho was primarily one person are fully detailed in my paper cited above. But to the editor of the Yao tien, such as we have it in the Shu, the phrase certainly meant: «And then he charged Hi and Ho».

民 80 百 官 81 黎 民 於 變 時 雍 82 黎 83 利 84 於 85 於 是 86 夏 87 於 變 夏 變 88 于 89 黎 民 於 舊  
時 雍 90 舊 91 變 92 多 93 堯 養 黎 民 而 致 時 雍 94 養 95 飲 96 飲 97 加 膳 則 飲 賜 98 黎 99 飲 賜  
100 飲 賜 1. 采 章 2. 於 邑 3. 於 邑 4. 於 卞 時 雍 5. 卞 6. 并 7. 昇 8. 般 9. 乃 命 羲 和 10. 曆 象 日

1215. *Li siang jī yüe sing ch'en 10.*

A. Cheng Hsuan: *sing-ch'en* is a binome: «To calculate and delineate the sun, the moon and (the other) heavenly bodies (i. e. stars and constellations)». For this general meaning 'heavenly body' of the word *ch'en* 11, cf. Kyü: Lu yü: «The emperor K'u could 12 determine the (order =) courses of the 3 heavenly bodies (sc. sun, moon, stars)». Evidently Cheng thought that the phr. *sing ch'en* referred to the four constellations in the following calendar (*niao, huo, hü, mao*). — B. The same Cheng Hsuan, in comm. on Chouli: *Ta tsung po*, same phr. *jī yüe sing ch'en* 13 says *sing* means 14 'the five planets' and *ch'en* means 15 'the conjunctions of sun and moon', or, with Legge, «the zodiacal spaces» in which the firmament is divided by the places of conjunctions. Thus: «To calculate and to delineate the sun, the moon, the planets and (regions of) conjunction». (Chavannes on the other hand translates: «Le soleil, la lune *sing* les constellations, *ch'en* les syzygies de conjunction»). For *ch'en* this is based on Tso: Chao 7, phr. 16 «(The regions of) the conjunctions of sun and moon, those are the *ch'en*». — Both meanings (A and B) of *ch'en* are thus attested in early texts. But A suits the context better, since *sing-ch'en* reasonably (with A) alludes to the following four constellations (this is evidently why Chavannes translates *sing* by 'constellation', not 'star').

1216. *Tsê Yü yi 17.*

The Ku-wen reads 18 (\**d'äk / d'vk / tsê*). The Kin-wen version (ap. the Stone classics of 175 A. D.) read 19 (\**d'äg / d'uo / tu*), both meaning 'to dwell, to reside'. For 19 in this sense see Gl. 794. For Yü-yi there are a great number of variants. In the present glosses I shall refrain entirely from discussing geographical names and their localization. For my reasons for this see BMFEA 18, p. 208.

1217. *Pien (p'ing?) chī tung tso 20.*

A. In Gl. 1212 above we saw that, in a phr. there, *p'ing* 21 was simply a scribe's error for *pien* 22. The present case is much more complicated, but some early sources evidently had *pien* 22 = 23 or 24 'to distinguish, distribute, arrange', for Cheng Hsuan (comm. on Chouli: *Feng siang shi*) quotes *pien chī* 25, and Kia Kung-yen (*ibid.*) says *Shang shu ta chuan* had 26 and *Si-ma* Cheng says it had 25. Thus: «To arrange and regulate the works of the East». (For another interpr. of *tung tso*: «the [heavenly] actions of the east» see Gl. 1226 A below). — B. *Si-ma Ts'ien* (*Wu ti pen ki*) evidently likewise read *pien*, for, as in the case Gl. 1212, he replaces the char. by *pien* 27 (loan char.). But he reads the next word differently: *pien ch'eng tung tso* 28: «To arrange and set the tasks for the works of the East» (Chavannes translates *ch'eng* by 'promulguer', which is certainly not correct). Probably, however, the *ch'eng* of *Si-ma's* does not indicate a variant reading but is his gloss word for *chī* 29: 'to regulate' taken in the sense of settling the *ch'eng* 30 'measures, quota' of the daily work. — C. There were, however, early versions which actually had *p'ing* 21, not *pien* 22 (cf. D below). *Shuowen* quotes 31 (32 is a variant for 29, same reading and meaning): «To equalize and regulate the works of the East». Both *Chao K'i* (2nd c. A. D.) in comm. on *Meng*: *Wan Chang* and *PK'ung* read *p'ing chī* 33, and this has been accepted as the orthodox version. — D. *Ma Jung* (ap. *Shiwen*) says *p'eng* 34 = 35. This shows that in the character he really had, as phonetic, *p'ing* 21 and not *pien* 22. His *p'eng* 34 is a shorter way of writing 36 (\**p'ëng / p'eng / p'eng*), var. 37, in *Ode* 257 = 'to cause'; the same word as 38 (same sound) 'to cause' in *Shu*: *Lo kao* and *Li cheng* (cf. Gl. 973). Thus: «Causing a regulation of the works of the East». — E. It would appear that there is one more possibility. *PK'ung* and *Kuangya* have a gloss *pien* 24 = 35 'to cause'. If that could be duly substantiated, we could abide by the *pien* 22 = 24 of the early versions but interpret this *pien* as meaning 'to cause', synon. w. the *p'eng*

34 of Ma Jung's versions (D) and translate: «Causing a regulation of the works of the East». As we shall see immediately below, however, the gloss *pien* 24 = *shī* 35 is hardly acceptable. — All the readings *pien* (A, B), *p'ing* (C) and *p'eng* (D) make good sense; in such a case we should follow the earliest attested version: *pien* (Shang shu ta chuan, *Shī ki*). — We compare:

Shu: Tsiu kao: Wu *pien nai sī min mien yü tsiu* 39. A. PK'ung says: *pien* 24 = *shī* 35 'to cause' (Kuangya has the same definition), and takes *wu* 40 as the ordinary imperative negation, *sī min* as 'those who govern the people' = officials: «Do not cause your officers to plunge into wine». For this one slender support has been adduced. In the Shu sū (Preface) we find *wang pei Jung po tso* 41 «The king caused the prince of Jung to compose» etc. and *Shīwen* says: Ma Jung's version for *pei* 42 'to cause' had *pien* 24. This, of course, cannot prove that *pien* was synonymous with *pei* and meant 'to cause'. In Ma's version the clause means: «The king (distinguished =) selected the prince of Jung to compose». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *wu* 40 as an ordinary negation (= 43), which is common in early texts, and punctuates after *sī*: «If you do not properly arrange your officers, the people will steep itself in wine». Shuowen says *pien* 24 = *chī* 44 'to regulate, arrange', properly 'to distinguish, distribute, arrange', as above. — C. Kiang Sheng: *pien* 24 = *pien* 45 'all round'. In several passages in Yili (Hiang yin tsiu li, Yen li), where the current text has 24, Cheng Hsian says the Kin-wen version had 45 'all round', and later comm. all say that 24 \**b'ian* is loan char. for 45 \**pian*. That is hardly necessary; there is simply an extension of meaning: 24 \**b'ian* 'to distribute, distributively, *seriatim*, all round'. So far Kiang's theory is admissible. But he explains: «If (in your admonishments) you do not go all round to your officers, the people will plunge into wine», which is very forced. — B, which takes the word *pien* in its normal sense and which divides the line in a rhythmically satisfactory way: *wu pien nai sī, min mien yü tsiu*, is surely best.

*Niao shou tsī wei* 46.

Sī-ma Ts'ien renders the line 47. The two *tsī* are interchangeable and mean 'to breed'. *Wei* 48 and 49 were both \**miwər* (though in different tones) and can serve as loan char. for each other (a person was called 50 in Lun and 51 in Ts'è).

A. Shuowen as quoted by P'ei Yin says *wei* 48 ('tail') = 52 'to copulate', evidently alluding to our Shu passage. The present Shuowen text says 48 = 49 'a small thing' ('an appendix', definition by sound similarity, common in Shuowen; here certainly the author was influenced by his knowledge of Sī-ma's reading). But since 49 'a small thing' is his definition of the common char. for 'tail', it is evident that Hū (or whoever formulated this version of the Shuowen) took Sī-ma's 49 'the small thing' to be a variant for 48 'tail' and our line to mean: «Birds and beasts breed and (\*tail =) copulate». PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en (with Legge) followed this. — B. Kiang Sheng insists that 48 'tail' is a loan char. for 49 'small', and that Sī-ma meant: «The birds and beasts breed and (are small =) there are small ones» (accepted by Chavannes). He refers to Kyü: Lu yü shang, where *niao shou yün* 53 «birds and beasts breed» (spring time) is placed in opposition to *niao shou ch'eng* 54 «birds and beasts are grown» (summer time),

月星辰 11 辰 12 序三辰 13 日月星辰 14 五緯 15 日月之會 16 日月之會是謂辰 17 宅岬焉  
18 宅 19 度 20 平秩東作 21 平 22 采 23 辨 24 辨 25 辨 26 辨 27 便 28 便程東作 29 秩 30 程  
31 平 32 辨東作 33 辨 34 平秩 35 華 36 使 37 辨 38 辨 39 辨 40 辨 41 王  
俾榮伯作 42 俾 43 昂 44 治 45 倫 46 鳥獸 47 鳥獸 48 尾 49 微 50 微生高 51 尾生高

giving the same idea of spring as being the time when the animals have small ones. Since there is no text par. of wei 'tail' meaning 'to copulate', it is tempting to accept B. But we have no reason for believing that Si-ma really had a Shu text reading 49. His 49 may be, as often, his own gloss word. In accepting B we should have to assume a kia tsie loan char. 48 for 49 in the Shu text, whereas A takes the actual word of the text: 48 'tail' with a perfectly natural extension of meaning. A therefore seems safest.

Tsê Nan kiao, see Chavannes MH I, p. 45.

#### 1219. Pien chī nan ngo 55.

For variants and expl. of the first two words, see Gl. 1217 above.

A. The line above is PK'ung's orthodox version. 56 was \*ngwâ/nguâ/ngo. This graph is interchangeable with 57, same sound. Si-ma Ts'ien's Shī ki in the version of Chang Shou-tsie (foll. by the Sung Po na ed.) had this variant, reading 58 (Chang reads 57 \*gwia/jwiǰ/wei, but Ts'ie yün, correctly identifying it with 56, reads \*ngwâ/nguâ/ngo). Shang shu ta chuan and Cheng Hūan in gl. on Chouli: Feng siang shī both likewise quote 59. This \*ngwâ (56 or 57), however, has three different meanings in the ancient texts: a. synon. w. tso 60 'to act, to do, to move, to work', in this sense sometimes also wr. 61, see Gl. 508, with Shī examples. b. 'false', see Gl. 306, with Shī examples. c. 'to change' (= 62) e. g. in Ode 191. This has given rise to different interpr.: a. PK'ung (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng and Legge) ngo = 62 'to transform', thus: »To arrange and regulate the transformations of the South». (Cf. also Cheng Hūan in Gl. 1226 A below). — β. Chang Shou-tsie: 57 means 'to do, to act, to work', thus: »To arrange and regulate the works of the South», forming an exact par. to the preceding tung tso 63 »works of the East». — B. The Shī ki in the version of Si-ma Cheng (now foll. by most current editions) read 64, and Si-ma Cheng insists that this 67 should be read in its ordinary way \*gwia/jwiǰ/wei 'to do, to act' (Han shu: Wang Mang chuan writes 65 — this 66 \*gwia/jwiǰ/wei 'to fake, to concoct' is etym. the same word as 67 'to make'). The meaning comes to the same as A β (curiously enough Sun Sing-yen quotes Huai: T'ien wen 68 »When the year is dry the grain is not [made =] achieved», i. e. does not ripen, and suggests that nan wei means »the achievement [of the crops] of the South»). — Whether Si-ma Ts'ien wrote 57 (\*ngwâ) or 67 (\*gwia) is immaterial; the meaning comes to the same thing. The Shu text obviously had the former 56 ∞ 57 \*ngwâ, and quite as obviously in the sense of 'to do, to act', with A β, as proved by the parallelism with 63 (so also Chavannes). It should be added, however, that the expl. of 56 = 'to change, transform' in A α above is influenced by the corresponding winter paragraph 69, which PK'ung thought meant »the transformations» (Cheng Hūan even believed that tung tso 63 etc. referred to celestial phenomena, see Gl. 1226 below) and hence conceived of as being a case of parallelism: ngo 56 ∞ yi 70. But, as we shall see in Gl. 1226, yi 70 as well means simply »work», like tso 60, ngo 56, ch'eng 54 (»achievements»), so that all through the parallelism is in favour of A β.

#### 1220. King chī 71.

A. PK'ung connects this with the preceding: »and respectfully bring about» sc. the things pertaining to summer. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en (foll. by the best Ts'ing authorities, Kiang Sheng, Sun Sing-yen and others): chī 72 means »the summer solstice», thus: »And pay careful attention to the (summer) solstice». This is based on Chouli: Fang siang shī 73 »In winter and summer he brings to its utmost point the sun», i. e. he determines the solstices (as explained in detail by Cheng Hūan). Similarly in Tso: Huan 17 it is said that the astronomer chī ji 74, more correctly 75 (variant of 72, see Gl. 820). Chavannes, who accepts A, brushes this expl. aside as being far-fetched, but in fact it is not. The difficulty is that there is no parallel phr. in the passages relating to the other seasons which could help us to decide. Since, however, it is here throughout a question

of astronomical observations, and since *chī jī* 76 is a technical term attested in two ancient sources, B after all seems the most convincing.

1221. *Küe min yin* 77.

This phr. is one of the four referring to the occupations of the people during the seasons. Spring: the people *si* 78 disperse (leave the houses and go out into the fields); summer: the people *yīn* 79, as above; autumn: the people *yī* 80 are at ease (common meaning — *Sī-ma* paraphrases it by *yī* 70); winter: the people *yü* 81 keep in the warmth of their houses. A. *PK'ung*: *yīn* 79 = *yīn tsiu* 82 (after *Shuowen* 79 = 83), expounding: «The old and weak *yīn tsiu* (lean upon, associate themselves with =) join company with the strong men in the fields and help in the husbandry work». It is, of course, impossible to read this into the short *Shu* phr., and *Sun Sing-yen* simplifies: «The people (lean on each other =) ally themselves with each other», sc. in the field work. Cf. *Tso*: *Chuang* 19: «They made an insurrection and 84 (leaned on =) allied themselves with the *Su* clan». This is better and would be quite good if the *Shu* phr. had run: *küe min siang yīn* 85. Without the reciprocal *siang* the expl. is hardly admissible. — B. *Ts'ai Ch'en*: *yīn* 79 = 86 «they disperse and even more disperse», i. e. *yīn* = 'to follow up, to go on, to continue', referring it to the *si* 'disperse' of the preceding paragraph. Thus: «The people continue» sc. to disperse. *Yīn* in the sense of 'to base oneself on something as a point of departure and follow it up, carry on' is common, e. g. *Li*: *Li k'i* 87 «The *Hia* created (the rites), the *Yīn* (followed them up =) took them over and continued them, carried them on». It is, however, a curious idea that the «dispersing» of spring time was not complete and had to be «followed up» by a still greater dispersion in summer. It would then be better to interpret in a more general way: «The people follow up (carry on, sc. the work of the year)». Even so, the interpr. is strained. — C. *Kiang Sheng* therefore reverts to *Shuowen*'s definition *yīn* 79 = *tsiu* 83, but goes on: *Shuowen* defines *tsiu* 83 as = 88 'go to high places' (a typical script etymology of *Hü*'s, the graph 83 containing 89 'height'), thus: «The people go to high places». A frightful speculation. The w. *yīn* of course has no such sense. — D. *Yü Yüe* points out that *yīn* 79 is the original graph of 90 'a mat' (they are etymologically the same word: the fundamental sense of the stem *\*-iēn*, even tone, is 'to lean on, rest on, rely on' and *\*-iēn* 'mat' means 'that on which one rests'), and this *yīn* 90 is defined in *Shuowen* as = 91 'double mat in a carriage'. Hence, *Yü* says, *yīn* 79 = *yīn* 90 has the sense of 'double', and the *Shu* phr. means: «The people have double covers» (as protection against the summer heat). *Shuowen*'s definition, however, has very little value. *Yīn* 90 means 'mat, mattress', certainly not 'double'. If *yīn* 90 were a coarse and plain straw mat, it would have been tempting to think of the custom that the farmers during the busiest summer time did not go home but slept in grass huts in the fields, thus: «The people (straw-mat =) sleep on straw-mats» (in the field huts). But *yīn* 90, which is common (*Li*, *Yili*, *Hanfei* etc.), always means a fine mat or even a mattress, which makes this interpr. unlikely. — E. Another interpr. *Yīn* 79 as an independent word often means 'to avail oneself of the opportunity, to take advantage of the suitable time, make the best of the occasion'. *Lü*: *Shun shuo* 92 «By availing himself of the opportunity (*Kao*

52交接53孕54成55平秩南訛56訛57譌58便程南譌59南譌60作61叱62化63東作64  
便程南為65南偽66偽67為68歲早禾不為69朔易70易71敬致72致73冬夏致日74底  
日75底76致日77厥民罔78析79罔80夷81隤82罔就83就84罔蘇氏85厥民罔86析  
而又析87夏造殷罔88就高89京90苗91車重席92罔則貨賤可以勝富貴93便94凡兵

Yu: yin = 93) the poor and low can surpass the rich and high; Lü: K'ue sheng 94 »Always in regard to war one esteems highest yin the seizing of the opportunity; yin to seize the opportunity, that means to yin avail oneself of the danger of the enemy to make oneself secure»; Tso: Chuang 18, phr. 95 »The people of Pa availed themselves of the opportunity and attacked Ch'u»; Tso: Wen 11, phr. 96 »He seized the opportunity to offer congratulations on Ch'u's army not being harmed»; Tso: Chao 10: »The dignitaries of the feudal lords 97 wish to avail themselves of the opportunity to have audience with the new prince»; Tso: Ting 14, phr. 98 »The prince of Yüe seized the opportunity and attacked him». Now, in our Shu line this meaning suits the context admirably. In spring the farmers si 78 scatter over the fields; in summer they yin 79 avail themselves of the suitable time, make the most of the occasion; in autumn they yi 80 rest. Thus our phr. above means: »The people avail themselves of the (suitable) time» (make the best of the season).

#### 1222. Niao shou hi ko 99.

Since ko 100 in the primary sense of the char. always means 'hide', skin with the hair removed, never 'fur', hi cannot be an adjective to ko: »thinned fur».

A. Cheng H'uan: »The birds and beasts are thin(-haired) and hide(-like)». — B. PK'ung (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en and others): ko 100 means 'to change' (common), thus: »The birds and beasts are thin(-haired) and change». — When it is precisely a question of the covering of the animals' bodies, it would be strange indeed if (with B) ko would not mean 'hide' but 'to change'.

#### 1223. Yin tsien na (ju) ji 1.

Na ji. Shang shu ta chuan quotes ju ji 2 'the (entering =) setting sun', and so it is also rendered by Si-ma Ts'ien. 3 \**nəp / nəp / na* 'to cause to enter, to introduce' (transitive) and 4 \**ńjəp / ńjəp / ju* 'to enter, go in' (intransitive) are two aspects of the same word stem. 3 is only an enlarged form of 5 in its reading \**nəp / nəp / na* 'to introduce'; in bronze inscriptions we have 5 in this sense and reading (e. g. K'o Ting 6, phr. 7) but the same char. sometimes also serves for \**ńjəp / ńjəp / ju* (= 4), e. g. Wu Huei Ting 8, phr. 9 = 10). The original Shu text in some early version evidently had ju ji 11, and because of the graph 5 some Han scholars erroneously enlarged this into na ji 12, not realizing that 11 was simply a variant graph for 2 (just as 9 for 10 above). We should thus decidedly read ju ji, corresponding to the ch' u ji 13 in the preceding paragraph.

Tsien:

A. Shang shu ta chuan quotes as above 14. 15 \**dz'ian / dz'ian / tsien* properly means 'to give a farewell feast to', i. e. 'to say farewell to'. Thus: »Respectfully to say farewell to the setting sun». PK'ung hence defines tsien by sung 16 'to convey'. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases 17: »Respectfully to lead (away) the setting sun», a free mode of expressing the same, just as in the spring paragraph he paraphrases the line 18 (»respectfully [receive as guest =] to welcome the rising sun») by 19: »respectfully lead (on) the rising sun». — B. Ma Jung (ap. Sh'wen) says tsien 15 = mie 20 'to extinguish', this again equal to mo 21 'to cause to disappear', thus: »Respectfully to let disappear the setting sun». There have been several expl. of this gloss. — a. Sun Sing-yen refers to Shu sü 22 »Then he (trampled down =) destroyed Yin», on which Ma Jung says tsien 23 (\**dz'ian*) = 20 'to extinguish'; and to Yili: Sh' yü li, where Cheng H'uan says that for tsien 15 the Ku-wen version had (as loan char.) the homophonous 23. He concludes that Ma took our 15 as loan for 23: »Respectfully to (trample down, destroy =) cause to disappear the setting sun». If this was really Ma's idea, it must be said to be foolish indeed. — β. The Sung scholars Ting Tu (in Tsi yüen) and Kia Ch'ang-ch'ao (in K'un king yin pien) read 24, and Ting asserts that 25 (\**ts'ian / ts'ian / ts'ien*) was



Ma Jung's version which he glossed by his *mie* 20. Now 25 \**ts'ian* 'shallow' has no such sense, and Tuan Yü-ts'ai, who believes that the 15 of K'ung Ying-ta and Lu Tê-ming (Shiwen) is a T'ang-time corruption of Ma's original 25, concludes that Ma Jung took 25 as loan char. for 23 \**dz'ian* 'to trample down, to destroy' (as *a* above). Tuan, however, goes one step further and denies that Shang shu ta chuan and Si-ma had a version with 15 — both must originally have had 23 \**dz'ian*; the Ta chuan has been corrected after K'ung Ying-ta; and Si-ma meant, by his *tao* 26 'to lead', to gloss the presumed 23 of his text, taken in the sense of 'to tread', here causative: 'to cause to tread' = 'to lead on'. Tuan's speculations have been rightly refuted by Ch'en K'iao-tsung: there is no reason to prefer the testimony about Ma Jung's text of the Sung scholars to that of the T'ang scholars. Still less is there any reason to suspect the present Shang shu ta chuan text. Si-ma's *tao* 26 is a good paraphrase of 15 but not of the presumed 23 ('to trample down'). — C. Chang Ping-lin: the *pin* in the preceding line: *yin pin ch'u ji* 18 as well as the *tsien* 15 in the present are technical terms for sacrifices, thus: »To do *pin* sacrifice to the outcoming sun», and »to do *tsien* sacrifice to the setting sun». He refers to Chouli: Ta tsung po: *yi shi ch'ai si ji yüe sing ch'en* 27 »By a full-piled fire-sacrifice he sacrifices to sun moon, stars and constellations». Here Cheng Hün says that »an old version» had the variant *yi pin ch'ai si* 28, and Chang now builds on this: if this variant is preferable, *pin* 30 ought to be the spring sacrifice (why?) and *ch'ai* 29 ought to be the autumn sacrifice. And then our *pin* 30 and *tsien* 15 (23, 25) would refer to those sacrifices, since the words of the 31 series (31 \**dz'an*, 25 \**ts'ian*, 15 and 23 \**dz'ian*) are phonetically similar to 29 (\**dz'är* / *dz'ai* / *ch'ai*). Very speculative. — A alone is satisfactory in sense, and forms a good par. to the spring paragraph phrase.

#### 1224. K'ue min yi 32.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases *yi* 33 by *yi* 34: »The people are at ease». This is a common meaning of *yi* 33. PK'ung defines it by *p'ing* 35, and Ts'ai Ch'en has taken this to mean the same: at peace (when K'ung Ying-ta says: *p'ing* = they are »even with» what they were in the summer, i. e. at the same places, sc. in the fields, this is plainly impossible). — B. Kiang Sheng: PK'ung's *p'ing* 35 means 'level' (which *yi* 33 can also mean) and the line means: »The people live in the plains». This is because he took the summer paragraph *k'ue min yin* 36 to mean »go to high places», which was refuted in Gl. 1221. — B is a very unhappy speculation.

#### 1225. Niao shou mao sien 37.

A. Cheng Hün, foll. by PK'ung: *sien* 38 (\**sien* / *sien* / *sien*, rising tone), means 39 'orderly'. He expounds: the new-grown hair is 40 well-ordered, in good condition. Thus: »The birds and beasts have their hair (well-ordered =) in good condition». There is no other ex. of a stem \**sien* with that sense of 'arrange, order'. — B. Shuowen: *sien* 38 means and should be read as 41 (\**siwan* / *siwän* / *süan*) 'to select', thus: »The birds and beasts have hair that is selectable», i. e. suitable for use as furs etc. A very bold

貴因因也者因敵之險以為己固 95 巴人因之以伐楚 96 因質楚師之不害也 97 欲因見  
新君 98 越子因而伐之 99 鳥獸希革 100 革 1. 寅饌納日 2. 入日 3. 納 4. 入 5. 內 6. 克鼎 7. 內  
朕命 8. 無惠鼎 9. 內門 10. 入門 11. 內日 12. 納日 13. 出日 14. 寅饌入日 15. 饌 16. 送 17. 敬道陽  
入日 18. 寅賓(賓)出日 19. 敬道出日 20. 滅 21. 沒 22. 逆踐 23. 踐 24. 寅饌 25. 饌 26. 道 27. 以賓柴  
祀日月星辰 28. 以賓柴祀 29. 柴 30. 賓 31. 尊 32. 厥民若 33. 若 34. 易 35. 平 36. 因 37. 鳥獸毛毳 38

speculation based on a slight sound similarity. — C. Another interpr. Sien 38 is homophonous with 42 (\*sien / sien / sien, rising tone) 'metal that is brilliant, shiny' (Erya, Shuowen), which occurs in Kyü: Tsin yü. This again is probably etym. s. w. a. 43 (\*sien, rising tone) 'to wash, to cleanse', thus 'cleansed, clean and bright'. It seems evident that we have the same word here, the char. specifyingly written with the radical m a o 'hair': 'brilliant, shiny, glossy'. Thus: 'The birds and beasts have the feathers and hair glossy'.

1226. Pien tsai shuo yi 44.

For tsai 45 = ch'a 46 'to examine', see Gl. 751.

A. The oldest gloss attainable is that on shuo by Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan, who quotes our line as 47 (ap. T'ai p'ing yü lan and the Preface to the Shī), saying shuo 48 = shī 49 'beginning'. Thus: 'To arrange and examine the beginning and the change (of year)'. Shuo in this sense is common: shuo ji 50 is the first day of the new moon, and in a general way it means 'the beginning' in Li: Li yü 51 'All these kings followed the usage of the beginning (the earliest time)'. (Hü Shen in Shuowen explains this shuo 48 by su 52 'revival, new beginning', a speculation based on the flimsy sound similarity (48 \*sák: 52 \*so), reverently repeated by Ts'ai Ch'en. Cheng Hüan in comm. on Chouli: Fang siang shī has the same reading 47, and, as pointed out by Yüan Yüan, since the paragraph in the Chouli describes the cycle of 12 years, the 12 months, the 12 hours, the 10 days, the 28 constellations, the determining of their order and the divisions in the firmament, and since Cheng Hüan quotes our four Shu phrases tung tso 53, nan ngo 54, si ch'eng 55 and shuo yi 50 as illustrations of this, Cheng Hüan referred them all to the astronomical phenomena: 'the (Heavenly) actions of the east' etc. and not to the agricultural works of the people. — B. The Shang shu ta chuan, on the other hand, has in another place another line (as quoted in the So yin to Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki) pien tsai fu wu 56 'to arrange and examine the things that lie hidden', and since Si-ma Ts'ien renders our Shu passage by this phrase, Kiang Sheng and others have concluded that the A version has been interpolated in the Shang shu ta chuan and that both Fu Sheng's and Si-ma's Shu version read pien tsai fu wu. Ch'en K'iao-tung rightly refutes this. The phr. pien tsai fu wu in the Ta chuan is, he says, a variant — we should rather say: a gloss — containing a curious speculation which has appealed to Si-ma and hence been adopted by him. It is well known that shuo 48 also means 'north' (in the preceding Shu line and Ode 168 Shuo fang 57, etc., very common), and Fu Sheng could not fail to realize that in the present Shu phr. it balances tung tso (east), nan ngo (south), si ch'eng (west) and hence must refer to the north while at the same time it means (according to him) 'beginning' — north corresponding to winter and the 'beginning', renewal of the year. Now pei 58 'north' was Arch. \*pak and fu 59 'to lie hidden' was \*b'ük. In the classics there is a constantly recurring theme that the winter was the epoch of hoarding and concealing. Li: Yüe ling says that in the first winter month the king orders the officials to 60 pay respectful attention to the covering and hoarding, and orders the si-t'u to inspect the tsi tsü 61 hoarded stores. This has very early given rise to an amusing etymological speculation. Shī tsī 62 says 63 'The pei fang region of the north (\*pak) means fu fang the region of things that lie hidden (\*b'ük)'. This idea has been seized upon by Fu Sheng who (quoting the Li: Yüe ling passage) maintains that the Shu phr. pien tsai shuo yi 47 while meaning 'To arrange and examine the shuo beginning (= 49) and the 64 change (of year)', at the same time implies: 'To arrange and examine the shuo things of the north and the yi change (of year)' — the things of the north 58 \*pak being = fu wu 65 (\*b'ük) the things that lie hidden, are stored. Hence his commentating line 56. This curious and typically ancient Chinese speculation of a double

meaning in *shuo* 48: 'beginning' (= 49) and 'north', the time of 58 = 59 'hoarding', has been embroidered upon by Wang Su and others. — C. Another interpr. *Shuo* 48 simply means 'north' (common) and has nothing to do with the 'beginning' of the year, nor with the 'hoarding' in the winter (season of the north), as is clearly shown by the par. with *tung*, *nan*, *si* in the preceding paragraphs. *Yi* 64 does not mean 'the change' or 'transformations' but is quite analogous to the *tso* 66 'works', *ngo* 67 'actions, works' and *ch'eng* 68 'achievements' of the preceding paragraphs, which obviously refer to the works of the people. *Yi* 67 (\**djēk* / *jäk* / *y* i) like those words means 'works' and is a loan char. for 69 (\**djēk* / *jäk* / *y* i) 'service, work, task'. This loan of *yi* 64 for *yi* 69 has good parallels (Shī, Meng), as is fully exemplified in Gl. 871. Thus the line means: **«To arrange and examine the works of the North».**

1227. *Kü e min yü* 70.

A. Cheng Hün reads 71 = 72 'the interior' (of the house). This char. with this sense is read \**ög* / *äu* / *a o* in *Ts'ie yün* and also in *Shīwen* on *Lun*: *Pa yi*, where it occurs in the sense of 'south-west corner of the house' (Erya: *Shī kung* has this definition, *Shīwen* there likewise reading it \**ög*). The PK'ung version has the loan char. 73 defined, in the same way, by 74 'house'. This char. used in this sense is likewise read \**ög* / *äu* / *a o* in *Ts'ie yün*; hence *Ts'ai Ch'en* reads it so in our *Shu* passage (*kü e min a o*). Thus, with the A interpr.: **«The people keep in the interior of their houses».** — B. The char. 71 has also the reading \**ïök* / *ïuk* / *y ü* in the sense of 'warm' (ex. in Ode 207), and then it is sometimes enlarged into 75 (same reading). *Si-ma Ts'ien* evidently took the original 71 of the *Shu* text (cf. Cheng Hün above) to have this sense, for he writes 76, thus: **«The people keep in the warmth».** *Ma Jung*, who already has the loan char. 73, takes this to be a loan for 71 = 75, defining 73 = 77, and *Shīwen*, in consequence, says 73 should here be read \**ïök* / *ïuk* / *y ü*: *kü e min yü*. — There is not a very fundamental difference in sense, for \**ïök* 'warm' and \**ög* 'the interior, south-west corner of the house' are probably cognate words (\**ög* = 'the warm place'), and the context shows that the meaning practically comes to the same. With B it will be: **«The people keep in the warmth (of their houses)».** Both \**ög* and \**ïök* make good sense, but in the choice between two equally good alternatives we should follow the oldest interpr. attestable (*Si-ma Ts'ien*) as having the greatest chance of representing a tradition handed down from Chou time.

1228. *Niao shou jung mao* 78.

A. This is the oldest text version attested, since *Si-ma Ts'ien* has it. Both *Ts'ie yün* and *Shīwen* read 79 \**ñjung* / *ñziwong* / *j ung* (rising tone). *Ma Jung* defines it as = 80 'warm and soft', PK'ung as = 81 'downy and tiny'. Yet *Sü Kuang* (d. 425 A. D.) says it was 'read like 82' (\**ñjung* / *ñziwong* / *j ung*, even tone), and he evidently meant that 79 was identical with 82, which means 'bushy' (see Gl. 105). *Sü Miao*, on the other hand, reads it \**ñiwan* / *ñziwän* / *j uan* (taking it to be a variant of 83 \**ñiwan* 'soft'). The tradition about the reading \**ñjung* is sufficiently strong to be decisive, and whether it is identical with 82 \**ñjung* even tone (*Sü Kuang*) or only a variation of the same stem (\**ñjung* rising tone, *Lu Fa-yen* and *Lu Tê-ming*), it is sure to have the same sense as 82 'bushy', since it is a question of the thick coat of the animals in winter. Thus: **«The birds**

統理40整理41屋42銑43洗44平(附)在朔易45在46祭47辨在朔易48朔49始50朔日  
夕皆從其朔52蘇53東作54南熟55西成56便在伏物57朔方58北59伏60謹蓋藏61積  
聚62尸子63北方者伏方也64易65伏物66作67訥(訖)68成69役70厥民陬71奧72內  
73陬74室75燠76厥民燠77煖78鳥獸氄毛79氄80溫柔81統細82葺83奧84鳥獸氄

and beasts have bushy hair». — B. Shuowen quotes 84, this 85 being \**njwən* / *njwəŋ* / *j u n* (Ts'ie yün; when Ts'ie yün adds that it can also be read \**njwəŋ* / *njwəŋ* / *j u n g*, this is simply because it corresponds to the 79 of A, and the phonetic 86 \**snjwən* shows that the latter sound gloss is quite wrong). Shuowen defines it as = 87 'the hair being ample'. Thus: »Birds and beasts have ample hair». Shuowen in another section quotes differently: 88, the ancient reading of which is uncertain. — The A version is far better attested than B.

# 1229. Shu tsi hien hi 89.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases 90: this is based on Erya hi 91 = hing 92. The Ts'ing comm. on Erya believe that hing 92 here means 'elated, joyful', and that hi 91 is loan char. for hi 93: Shuowen 93 = 94 'to rejoice, joyful'. This 93 is not known from pre-Han texts, but we could say that 91 (\**χiag*, even tone) would be the same word stem as 95 (\**χiag*, rising tone) 'to rejoice' and 96 (\**χiag*, even tone) 'to amuse oneself'; indeed Yang Hiung (in Ki Ts'in mei sin) writes 97, and if Yang took this hi 95 in its ordinary sense, it seems clear that he already had this interpretation of hi = hing 'elated, joyful'; but it is doubtful whether Yang really had 95 here in its original sense, see C below. In any case, whether the Erya gloss refers to our Shu passage here or to the phr. ts' i hi 98 in the Shī, a meaning 'elated, joyful, joy' makes very poor sense here (»All the achievements will be joyful»), and it seems doubtful whether the Erya glossist by his hing 92 really meant 'joyful' (= 95). Probably he took hing in its normal sense of 'to rise', and his gloss is one of the exceedingly common ones in which a word is defined by sound similarity: 91 \**χiag* expl. by 92 \**χiang*. Thus: »The achievements will all (rise =) be successful». There are no text par. in support of this. — B. PK'ung says hi 91 = kuang 99 'wide', thus: »The achievements will all be (wide =) extensive». This is based on Kyü: Chou yü, hia, where an orator explains the phr. wu ts' i hi 100 of Ode 271, and where he defines hi 91 by kuang 99 'wide'. But hi 91 certainly has no such meaning, and both Cheng Chung (1st c. A. D.) and Wei Chao have already realized that kuang 99 in the Kyü text is a loan char. for kuang 1 'bright, brightness' (the two series 1 and 2 are often interchanged in loan practise: see Gl. 1209 where 1 in its turn is loan for 3 or 99). — C. The true and fundamental meaning of hi 91 is 'brightness, bright' (common), and that was surely the meaning of the orator in the Kyü: Chou yü, see B. above. This 91 (\**χiag*, even tone) is the same word as 4 (\**χiag*, even tone) 'to shine, brightness' (text ex. in Kuan etc.). There is no reason why we should not give hi 91 its ordinary and proper meaning in our Shu phr.: »The achievements will all be resplendent». Indeed Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Ch'en K'iao-tsung think that when Yang Hiung writes 97 (see A above), his hi 95 'joy' is but a short-form for 4 'shine' brightness'. If so, the correct interpr. of the Shu line was already given by Yang Hiung. When Pan Ku in Han shu: Lü li chī paraphrases 5 »All the achievements will be beautiful», this is merely a free mode of expressing the same idea. — We compare:

Yao tien (later on): Hi ti chī tsai 6. A. PK'ung hi 91 = 99, thus: »To make wide the emperor's undertakings». To be rejected, see B above. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases 7 »To make beautiful Yao's undertakings». This is the same free rendering as in C. above. More literally the phr. means: »To make resplendent the emperor's undertakings».

Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi): Po kung hi tsai 8. A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: hi 91 = 99: »All the officers are extensive (in their achievements)». — B. Sun Sing-yen: hi 91 = 92: »All the officers are elated». — C. Kiang Sheng: kung = 9 and hi 91 = 92: »All the works will (rise =) be successful». — D. »All the works will be resplendent», which is a striking par. to the phr. shu tsi hien hi discussed above. And that this is really the meaning here is confirmed by the fact that to our po kung 10 'the hundred

works' here corresponds in the second verse *shu shī* 11 'all the affairs' and in the third verse *wan shī* 12 'the myriad affairs'.

1230. *Ch'ou tsi jo shī teng yung* 13.

*Ch'ou* 14 is a loan char., the word 'who' being wr. 15 or 16 in *Shuowen*.

A. *Si-ma Ts'ien* paraphrases 17 »Who can (conform himself to =) carefully attend to these things». *Sun Sing-yen* expounds this in a curious way: *Si-ma's ts'ī* 18 'this' is a gloss to 19 (*Erya*: *Shī ku* having an entry 19 = 18), and his *shī* 9 'affair' (\**dz'æg*) is his gloss to 20 (\**d'æg*). The line would then be equal to *ch'ou tsi jo shī* 21 »who will conform himself to these affairs». But in the first place that is a wrong word sequence; secondly there are no text ex. in support of *Erya's* gloss (when later expounders say 19 \**tsiar* is equal to 22 \**tsæg*, this is phonetically impossible). Thirdly 20 = 9 is exceedingly unlikely. *Si-ma* in fact simply expounds *shī* 20 'this, that' (very common) by *ts'ī shī* 23 'these affairs'. He adds a *k'o* 24 'can' which is not in the *Shu* text. It is tempting to think that his 24 renders the *tsī* 19 of the text, *tsī* being loan char. for the homophonous (\**tsiar*) 25 'to furnish' (»who will furnish to conform» — »who will be able to conform»), just as 25 serves as loan char. for 19 in *Li*: *Piao ki*. But after all that is not correct, for later in the chapter we find *ch'ou jo yü kung* 26 »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my works», and there again *Si-ma* inserts a 'can': 27, which shows that his *k'o* 24 here is a free addition. Thus *Si-ma* simply skips the *tsī* 19 of the *Shu* text. *PK'ung* likewise passes it in silence. — B. *Ma Jung*, without glossing *ch'ou tsi*, explains *jo shī* 28 as 'conform himself to the (four) seasons', referring to the preceding calendar, which is very far-fetched. — C. *K'ung Ying-ta* takes *tsī* 19 as = 29 'alas', and punctuates after it: *ch'ou tsi — jo shī teng yung*: »Who, alas, (is there); if (someone) conforms himself to these things, I will raise and use him» (the 'alas' being a sigh over the difficulty of finding a good man). — D. *Ts'ai Ch'en*, foll. by *Kiang Sheng*, takes *tsī* 19 in the sense of 'to deliberate, investigate' (*Erya* 19 = 30, *Ts'ai* = 31), a common meaning of the char., thus: »Who will investigate about (someone who) conforms himself to the times? (I will raise and use him». This, however, is a particularly poor expedient, for all subsequent parallels show that *ch'ou* 'who' refers to the choice of the man who is to be promoted, not to any adviser who is going to search. Just as later we have: *ch'ou jo yü kung* »Who will carefully attend to my works?» — answer: »Ch'uei», so here we have *ch'ou (tsī) jo shī teng yung* »Who will conform himself to this, I will raise and use him» — answer: »Chu». — E. *Pan Ku* in *Han shu* k. 18 (introductory lines) has the phr. *ch'ou tsi ts'ien tai* 32 »Investigating former generations», taking *ch'ou tsi* as a binome with the sense of 'to investigate', and the same binome recurs wr. 33 'to investigate' in an essay by the Eastern Han writer *Ts'uei Chun* (ap. *Hou Han shu* k. 82). It is quite obvious that this is a style allusion to our *Shu* phr. above, and that these authors did not interpret *ch'ou* as = 'who' but as a verb 'to investigate', synonymous and forming a binome together with the following *tsī*. Thus: »(I will) investigate (about someone who) will conform himself to these things». This interpr. will hardly do

85 經 86 集 87 毛 88 應 89 應 90 衆功皆興 91 興 92 興 93 娶 94 悅樂 95 喜 96 婚 97  
應 98 應 99 廣 100 於 經 1. 光 2. 黃 3. 橫 4. 素 5 衆功皆美 6. 熙帝之載 7. 美苑  
之事 8. 百工熙哉 9. 事 10. 百工 11. 庶事 12 萬事 13 晴若時登庸 14 晴 15 曷 16 曷 17 誰可  
順此事 18 此 19 咨 20 時 21 晴此若事 22 茲 23 此事 24 可 25 資 26 晴若于工 27 誰能馴于工  
28 若時 29 嗟 30 謀 31 訪問 32 晴若前代 33 訓咨 34 咨汝 35 咨 36 晴若時 37 哉 38 何哉爾所

in the par. text *ch'ou jo yü kung*, where it would be very forced to take *ch'ou* alone as a verb = 'to investigate'. — E. Tuan Yü-ts'ai says that *tsi 19* is the ordinary exclamation «ah», so common in the beginning of Shu phrases (in the preceding line: *tsi ju Hi 34* «Ah, you Hi»), and that the line should properly be: *tsi, ch'ou jo shi 35* «Ah, who will conform himself to this»; but, he says, the emperor «spoke eagerly» and inverted the order: *ch'ou, tsi, jo shi* «Who, ah!, will carefully attend to this». In fact, Tuan is near to the true solution. *Tsi 19* 'oh, ah', is an exclamation particle analogous to the common *tsai 36*, and this *tsai* is often used as an emphasizing enclitic to interrogative pronouns and adverbs. Lun: Yen Yüan: *Ho tsai, er so wei ta chê 37* «What is it you call being distinguished?» (the same *ho tsai* in Meng *passim*). In the same way our *tsi* is evidently used as an emphasizing enclitic in the Shu: *ch'ou tsi = ch'ou tsai 38: ch'ou-tsi jo shi teng yung*: «Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to this? I will raise and use him». It seems probable that Hsü Shen already held that view, for under 15 he says: «*ch'ou* is a 39 grammatical word; the Yü shu (i. e. Shu king) says: *ch'ou tsi 40*». That he does not quote the whole line, in his usual way, but only the two syllables *ch'ou tsi*, reveals that he took them to form a unity: *ch'ou-tsi*, forming a «grammatical word» ('who').

### 1231. Yin tsi Chu k'i ming 41.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 42, thus: «Your heir-son Chu is enlightened». Yin 43 in the sense of 'descendant' is common (e. g. Tso *passim*). — B. PK'ung: *tsi* means 'prince', and Yin is the name of a state: «The prince of Yin, by name Chu, is enlightened». He refers to the (now lost) chapter Yin cheng 44 of the Shu as proof of the early existence (in Hsia time) of a state Yin. But even in this name of the Shu chapter it is contested whether Yin is the name of a state or a person. The B interpr. (though accepted by Yü Yüe) is an unsafe speculation.

### 1232. Hü yin sung k'o hu 45.

A. This is the orthodox PK'ung version: «Alas! He is deceitful and quarrelsome, will he do?». Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases 46. It was already recognized by Chang Shou-tsie that *hiung 47* does not mean 'baleful' here but is a short-form for *hiung 48* 'to quarrel', a common word (*Shi* etc.). Thus Si-ma: «He is perverse and quarrelsome and cannot be used». In the same way, in Sün: T'ien lun 49 «The noble man does not stop his actions because of the (clamouring:) wrangling of mean men», 47 is a short-form for 48. — B. Ma Jung read: *hü, yin, yung k'o hu 50*, carrying *yung* to the following *k'o hu*. This can be interpr. in two ways. Either (with Sun Sing-yen) *yung* is the common interrogative adverb 'how': «Alas! He is deceitful, how can he do?»; or (with Kiang Sheng) *yung* alludes to the preceding line *teng yung 51* («I will raise and use him»), thus: «Alas! He is deceitful, *yung* to use him *k'o hu* will that do?». — Ch'en K'iao-tsung thinks that the last words in Si-ma's paraphrase: *pu yung 52* «he cannot be used» reveals that Si-ma had Ma Jung's text version with *yung 53*. But that is certainly not correct, for then Si-ma would have rendered one word of the text: *yin 54* by two words *wan hiung 55*, which is very unlikely. It is quite evident that his *wan hiung* renders the *yin sung 56* of the Shu text, which supports the A text as the older and preferable.

### 1233. Ch'ou tsi jo yü ts'ai 57.

A. Ma Jung: *ts'ai 58 = 59* 'officials': «Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my officials?». This is based on Erya 60 = 59. *Ts'ai 58* could only indirectly have this sense. It sometimes means 'appanage' given to high officials, e. g. Li: Li yün 61 «Dignitaries have appanages» (in the sense of 62 «cullable territories», territories from which to take their incomes). Our Shu phr. would then mean: «Who will carefully attend to my appanage(-holders)». Another possible etymology — though even more

far-fetched — would be to take *ts'ai* 58 in its sense of 'variegated', with reference to Tso: Wen 6: »(The ancient kings established sages as officers) 63 and distributed to them (variegated things =) fine emblems» (sc. of their ranks). In such a case our Shu line would mean: »Who will carefully attend to my (variegated ones =) emblem(-holders)». — B. PK'ung: *ts'ai* 58 = *shī* 64: »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my affairs?». Cf. Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) *liang ts'ai* 65 (see Gl. 786 and 1281) 'to aid in the works' (Sī-ma Ts'ien *liang ts'ai* = 66; Cheng Hūan *ts'ai* 58 = 67 'actions'); Shu: Kao Yao mo, same phr. *liang ts'ai* 65, on which Ma Jung *ts'ai* 58 = 64; Shu: Kao Yao mo *tsai ts'ai ts'ai* 68 »He initiated the various works» (Sī-ma paraphr. 69); Yi Chou shu: K'o Yin »Shao kung Shī 70 aided in the works». — B is on the whole much better supported, but the choice between A and B depends also on a case of parallelism. Further on in the Yao tien we find: *ch'ou jo yü kung* 71. Ma Jung and PK'ung: *kung* = 'workman' (artisan): »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my workmen». This is a common meaning of *kung*, cf. Li: K'ü li: »The *liu kung* 72 six classes of artisans of the king are 73 earth artisan, metal artisan» etc. Chouli also has many similar phrases: 74 »workers in metal» etc. Li: Wang chī 75 »the hundred (kinds of) artisans». Indeed we had this same phr. *po kung* 75 earlier in our chapter here, though in a more general sense: *yün li po kung* »If you earnestly regulate the hundred functionaries». It is on the analogy of this that Ma Jung wants our *jo yü ts'ai* 57 above to refer to functionaries: »Attend to my officials». But it is very doubtful whether *kung* 76 really means 'artisan' here. Immediately after follows: »Oh, Ch'uei, 77 you shall be Master of works». *Kung Kung*, originally the name of a mythological hero, is here by the Shu author reinterpreted into the title of an official, cf. BMFEA 18, p. 219. *Kung* 78 must here (with PK'ung) be equal to *kung* 79 (a very common short-form), and means 'to furnish, to supply'. And *Kung kung* cannot very well mean »the furnisher of artisans» but must mean »the furnisher of works», the one who sees to the execution of the work of the artisans. It then stands to reason that the immediately preceding *ch'ou jo yü kung* must mean: »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my works». And this being so, the earlier phr. *jo yü ts'ai* 57 must mean, with interpr. B, »attend to my affairs».

#### 1234. *Kung kung fang kiu chan kung* 80.

Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 81. The last three words cause little difficulty. *Kiu* 82 (\**k'îôg* / *k'îu* / *kiu*) = 'to collect, bring together' (= 83) is common. Shuowen, quoting our phr., has 84 \**g'îôg* / *g'îu* / *k'iu* instead, but the meaning is much the same: 'to bring together'. (In another quotation Shuowen has 85 \**k'îôg*, a loan char. for 82.) The char. 86 is read \**dz'ân* / *dz'ân* / *chan* in Ts'ieyün and Shīwen. Ma Jung defines it by 87 'to procure, supply', PK'ung by 88 'to exhibit', and Sī-ma, as above, by 89 (spread out =) 'exhibit', which all comes to practically the same. (Shuowen in one quotation has 86 in another short-form: 90). Sū Miao, on the other hand, read it, \**dz'üan* / *dz'üan* /

謂達者 88 時哉 39 詞 40 曷 41 胤子朱啓明 42 嗣子丹朱開明 43 胤 44 胤正 45 吁器訟可  
乎 46 吁函凶不用 47 凶 48 趙 49 君子不為小人凶凶較行 50 吁器庸可乎 51 登庸 52 不用  
53 庸 54 器 55 趙凶 56 器 57 時 58 若 59 采 59 采 59 官 60 采 61 大夫有采 62 采地 63 分之采  
物 64 事 65 亮采 66 相事 67 行 68 事 69 采 69 始 70 事 71 贊采 72 時 73 若 74 工 75 六工 76 土工金  
工 77 攻金之工 78 百工 79 工 79 汝共工 79 共 79 供 80 共工 方鳩僝(僝)功 81 共工 有(有)聚

chuan, considering it to be a variant of 91 in the sense of 'to procure'. The real discrepancy concerns fang 92 (\*p'wang), Si-ma p'ang 93 (\*b'wang). The latter is not simply a gloss word of Si-ma's but represents one Shu version, since Shuowen quotes 94, which thus (through Si-ma) is the earliest version attested.

A. The text version with p'ang 93. Shuowen 93 \*b'wang = 95 (\*p'ag / p'uo / p'u) 'vast, great', thus: «Kung kung vastly has accumulated and exhibited his merits». Hü Shen really defines \*b'wang by the second syllable of a well-known binome 96, varied in many ways, e. g. 97 (\*b'wang-b'ak) in Chuang: Siao yao yu; 98 (\*b'wang-p'ak) in Sün: Sing ngo; 99 (\*b'wang-b'ak) in Han shu: Yang Hiung chuan, always meaning 'vast, wide' (later authors have varied the graphs further: 100 etc.). Since Kuangya: Shī ku says p'ang 93 = 1 'great' and 2 'wide', most Ts'ing scholars (Wang Nien-sun, Kiang Sheng, Sun Sing-yen) maintain that p'ang really has such a sense, and adduce various examples in which p'ang standing alone would have this meaning (cf. Gl. 772 and the ex. here below). But all the time p'ang really means 'everywhere', as an extension of meaning from its fundamental sense of 'side': 'side-wise, to all sides, in all directions' (the binome p'ang - p'u 96 etc. gives the same meaning: 'everside-wide'; the second member: \*p'ag, b'ak, p'ak as above is always a variation of the word-stem 3 \*p'ak 'wide'). So we have it in Li: P'ing yi 4 «His sincere straightness comes out (to every side =) everywhere»; Chouli: Nan wu 5 «From all sides he calls them by aid of mao herbs»; Li: Yü ling 6 «(On all sides =) everywhere to cut up victims»; Yi Chou shu: K'uang kie 7 «(In all directions =) everywhere he corrected the multitude». In all these cases Wang Nien-sun defines p'ang by 'great' or 'wide', but in fact there was no word \*b'wang = 'great' (it is significant that Erya, which has 39 words all defined as = ta 'great' has no p'ang or fang among them); there was only \*b'wang 'side' which by extension could mean 'to all sides, everywhere'. Thus we must translate our A text: «Kung kung (to all sides =) everywhere has accumulated and exhibited his merits». — B. The text version with fang 92. a. PK'ung defines fang 92 as = 8 'in all regions, everywhere', fang 'region' giving much the same meaning as p'ang 'side' above. — β. Ts'ai Ch'en: fang 92 is the common adverb 'just now': «Kung kung just now has accumulated» etc. This disregards entirely the existence of version A. — γ. Kuangya has an entry fang 92 = 1 'great', and Wang Nien-sun and followers believe that the fang of the B text has this sense, just as they think that the p'ang of the A text had it (see above); thus: «Kung kung greatly has accumulated» etc. But except some moot examples in the Shu, see below, there are no safe text par. — The sense of p'ang or fang = 'everywhere' is certainly best established. We compare:

Shu: Yao tien: Shang shang hung shuei fang ko 9. For shang 'voluminous' see Gl. 655. As to the ko 10 (\*kât / kât / ko), it is defined by PK'ung as = hai 11 (\*g'ad / γ ai / hai) 'injurious'. The T'ang and Sung scholars still took it to mean 'cutting' = 'injurious' (hence only cognate to 11 \*g'ad), and still read it \*kât, and so does Kiang Sheng. Sun Sing-yen believes that 10 is a variant graph for 11 (and hence to be read \*g'ad / γ ai / hai), referring to Shu: Ta kao 12 (PK'ung version), where Ma Jung's version had 13. But then again in Shu: T'ang shī we have shuai ko Hia yi 14 (where Si-ma paraphrases ko 'to cut, to slice' by 15 'to rob'): «He (cuts:) injures the city of Hia», and there Sun does not propose to alter ko 10 into hai 11. Since in our present case we know of no version that had 11 instead of 10, we have no sufficient reason to read in any other way than 10 \*kât / kât / ko. Cf. Gl. 1404. A. PK'ung again takes fang 92 as = 'to all sides', thus: «Voluminously, the great waters everywhere are injurious». — B. The Ts'ing scholars (after Kuangya, see above) say fang 92 = 'great': «The great waters are vastly injurious». For this there is no sufficient text support.



Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi): Kao Yao fang chī küe sü, fang shī siang hing 16. For sü 17 = 'work, actions, arrangements' see Gl. 1047. For siang hing see Gl. 1267. A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases 18: »Kao Yao now reverently carries out Yü's (virtue =) virtuous deeds», which shows that he took fang 92 = 19 to be the adverb 'thereupon, then, just now'. The second line is not given by Sī-ma, but in consequence of the preceding, fang there will have the same sense, thus: »Kao Yao now reverently carries out your work, and now applies the (described =) legally defined punishments». (Legge says he »would gladly» take the first fang 92 as = 'now' with Sī-ma, but the second fang 92 = p'ang 93; an impossible inconsistency). — B. Po hu t'ung: Sheng jen quotes p'ang shī siang hing with p'ang 93, and PK'ung takes both fang of his text to mean the same: 24 ('in the four quarters, in all regions =) 'everywhere', thus: »Kao Yao everywhere reverently carries out your arrangements and everywhere applies the legally defined punishments». — C. Sun Sing-yen says nothing of the fang in the first line and says of p'ang 93 (version B) in the second: = 95 'vastly' (after Shuowen, see above). But Kiang Sheng is more explicit. He read p'ang 93 in the second line (with the B version) but preserves the fang 92 of version A in the first and glosses the latter by 20, thus: »Kao Yao fang 92 (side by side with =) together with (you) reverently carries out your work, and p'ang 93 vastly applies the legally defined punishments». It is true that fang 92 can have the meaning of 20 (as in Shī and Yili, see Gl. 551, 547), and it is possible that Cheng Hūan already held this view, since he remarks that the emperor »attributed the virtue to both ministers» (Yü and Kao Yao), but it is certainly very bold to follow one version in half the line and another version in the other half, moreover giving fang 92 a meaning contrary to its ordinary use in the Shu. Interpr. A as applied to both fang is unreconcilable with the B text version, which, after all, is the earliest attested one and as applied only to the first fang (with Legge) entails an inconsistency. C is equally inconsistent. B alone is wholly consistent, suitable to both text versions and in full accord with the preceding Shu examples.

Shu: Lü hing: Fang kao wu ku yü shang 21. A. PK'ung again says fang = 8: »Everywhere they declared their innocence to (God on) High». This is confirmed by the version in Lun heng: Pien tung: p'ang kao wu ku etc. 22. P'ang, as above, means 'to all sides, everywhere', not (with Kiang and Sun) 'greatly'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: fang = 'then'; this is refuted by the Lun heng variant.

Shu: Li cheng: Fang hing yü t'ien hia 23. PK'ung: fang = si fang 24 'in the four quarters, in all regions', thus: »Everywhere to travel in the world»; here even Ts'ai accepts this obvious interpr. But Kiang and Sun still insist on fang (= p'ang =) 95 'vastly'.

Shu: Tsi ts'ai: Tso hiung ti fang lai 25. A. »As brothers they came from all quarters». So both PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en. — B. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: fang 92 = 20: »... they came side by side». — No reason to attribute this rare (though in some cases attested) meaning to the char.

布功 2 施 83 聚 84 迷 85 救 86 保 87 具 88 見 89 布 90 屏 91 撰 92 方 93 虧 94 共 工 旁 迷 屏 功  
95 薄 96 旁 薄 97 旁 薄 98 旁 薄 99 旁 薄 100 旁 薄 傍 薄 薄 1. 大 2. 廣 3. 博 4. 孚 旁 達 5. 旁  
招 以 茅 6. 旁 7. 旁 匡 於 衆 8. 方 方 9. 湯 湯 洪 水 方 割 10. 割 11. 害 12. 天 降 割 于 我 家 13. 天  
降 害 14. 率 割 夏 邑 15. 奪 16. 阜 陶 方 祗 厥 敘 方 施 象 刑 17. 敘 18. 阜 陶 于 是 敬 禹 之 德 19. 于 是  
20. 拉 21. 方 告 無 辜 于 上 22. 有 告 無 辜 於 天 帝 23. 方 行 于 天 下 24. 四 方 25. 作 兄 弟 方 來 26. 小

Shu: Wei ts'i: Siao min fang hing 26. A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders fang 92 by ping 20: 'The people (side by side =) all together rise', which is admissible but hardly commendable, see the preceding ex. — B. PK'ung: 'The small people everywhere rise'. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: 'The small people then rise'. — Best to follow (with PK'ung) the general rule of the Shu, as registered above.

We have seen that in no single case is a meaning p'ang or fang = 'great' or 'wide' supported by unambiguous texts. In all the instances the fundamental sense of 'to all sides, everywhere' can be carried through with consistency and is hence preferable. 1235. Tsing yen yung wei 27.

A. The version above is that of PK'ung and also of Chung lun: K'ao wei. Han shu: Wang Sun chuan reads 28; the char. 29 and 30 having as fundamental meaning 'still, quiet' are homophonous (\*dz'jěng, rising tone) and often interchangeable. Lun heng: K'uei kuo reads 31. Wei 32 (\*g'wər / wəi / wei) 'transgressing, erring, perverse' and h uei 33 (\*g'wər / yuəi / h uei) 'deflected, perverse' make the same sense here. But the phr. has been construed in various ways. — a. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases 34, which Chavannes translates: '(Kung kung) est un bon parleur, mais quand on le met à l'oeuvre, il est mauvais'. This, I believe, is a double mistranslation. In the first place, a phr. like shan yen in itself can mean 'he is good at talking' (Chavannes here follows Chang Shou-tsie who paraphr. 35), but tsing yen, which Si-ma renders by shan yen, certainly cannot mean that. Tsing 'quiet' is defined by shan 'good' as an extension of meaning: 'quiet' > 'nice, good': 'he nicely speaks', just as in Ode 89 in the Han shi phr. 36 the tsing is defined as = shan 37. Thus tsing is an attribute to yen: 'He (quietly =) smoothly speaks'. PK'ung has realized this, for he explains (after Erya) tsing yen by mou yen 38 'He (quietly, ponderingly, planningly =) cunningly speaks'. The phr. is analogous to the k'iao yen ling sê 39 'Smart talk and a fine appearance' in Shu: Kao Yao mo. On the other hand yung 40 (Si-ma k' i yung 41) was taken by PK'ung to refer to the teng yung 42 'to raise and employ' in an earlier paragraph, yung here thus being a transitive verb = yung chi 43 'if one employs him' (which has been accepted by Chavannes). But yung here has Kung kung for subject (not for object). This was already realized by Chang Shou-tsie, who paraphr. the second part: 44 'His applying his mind (sc. in his actions) is perverse'. In fact yung 40 means 'work, deeds, actions', just as later on in the Yao tien 45 'They were clearly tested by their achievements, they were (charioted and garmented =) endowed with chariots and garments (by norm of =) according to their works (actions)'. This is a common meaning (Erya yung 40 = 46 'to toil, to work', cf. BMFEA 1916, p. 194). That this is the meaning here and was so conceived by Si-ma is evident: there is a typical chiasma (a : b : b : a); tsing (a): yen (b): yung (b): wei (a). Yen 'to speak' stands in contrast to yung 'action' and tsing 'quiet' stands in contrast to wei 'perverse'. Thus: 'He (quietly =) smoothly speaks, but his actions are perverse'. Ts'ai Ch'en has tried a parallelism in another way, contrasting tsing ∞ yung and yen ∞ wei; he paraphrases: 47 'Tsing when (at leisure =) unemployed yen he speaks, yung when employed wei he contravenes (his words)'. Very scholastic. — B. Another version ap. San kuo chi, Wu chi: Lu K'ang chuan reads 47 b (quoting T'ang shu 48, i. e. our Yao tien). This is because that line occurs in Tso: Wen 18, there said of the wicked K'ung K'i (whom commentators all from Fu K'ien of Han time have speculatively identified with Kung Kung, see BMFEA 18, p. 255), and the author has rightly realized that the Tso passage is an allusion to the Shu. K'ung Ying-ta, not aware of this, has interpreted the Tso line: 'He (found peace in =) was at home with slanderers and employed the perverse ones'. But obviously we have to interpret the Tso line on the analogy of the A text. Chen 49 (\*i'iem) means 'to slander', but the char. is sometimes

used (see Gl. 958) for the cognate w. 50 (\*tsiam) 'to be untruthful, to lie', and even when meaning 'to slander' the fundamental sense is really 'to speak untrue things about (somebody)'. Thus here: »He (quietly =) smoothly lies but his actions are perverse». This comes very close to A. Since Tso does not expressly cite the Shu, we dare not accept the B text as a real quotation: chen 49 for yen 52 may be a paraphrase made by the Tso author.

1236: Siang kung t'ao t'ien 53.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 54. The phr. has to be understood in the light of the following paragraph: »The great waters 55...vastly they swell up to Heaven». The man 56 of Si-ma's has the same meaning (Shuowen defines t'ao 57 by 58; cf. Chuang: Ma ti 59 »They [overflowingly =] excessively made music»). PK'ung has realized that the first phr. simply is a metaphor anticipating the second, and in both cases of t'ao t'ien he has the same gloss 60 »as if overflowing Heaven». Thus: »He is in appearance respectful, but he swells up to Heaven». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en dare not accept this but believes that the anticipation, in the first phr., of the t'ao t'ien which occurs in the second is a mistake due to text corruption. (Legge, following this, translates: »He is respectful only in appearance [See! The floods assail the Heavens]»). But Si-ma's paraphr., which closely follows the tradition text, clearly shows that there has been no text corruption. — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen both think that Si-ma's man 56 stands for man 61 (Kiang even suggests that the 56 in the present Shī ki text is a corruption of 61) 'to despise, to be careless, impudent', and that t'ao 57 of the Shu had the same meaning, thus: »In appearance he is respectful, but he despises, is impudent towards Heaven» (Kiang) or: »...but he despises, is careless about (t'ien 62 = t'ien sing 63) his heavenly nature» (Sun). In support of this they adduce Ode 255, phr. 64 »Heaven has sent down to them an (overflowing, swelling =) reckless disposition», on which Mao Heng: t'ao 57 = 56; and Tso: Chao 26, phr. 65 »The officials should not be (reckless =) careless» (Tu Yü: t'ao 57 = 56). This is all very well, but it would be strange indeed if in two consecutive lines of our text the same phr. t'ao t'ien 69 should have two entirely different meanings: first: »(he) despises Heaven» (or: »he despises his heavenly nature») and secondly: »(the waters) swell up to, assail Heaven». This, of course is quite excluded. — D. Sun Yi-jang: t'ao 57 is a loan char. for t'ao 66 (both \*t'ög) 'to doubt', which occurs e. g. in Tso Chao 26, phr. 67 »Heavens norms are not doubtful»; and 66 would then have been altered into 57 under influence of the following t'ao 57. The line would mean: »He is in appearance respectful, but doubts Heaven» (has no confidence in Heaven). Besides that this makes poor sense, we would have t'ao t'ien 68 'to doubt Heaven' and t'ao t'ien 69 'to swell up to Heaven' in two consecutive paragraphs, which is very unlikely. — E. Chang Ping-lin: In Kyü: Chou yü the mythical hero Kung Kung 70 is simply called Kung 71, by abbreviation. Our kung 72 here should really be kung 71, and siang kung

民方興 27 靜言庸逵 28 靖言庸逵 29 靜 30 靖 31 靖言庸回 32 逵 33 回 34 善言其用僻 35 善  
為言語 36 有靖靜家室 37 善 38 謀言 39 巧言令色 40 庸 41 其用 42 登庸 43 用之 44 用逸邪  
僻 45 明試以功車服以庸 46 勞 47 靜則能言用則違背 48 靖諸庸回 49 唐書 49 詩 50 階 51  
52 言 53 衆恭滔天 54 似恭漫天 55 洪水...浩浩滔天 56 漫 57 滔 58 水漫漫大兕 59 澶漫為  
樂 60 若漫天 61 慢 62 天 63 天性 64 天降滔德 65 官不滔 66 詔 67 天道不詔 68 詔天 69 滔天

t'ao t'ien 53 means: »He imitates Kung Kung and (causes the waters to) swell up to Heaven». An amusing speculation. — A alone can satisfy the text such as it stands and is confirmed by Si-ma.

»The emperor said: Oh, Si Yü» — for this personage, see BMFEA 18, p. 261.

Shang shang hung shuei fang ko see Gl. 1234.

Huai shan siang ling — for siang 'to rise above' see Gl. 215.

1237. H ü, fu tsai 73.

A. PK'ung: fu 74 (\*b'iwat / b'iuat / fu) = 75 'to offend, offensive' (in agreement with Shuowen: fu 74 = 76 'to transgress, oppose, offend'). Thus: »Oh, he is offensive». Cf. Shu: Wei ts'i 77 »One offends the aged elders». The same word (\*b'iwat) is sometimes wr. 78, e. g. Li: Hüe ki 79 »In their seeking (sc. knowledge) they are oppositional». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: fu 74 is a forceful negation, thus: »Oh, certainly not, by no means». No text par. — A is better supported.

1238. Fang ming pi tsu 80.

Fang ming:

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases 81 »He turns the back on, he neglects (my) orders». Both Ma jung, Cheng Hsüan and Ying Shao in accordance with this take fang 88 (read \*piwang, falling tone) as a short-form for fang 82 'to let go, neglect', and the phr. is already wr. 83 in an edict from the end of Western Han (Han shu: Fu Hi chuan). — B. On the phr. fang ming nüe min 84 in Meng: Liang Hwei wang, hia, which clearly alludes to our Shu phr., Chao K'i defines fang 88 by yi 85 'to go against, to oppose', thus here: »He opposes my orders». Ts'ai Ch'en quotes a »Mr. Wang» who explains this: whereas yüan 'round' is »mobile», fang square is »stationary, immobile», thus 'obstructive'. Hence »He squares my orders» would mean »He obstructs my orders». A comical idea. Fang 88 = 'to oppose' could only be a short-form for fang 86 (\*piwang) 'to oppose', as in Tso: Yin 3, phr. 87 »The mean oppose the nobles, and the young presume against the elders». — C. PK'ung takes fang 88 in its ordinary reading (\*piwang, even tone): 'square' = 'straight, upright': »He is fang straight (apparently), but ming when charged (he ruins his kin)». An impossible forcing of the text. — No reason to abandon the oldest interpr. (A).

Pi tsu 89.

A. Si-ma simply renders this by 90, and Ying Shao expounds 91: »He ruins his kin». There is nothing to show that Si-ma by tsu or the expounder Ying Shao by his tsu lei meant anything else than 'clan, kin', for tsu lei as a binome with that sense is well known. Tso: Ch'eng 4, phr. 92 »Those who are not of our kin, their hearts will be different from ours» (the context here referring to the prince of Tsin as being tsu lei a kinsman, whereas the prince of Ch'u was of a different clan). Lei properly means 'category, class', here then those who belong to the same category: tsu lei = 'kinsmen-classmen'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases pi tsu 89 by 93 »not concordant with the crowd», thus evidently taking tsu as equal to lei in a more general sense: '(kin =) category, class': »He ruins his (category =) crowd», which Legge has turned thus, »He tries to injure his peers», and Chavannes thus, »Il est funeste à ses collègues». Tsu sometimes can have such a more general sense, cf. Li: Tsi fa 94 »Those (men and things) which were not of these categories (kinds, classes) were not placed on the list of sacrifices». — C. PK'ung, foll. by K'ung Ying-ta, Chang Shou-tsie and even Sun Sing-yen, commits a curiously illogical trick. Lei 95, besides meaning 'category, class', also frequently means 'good' (properly: 'up to the standard'), and so we have it in Ode 257, phr. 96 »The covetous men ruin the good» (see Gl. 830, with text par.). Now, since tsu can be equal to lei in the phr. tsu lei 'kin' above, tsu should — those scholars imagine — also be equal to lei in the sense of 'good', and the pi tsu 89 of our text

is equal to the *pai lei* 96 of the ode; thus: »He ruins the good». There is, of course, not the slightest text support for *tsu* having ever had the sense of 'good', and PK'ung's false analogy is a warning example of bad philology. — There is no reason whatever for abandoning the oldest interpr. (A): Kun was the chief of a powerful feudal family and by his demeanour he ruined the fortunes of his house.

1239. Yüe yüe yi tsai 97.

Ts'ie yün and Shīwen both say *yi* 98 had two readings: even and falling tone.

A. Cheng Hūan (ap. Shīwen) read 98 like 99 (falling tone), evidently taking it to be a variant graph for this word. This is confirmed by Lie: Yang Chu 100 »Wherein does it differ?», where *yi* 98 is equal to 99 (similarly Tso Sī, 3rd c. A. D., in his Wei tu fu writes 1 meaning 2). Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that Cheng Hūan interpreted: »How strange!» (sc. that you should say so — a protest against Yao's criticism of Kun). Possibly this was already the opinion of Lu Fa-yen, for in Ts'ie yün he says *yi tsai t'an* 3 »*yi tsai* is (a sigh =) a regretting exclamation». But, as pointed out by Liu Jung-tsung (19th c.), Cheng's idea probably was quite different, based on Si-ma Ts'ien. Si-ma in Wu ti pen ki simply reproduces the *yi tsai* of the Shu text: but in Hia pen ki, in the same context, paraphrasing the same Shu line, he says 4 »In classifying them, there is nobody so wise as Kun», which shows that he took *yi tsai* 5 (= 6) to mean »He is (different from others =) remarkable». — B. Shuowen: *yi* 98 = 7 'to lift, to promote', thus: »Promote him» (into office). No text par.; probably Hū's gloss is a mere script etymology, the char. containing 8 two hands. Moreover, with this sense the line should not end by *tsai*. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en says the meaning of *yi tsai* is doubtful, but he surmises that it means something like: »After all he shall have to do». I suppose *yi* 98 should then have to be a variant of *yi* 9 'to finish' with a free extension of meaning: 'to let off = never mind'. (Legge: »Well but...»). Couvreur frankly takes 98 = 9, explaining: »Desinas (eum respirare) Stop (criticizing him)». — A, besides being the oldest interpr., is the only one which is supported by text par. Moreover, the preceding phr. *fu tsai* »He is offensive» is best balanced by the present *yi tsai* 5 »He is remarkable».

1240. Shī k'o nai yi 11.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphr. 12 »Try him and if he cannot be used, then (finish him =) dismiss him». Si-ma has introduced a negation that is not in the Shu text. In order to agree with Si-ma's paraphrase, this latter has to be taken as a violent ellipsis: *shī* try him (whether he) *k'o* will do, (if not) then dismiss him». This is exceedingly unreasonable and cannot be saved by Sun Sing-yen's amusing theory that *k'o* 13 is »a quick way» of pronouncing *pu k'o* 14. PK'ung makes it still worse, interpreting: *shī* to try him *k'o* will be all right, (if he is unsuccessful) then dismiss him». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en therefore takes *nai yi* as equal to the common final *er yi* 15 »and that is all», expounding: »Try him whether he will do, and that is all», adding: »whether he will do» refers to the work against the inundations — that will be all, he need not be a good

70. 共工 71. 共 72. 恭 73. 吁咈哉 74. 咈 75. 戾 76. 達 77. 咈其考長 78. 佛 79. 其求之也佛 80. 方命圮族 81. 負命 82. 放 83. 放命圮族 84. 方命虐民 85. 逆 86. 妨 87. 賤妨貴少陵長 88. 方 89. 圮族 90. 毀族 91. 毀其族類 92. 非我族類其心必異 93. 與衆不和 94. 非此族也不在祀典 95. 類 96. 貧人敗類 97. 歎曰 98. 異哉 99. 異 100. 何以異哉 1. 異乎 2. 異乎 3. 異哉 4. 等之未賢于鯀者 5. 異哉 6. 異哉 7. 與 8. 升 9. 已 10. 咈哉 11. 試可乃已 12. 試不可用而已 13. 可 14. 不可 15. 而

man for other works». — C. Kiang Sheng (more fully developed by Yü Yüe): *yi* 9 and *yi* 16 (both \**ziæg* / *i* / *yi*, rising tone) are interchangeable graphs, and 9 here stands for 16 'to employ': «Try him, and if he will do, then employ him». Cf. Yi: Kua 41, phr. 17, Shiwen variant 18; Li: T'an kung 19 (16 = 9); Lun: Sien tsin 20 (Cheng Hsün's version 21); Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang 22 (16 = 9). Indeed, 16 and 23 (= 9) were probably variants of one and the same archaic graph 24. Observe particularly Sün: Fei siang 25 «By means of what?» = 26; here, just as in our Shu ex., *yi* 9 clearly serves for 16. — D. Legge, though he quotes Si-ma (A above) with approval, translates quite differently: «Try him and then you can have done with him», which supposes a different word sequence: 27. — C is strikingly convincing.

1241. *Ju neng yung ming* 28.

The phr. was introduced by: «Oh, you Si Yüe, I have been in the high position (on the throne) 70 years, *ju neng yung ming*».

A. PK'ung: «(If) you can (use =) execute my orders» (I will cede the throne etc.), thus referring *ming* 'order' to the speaker (Yao). PK'ung seems to have forgotten that he took Si Yüe to be four princes: it is difficult to see how Yao could offer to cede the throne to four gentlemen. Ts'ai Ch'en, who correctly took Si Yüe to be one potentate, could with more reason interpret as above. — B. Cheng Hsün, likewise taking Si Yüe to be four princes, has expounded accordingly, supposing a strong ellipsis, and moreover he took *ming* 'order' = 'the mandate of Heaven': (If any of) you (princes) can (use =) execute Heaven's mandate» (I will cede the throne to him). — Since it is a question of imperial power, Cheng is undoubtedly right about *ming*; but Si-yüe was one person (see BMFEA 18, Legends and cults *passim*), and so the line means: «(If) you can (use =) execute (Heaven's) mandate» (I shall cede etc.).

1242. *Sun chen wei* 29.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders the line *tsien chen wei* 30, thus making the Si Yüe addressed the subject: «You shall step into my high position». *Tsien wei* 37 'to (trample, tread:) step into the high position' (as ruler) is a common expression, e. g. Li: Ming t'ang wei 31 «Chou kung stepped into the position of the Son of Heaven»; Li: Chung yung 32 «They (stepped into =) occupied their (sc. the ancestors') high positions». Sun Sing-yen and Chu Tsün-sheng believe that the 33 \**swən* / *suən* / *sun* of the Shu text is a loan char. for this 34 \**dz'ian* / *dz'ian* / *tsien*, which is phonetically highly improbable. On the other hand 34 \**dz'ian* in Chouli: Si tsun yi serves as loan char. for 35 \**dz'ian* 'to serve up food, to furnish', see Gl. 233, and it would be conceivable that Si-ma's 34 would mean 'to furnish', equal to 33 as a short-form for 36: «I will furnish you (present you with) my high position»; but this is forbidden by the early existence of the well-known phr. *tsien wei* 37 as above, the meaning of which in those ex. is quite unambiguous. In fact, there are reasons to believe that Si-ma has freely deviated from the Shu text above, and that he really knew that *sun* 33 had another sense, cf. B below. — B. Ma Jung: *sun* 33 = *jang* 38, thus making Yao himself the subject: «I shall (withdraw from, yield =) cede my high position». This means that Ma took 33 \**swən* as loan char for 39 \**swən* / *suən* / *sun* 'to withdraw, to give way, yield, cede' (common word, often abbrev. into 40). *Sun* 33 as loan char for this 39 is common: Lun: Ts'i han 41 «(Yielding =) complaisant, gentle, mild words»; Yi: Kua 4, phr. 42 «His obedience and (yielding =) humility». And Si-ma already seems to have had this idea about the *sun wei* 43 of our text, for, differing from his paraphr. of the Shu line in A above, in Sh'i ki: Po Yi chuan he says 44 «Yao would yield the high position and cede it to Yü Shun», thus using the very phr. *sun wei* 45 = 43. — C. PK'ung: *sun* 33 = *shun* 46, paraphrasing: «I shall (let you) *sun* (accord with =) carefully attend to (the tasks of) the high position». — D. Kiang Sheng: *sun* 33 = 47, again taking

Si Yüe as the subject: »You shall enter my high position». This is based on Yi: Shuo kua: 48 »s u n means j u». But it is very doubtful what this really means: »s u n means penetrating»? or: »s u n means penetrable»? I know of only one real text in which s u n may mean 'to enter': Yi: Kua 50, phr. 49 »By entering wood into fire, one cooks food». But it is quite possible that s u n here again has its fundamental sense of 'to yield': »By wood (yielding to =) being consumed by fire, one cooks food», so the ex. is not conclusive. — B alone is sufficiently substantiated.

1243. Fou tē 50.

A. Si-ma renders this by pi tē 51. »(I have) an inferior virtue». — B. PK'ung: (I have) not the virtue». The char. 52 has two readings: \*piüg / piü / f o u 'not' (very common); and \*b'æg / b'ji / pi 'to obstruct', see Gl. 1021. But it is also attested as loan char. for 53 \*piæg / pjiwi / pi 'vulgar, inferior, bad', e. g. Yi: Kua 50, phr. 54 »It is advantageous to eliminate what is bad» (Shiwen 52 \*piæg / pjiwi / pi). — 52 as loan for 53 is rare, whereas it is exceedingly common as = \*piüg 'not'. Since B takes 52 in its ordinary sense, without any loan of char., and makes good sense, it is certainly preferable. — We should compare:

Lun: Yung ye 55. Confucius had visited Nan-tsi and Tsi-lu disapproved. The master said: y ü s o f o u chē...

A. Read \*piüg / piü / f o u. Si-ma Ts'ien: K'ung tsi shī kia renders it 56 (57 and 52 both \*piüg). a. The ancient interpr. »Wherein I have made (incorrect =) wrong». β. Liu Pao-nan: »If I had not» (sc. gone and visited). — B. Read \*piæg. Wang Ch'ung in Lun heng: Wen K'ung reads 58, thus replacing 52 by 53: »Wherein I have been bad». — C. Wang Pi 59 and others read 52 \*b'æg / b'jiwi / pi, thus: »Wherein I have (obstructed =) been refractory». — Here again the ordinary reading \*piüg is certainly the most simple and convincing (in the A α interpr.).

1244. Shī si ti yüe 60.

As to si 61 'to give, to present', Chang Ping-lin proposes that the original graph was simply 62 (as in the bronze inscriptions), but this would not mean 'to present' but 'to transport, to transmit' from one place to another, hence 'to report' to the emperor. In support of this he adduces Shu: P'an Keng 63 »I shall not let you propagate your seed in this new city»; but here y i really means 'to exchange' = 'to renew your seed', hence to propagate. Other ex. adduced by Chang are the y i in Tso chuan discussed in Gl. 1431 and the si in Yü kung discussed in Gl. 1366 — none of them has the sense of 'to transmit'.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders shī 64 by ch u n g 65 'the crowd', thus: »All (presenting =) to the emperor said». Shī in this sense is very common. — B. Cheng Hün: shī 64 means 66. This could be taken to mean, with A, »The crowd of princes», but probably Cheng's idea was different, for, in comm. on Chouli: Hiang shī 67 and Tien shī 68, he

已 16. 以 17. 已事 18. 以事 19. 不得以 20. 毋吾以 21. 毋吾已 22. 無以 23. 臣 24. 已 25. 何已也 26. 何  
以也 27. 試乃可已 28. 汝能庸命 29. 獎朕位 30. 踐朕位 31. 周公踐天子之位 32. 踐其位 33. 獎  
34. 踐 35. 踐 36. 踐 37. 踐位 38. 讓 39. 遜 40. 孫 41. 獎與之言 42. 順以獎也 43. 獎位 44. 亮將遜位讓  
于虞舜 45. 遜位 46. 順 47. 入 48. 獎入也 49. 以木獎火亨飮也 50. 否德 51. 鄙德 52. 否 53. 鄙 54. 利  
出否 55. 予所否者 56. 予所不者 57. 不 58. 予所鄙者 59. 王弼 60. 師錫帝曰 61. 錫 62. 易 63. 無俾  
易種于茲新邑 64. 師 65. 衆 66. 諸侯之師 67. 鄉師 68. 甸師 69. 長 70. 州 71. 十二師 72. 克諧以孝

says: *shī 64* = *chang 69*. Thus (with Sun Sing-yen) he probably meant *chū hōu chī chang*. Thus: «The leaders (of the princes) said to the emperor». *Shī* = 'master, leader' is likewise common. — Cheng evidently was influenced by his opinion of another Shu passage: Shu: Kao Yao mo 70 which he interpreted: «In the provinces there were 12 leaders». But as we shall see in Gl. 1335 this is not acceptable. Hence we have no reason for abandoning the oldest interpr. above (A).

**1245.** *K'ō hie yi hiao cheng cheng yi pu ko kien 71.*

**A.** The Han-time authors on the one hand took the two words *hie* and *hiao* as coördinated expressions, on the other hand carried the *cheng cheng* to the first line. Thus Liu Hsiang (in *Lie nü chuan*) paraphrases the first 4 words thus: 72 «Shun could treat them with concordance and serve Ku Sou with filial piety». And Ts'ai Yung in an inscription (*Kiu yi shan pei*) writes: «Shun... 73 he was able to be concordant with the stupid (sc. father) and the arrogant (sc. brother) and to be (in filiality grand =) grandly filial». In a memorial to the throne Sung Yi 74 (1st c. A. D., ap. *Hou Han shu* k. 71) says *chī hiao cheng cheng 75* «grand in extreme filiality», alluding to our text; many more ex. in Wang Nien-sun's notes on the *Kuangya*, which has an entry *cheng cheng* = *hiao 76* 'to be filial, filial piety'. In fact *cheng cheng* has here fundamentally the sense of 'grand, fine, splendid', as in Odes 244 and 299 (see Gl. 1151), here specially pertaining to his attitude towards his parents. Lu Kia (*Sin yü: Tao ki*) says 77 «Yü Shun was grand towards his father and mother», i. e. grandly filial. Our first Shu line *k'ō hie yi hiao cheng cheng* thus means: «He has been able to be concordant and to be grandly filial». These same authors then took the following *yi 78* together with the rest. *Sī-ma Ts'ien* renders *yi 78* by *chī 79* 'to govern' (common meaning) and Liu Hsiang (*Lie nü chuan*) paraphrases 80 «Shun further (was inwardly governed =) controlled himself and had no wicked thoughts». Thus our Shu line *yi pu ko kien*: «He has controlled himself and has not come to wickedness». Sun Sing-yen has adopted this Han-time interpr. — **B.** PK'ung divides the line differently: *k'ō hie yi hiao, cheng cheng yi, pu ko kien*: «He has been able to make them concordant by his filial piety; *cheng cheng* (advancingly =) more and more *yi* they have controlled themselves and not come to wickedness». *Cheng 81* = *tsin 82* 'to advance' is based on *Erya*, but *Erya's* gloss really means *tsin 82* in the sense of 'to bring forward' = 'to present' (sacrificial gifts) and it does not mean 'to advance' as an intransitive verb (see Gl. 1151). — **C.** Kiang Sheng punctuates like PK'ung but says: 78 has a variant 83 (the two graphs are in fact interchangeable, see Gl. 447, 481), and the latter is the proper char. here. It should not be read \**ngiǎd / ngiǎi / yi* but \**ngád / ngái / ai*. *Erya* says *ai 83* = 84 'to nourish', and the line means: «He is able to be concordant (with his brother) and filial (towards his parents) *cheng cheng ai he* (grandly =) amply nourishes (them), (so that) they do not come to wickedness». The *Erya* gloss *ai* = 'to nourish', however, has no support in reliable text ex., see Gl. 447 and 1317. — Both B and C lack substantiation through good text parallels in regard to the salient words (*cheng* and *yi*). Moreover, the earliest interpr. (A) is far superior in content, since it praises Shun's own qualities and not the effect on his family of his actions; and finally the ancient lore unanimously present his parents and brother as bad, perpetrating all kinds of wicked deeds (BMFEA 18, p. 296), and it certainly cannot be said that they «did not come to wickedness».

**1246.** *Li kiang er nü yü Kuei juei pin yü Yü 85.*

For *Kuei juei 86* «the nook of the Kuei river» (the place of its juncture with another stream) and not «the rivers Kuei and Juei» see Gl. 910.

**A.** *Sī-ma Ts'ien* foll. by PK'ung, refers the line to Shun (the clause has no expressed



subject): »He (Shun) regulated and submitted the two daughters in the nook of the Kuei (river), and they served as wives in the Yü house». Li 87 frequently means 88 or 89 'to regulate', e. g. Ode 276 phr. 90 »The king regulates your achievements». The line would express that though of very noble birth the two girls were brought into decorous obedience to Shun by his great virtues. — B. Sün Shuang (ap. Hou Han shu: Sün Shuang chuan) takes *er nü* as the subject: »The orderly, submitting two daughters in the nook of the Kuei (river) served as wives in the Yü (house)». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en takes Yao as subject: »He (regulated =) equipped and sent down the two daughters» etc. This is certainly right as far as the subject is concerned: the whole context (the lines before and after) shows that the line refers to Yao. But Legge rightly considers li as a more general term than the arranging of the bridal equipment: »He (Yao) (regulated, arranged =) directed and sent down his two daughters to the nook of the Kuei (river) to be wives in the Yü (house)».

Yao tien continued; in the orthodox version: »Shun tien»; the first 28 characters in the orthodox version are spurious.

#### 1247. Shen huei wu tien 91.

Shen huei:

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders it *shen ho* 92 »He carefully (harmonized =) adjusted the five rules». For *huei* in that sense there is no text support. Sun Sing-yen says that 93 (\**χmīwər* / *χjwəi* / *huei*) was »similar in sound» to 94 (\**snīwər* / *swi* / *suei*) 'to comfort', which is very wrong. Since *huei* fundamentally means 'rope, string' and from Han time was the term for the attachments of the strings to a lute, Kiang Sheng thinks that it means here 'to attune' the five rules, which is rather far-fetched. — B. Ma Jung (after Erya): *huei* 93 = 95. The sense 'good, admirable' is well attested (Shi etc.); PK'ung similarly says *huei* = 96 'beautiful, fine'. Thus »He carefully made good, made fine the five rules». This is somewhat nonsensical. — C. Another interpr. *Huei* 93 also means 'a pennon, a banner' (ex. in Li, Tso etc.), and this is an extension of meaning: »He carefully (signalized =) displayed the five rules». There are many parallels to this metaphor. Tsing 97 'banner': Tso: Hi 24, phr. 98 »It will signalize a good man»; Tso: Chuang 28, phr. 99 »It signalizes (displays) the great deeds of the prince»; k'i 100 'banner': Tso: Min 2, phr. 1 »It is a manifestation of the loyalty». This interpr. suits the context well; the line continues: »The five rules then could be followed». Chang Ping-lin had a similar opinion, defining *huei* by *piao* 2.

Wu tien:

»The five rules» is an expr. which recurs in Kao Yao mo 3. It has been variously explained.

A. The oldest interpr. is that in Tso: Wen 18, where *wu tien* 10 »the five rules» (referring to our Shu chapter) are identified with *wu kia o* 4 »the five teachings», for which see Gl. 1285 below: that fathers should be *yi* 5 just, mothers *ts'i* 6 loving, elder brothers *yu* 7 friendly, younger brothers *kun g* 8 respectful, sons *hia o* 9 filial.

烝烝乂不格姦 72 舜能諧柔之承事瞽叟以孝 73 克諧祖德以孝 烝烝 74 宋意 75 至孝 烝  
 烝 76 孝 77 虞舜蒸蒸於父母 78 乂 79 治 80 舜猶內治靡有姦意 81 烝 82 進 83 艾 84 養 85 釐降  
 二女于漚汭 續于虞 86 漚汭 87 釐 88 飭 89 理 90 王釐爾成 91 慎徽五典 92 慎和 93 徽 94 綏  
 95 善 96 美 97 旌 98 旌善人 99 旌君代 100 旗 1. 衷之旗 2. 表 3. 天敘有典 勅我五典 4. 五教  
 5. 義 6. 慈 7. 友 8. 共 9. 孝 10. 五典 11. 典 12. 常 13. 五常之教 14. 常性 15. 五常 16. 仁 17. 禮 18. 智

Cheng Hsüan, following this, says (in Yao tien here): *wu tien 10* is equal to *wu kiao 4*. Erya defines *tien 11* as = *ch'ang 12* 'constant norm', and PK'ung on the basis of this defines *wu tien 10* as = *13* »the teachings of the five constant norms«, enumerating the list of Tso above, adding that they are man's *14* regular natural disposition. — B. Pan Ku (Po hu t'ung: Ts'ing sing) has quite a different definition of *wu ch'ang 15* »the five constant norms«: they are *jen 16* goodness, *yi 5* righteousness, *li 17* decorum, *ch'i 18* wisdom and *sin 19* faithfulness. Sun Sing-yen in Kao Yao mo accepts this list as corresponding to our *wu tien*, whereas in our chapter Yao tien here he follows A. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en, while likewise maintaining that *wu tien 10* is equal to *wu ch'ang 15*, takes these latter to be identical with the *wu lun 20* »the five social relations« as defined by Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang, cf. Gl. 1285 below: the relation between father and son, between sovereign and subject, between husband and wife, between elder and younger, between friend and friend. — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

1248. a. *Na yü po k'uei, po k'uei shi sü 21*.

b. *Shi tsê po k'uei 22*.

The line b. follows later in our Shu chapter. For *shi sü* see Gl. 1249. *K'uei 23* means (with Erya) 'to measure, to estimate' (common), hence also 'to take measures for, to regulate, to dispose'.

A. The oldest interpr. is indirectly given in Tso: Wen 18, where a line is evidently written as an allusion to our Shu passage: »(They were given a certain office) *yi k'uei po shi, mo pu shi sü 24* in order to dispose the hundred affairs, there were none which were not orderly«. The Tso author obviously took our Shu phr. *po k'uei 25* in the sense of »the hundred disposals« = the disposal of the hundred affairs. Thus our Shu lines: a. »He was (entered into =) appointed to the (hundred disposals =) general management, the (hundred disposals =) general management was orderly«; b. »I shall make him occupy (the hundred disposals =) the general management«. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: a. 26; b. 27. Thus, in line a. he adds a *pien* 'all round' which is not in the Shu text and renders *po k'uei* by *po kuan* (*kuan* means 'office' or 'officer'). Sun Sing-yen says that Si-ma's *ju* is equal to 'introduce' in the sense of 'to select', and Si-ma's line a. would thus mean: »All round he (introduced =) selected the hundred officers, the hundred officers were orderly«. If this was Si-ma's idea, he deviated from the Shu, whose *yü 28* in *na yü po k'uei 21* would then be inexplicable (unless we turn it thus: »He introduced [men] into the hundred offices«, which is too strained). Chavannes therefore translates: »Il fut investi de toutes les cent fonctions (properly: »All round he (entered into =) was appointed to the hundred offices«, which is very unreasonable. On the other hand, in line b. Si-ma simply renders *po k'uei* by *kuan*: »I shall make him occupy an office« (strangely translated by Chavannes: »Je lui donnerai l'autorité«). In short, however we translate Si-ma's lines, this author is inconsistent in his interpr. of *po k'uei* and his version is not reconcilable with the Shu texts. — C. Huainan: Siu wu like Si-ma takes *po k'uei* = *po kuan 29*, but construes differently. He paraphrases: »He wived him with his two daughters in order to 30 see his behaviour in his house; he 31 entrusted him with the hundred officials, in order to 32 see his behaviour in public life«. Here »daughters« and »officials« balance each other, which shows that Huai took *po k'uei* concretely as = »the hundred officials« (here Chavannes' »les cent fonctions« would not do). Thus our Shu text a: »He was (introduced into =) charged with the hundred officials«. This interpr., however, is not applicable in line b. and hence inadmissible. — D. PK'ung, influenced by Si-ma's paraphrase *kuan* for *k'uei*, believes that *po k'uei* was the title of an office (later comm. have identified it with the *chung tsai 33* of Chou time!), and he

explains: *k'uei* 23 means 34 'to dispose', adding: 35 »To dispose the hundred affairs and to direct the hundred officers (or: offices), one (introduced =) nominated Shun to this office«. Thus in an amusing way PK'ung juggles with the word *k'uei*, giving it at the same time the sense of 'to dispose' (of Tso chuan above) and of 'officer, office' (Si-ma above). Having taken *pok'uei* as a title in the first half of the line, PK'ung could not carry this through in the second *pok'uei shi sü*, and there he says *pok'uei* = *poshi* 36 'the hundred affairs'. This inconsistency has been accepted by Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng and the Western translators. Legge: »Being appointed to be *pok'uei* General regulator, the *pok'uei* affairs of each department (sic!) were arranged in their proper season«. — A alone is consistent and acceptable.

1249. *Pok'uei shi sü* 37.

Si-ma has *shi sü* 38, the two char. 39 and 40 being homophonous and interchangeable.

A. PK'ung does not gloss *shi* 41 here, but in some other Shu texts, where we have *shi sü*, he says *shi* 41 = *shi* 42 (common in Shu and Shī): K'ang kao Yü e kü e pang kü e min wei shi sü 43 »Its states and its people *shi* then *sü* were brought into order«. K'ang kao Nai ju tsin sun yü e shi sü 44 »Then you will be entirely compliant, saying: *shi sü* that is in order«. In Tso: Wen 18, phr. *mo pu shi sü* 45, K'ung Ying-ta follows PK'ung, explaining *shi* 41 = 46, thus: »There were none that were not *shi* then *sü* orderly«. Thus in our phr. 37 above PK'ung probably took *shi sü* to mean the same: »... then were orderly«. Sun Sing-yen here in Yao tien likewise says 41 = 42 (yet mentioning interpr. C below). But in K'ang kao 43 he says *shi* 41 = *shan* 47 'good' (cf. D below), and, since Erya says: *sü* 39 = *yü* 48, and since this *yü* 48 can mean 'joyful' (Ode 254), he interprets: »Their states and their people were good and joyful«. And in K'ang kao 44 he again says: 41 = 47 and 39 = 49, interpreting: »You should by what is good continue it«. An impossible inconsistency. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en. In Yao tien 37 he takes *shi* 41 in its ordinary sense of time: »... were timely and orderly«. In K'ang kao 43 he does not explain *shi*; in K'ang kao 44 he says *shi* 41 = 42 (as A above), explaining: »that is properly ordered«. Again an inadmissible inconsistency. — C. Wang Yin-chi (King yi shu wen): 41 \**diag* / *zi* / *shi* was »similar in sound« to 50 \**diang* / *ziang* / *ch'eng* and is loan char. for this *ch'eng*, the binome *shi sü* 51 thus being equal to *ch'eng sü* 52 (he tries to confirm this by the fact that the similar char. 53 \**siag* / *si* / *shi* in two texts, Li: Nei tsê and Yili: T'ê sheng kuei si li, by Cheng Hüan is said to stand for *ch'eng* 50, an eccentric speculation of Cheng's: 53 is there obviously a loan char. for 54). This *ch'eng sü* 52 or 55 occurs not only in Kyü: Ch'u yü 56 (which, in fact simply means: »I, Yi Siang, would eagerly accept your arrangements«) but even in Shu: Lo kao nai ch'eng sü wan nien 57, commonly interpreted: »(The Yin) have received the orderly rules for a myriad years«. But, says Wang, *sü* in this phr. *ch'eng sü* (and *shi sü*) does not mean 'order' but 58 'to follow, obey' and *ch'eng sü* (*shi sü*) means 59 'compliant' (56: »... I would eagerly be compliant; 57 »The Yin will be compliant for

乃信<sup>20</sup>五倫<sup>21</sup>納于百揆百揆時敘<sup>22</sup>使宅百揆<sup>23</sup>授<sup>24</sup>以百事莫不時序<sup>25</sup>百揆<sup>26</sup>乃徧入百官百官時序<sup>27</sup>使居官<sup>28</sup>于<sup>29</sup>百官<sup>30</sup>觀其內<sup>31</sup>任以百官<sup>32</sup>觀其外<sup>33</sup>京率<sup>34</sup>度<sup>35</sup>度百事揔百官納舜於此官<sup>36</sup>百事<sup>37</sup>百揆時敘<sup>38</sup>時序<sup>39</sup>敘<sup>40</sup>序<sup>41</sup>時<sup>42</sup>是<sup>43</sup>越厥邦厥民惟時敘<sup>44</sup>乃汝盩遂曰時敘<sup>45</sup>莫不時序<sup>46</sup>於是<sup>47</sup>善<sup>48</sup>豫<sup>49</sup>緒<sup>50</sup>承<sup>51</sup>時敘<sup>52</sup>承<sup>53</sup>序<sup>54</sup>詩<sup>55</sup>持<sup>56</sup>承<sup>57</sup>敘<sup>58</sup>倚相奔走承<sup>59</sup>序<sup>60</sup>乃承敘萬年<sup>61</sup>順<sup>62</sup>承<sup>63</sup>順<sup>64</sup>乃剪<sup>65</sup>兄勛

a myriad years»). Thus: *Po k'uei shi sū* 37: »(The hundred disposals =) the general management was compliant (mild, peaceable)»; and similarly the *K'ang kao* examples: 43 »Their states and their people will be compliant»; 44 »Then you will be entirely accordant with right and compliant» (in the former, Sun Yi-jiang would divide the line differently, reading *wei shi sū* together with the following *nai kua hiung hū* 60 »compliant to the exertions of your brother's»). Indeed *shi* 41 alone would have this sense in Shu: *Ku ming er shang ming shi chen yen* 61, by PK'ung interpreted quite simply: »Would that you would understand these my words» (accepted by Ts'ai Ch'en and Kiang Sheng); here 41 = 50 and *ming* 62 = *mien* 63 (Sun Sing-yen adds: *ming* 62 was similar in sound to *meng* 64, and Erya says 64 = 63), thus: »Would that you would *ming* strive to *shi* 41 be compliant to my words». Again, in Ta Tai: Shao hien, 65 would not mean the obvious: »Follow the times of Heaven's (airs =) seasons, use the Earth's resources», but: (*shi* = *ch'eng*) »Comply to Heaven's seasons...» These various speculations of Wang Yin-chi's are very forced and little plausible. There is no reason why *ch'eng sū* 52 should mean 'compliant' instead of the normal meaning of the words, still less reason why *shi* 41 (*dīng*) should serve for *ch'eng* (*dīng*). Such loan theories are acceptable only when the words make no good sense with their normal and well-attested meanings. — D. Another interpr. Wang Yin-chi is right that *shi* 41 should have one and the same sense in all those various cases of *shi sū* 51 (38). Interpr. A (41 = 42) could be carried through, in the examples above, but its weakness is that it does not take *shi sū* as a binome, which its constant recurrence indicates that it really is. This is particularly clear in a line in Kyū: *Chou yū* 66, where the binome *shi sū* corresponds to the binome *tsu an siu* — here *shi* 41 cannot mean 42. Now *shi* 41 is common in the sense of 47 'good' (Erya), but then fundamentally in the sense of 'correct'; for a full discussion and numerous text ex. see Gl. 553. *Shi* 'correct' and *sū* 'orderly' are practically synonymous and form a natural and excellent binome: *shi sū* thus simply means 'orderly'. Thus: *Po k'uei shi sū* 37 »(The hundred disposals =) the general management was orderly»; 43 »Its states and peoples became orderly» etc.

#### 1250. *Pin yü si men, si men mu mu* 67.

The *si men* »four gates»: both in Li: *Ming t'ang wei* and in Yi Chou shu: *Ming t'ang kie* it is described how the representatives of the foreign tribes (East: the 9 Yi tribes; South: the 8 Man tribes; West: the 6 Jung tribes; North: the 5 Ti tribes) were received at the four gates (east, south, west, north) of the *Ming t'ang*. This refers to Chou time, but Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen conclude that the »four gates» of our text likewise refer to those of the *Ming t'ang*.

A. All the comm. believe that the 2nd line has an ellipsis: »He received the guests (i. e. the feudal lords who came to court) at the four gates, (the guests at) the four gates were *mu mu*». This is already indirectly indicated by the Tso chuan author (Tso: Wen 18) who, quoting our line, adds: 68 »there were no ominous men» — they were all good, which is then expressed in the 2nd line. *Si-ma Ts'ien* expounds this more fully. Hence the *mu mu* has been variously defined as = 69 'respectful' (*Si-ma* after Erya), 70 'fine' (*Ma Jung* after Erya), 71 'harmonious, concordant' (*Ts'ai Ch'en* after Cheng Hüan on Ode 260). — B. There is no reason whatever to accept this clumsy ellipsis. The line is analogous to Ode 237: »And so he raised the outer gate, the outer gate was high; and so he raised the principal gate, the principal gate was grand (72)». Here we have: »He received the guests at the four gates, the four gates were stately». For *mu mu* — 'stately' see Gl. 757.

#### 1251. *Na yü ta lu* 73.

A. *Si-ma Ts'ien* paraphrases: »Yao sent Shun 74 into the forest of the hills». *Lu* 75

(\*luk) means 'hill-foot forest' (Kuliang: Hi 18). Thus »He was sent into the great hill-foot forest, (violent wind thunder and rain did not lead him astray)«. — B. Shang shu ta chuan: »Yao honoured Shun and entrusted the feudal lords to him and handed him the realm yü ta lu chī ye 76 in the wilds of the hill-foot forest«. Fu Sheng consequently took the na 77 in the sense of 'to hand over'. Thus the Shu line: »He handed over (the realm) in the hill-foot forest«. — C. Cheng Hüan follows up this idea of B, but modifies it further. He says (after Ma Jung) that 75 (\*luk / luk / lu) properly means 78 'hill-foot', but here it is loan char. for 79 (\*luk / luk / lu) 'emoluments'. But in spite of this he dare not wholly emancipate himself from the primary idea of lu 75 meaning the 'wild forest', and so he gives a curious paraphrase in which he serves up both meanings simultaneously: »When the Son of Heaven ordered some great affair or charged a feudal lord ha made an altar outside the capital city (here he alludes to lu = »the wilds of the hillfoot forest« of the Ta chuan above); when he charged Shun to ascend to the high position and take the regency, he 80 let give him great emoluments« (75 = 79). — D. PK'ung entirely eliminates the first meaning and unambiguously adopts the second: »He (Yao) (entered him [Shun] into =) appointed him to great emoluments«. His reason for this is evidently the words na yü, which recur from the preceding line na yü po k'uei »He appointed him to the general management«. But then the following line: »Violent wind, thunder and rain did not lead him astray« makes no sense, and hence PK'ung has to advocate another sense for this line: »The violent wind, the thunder and the rain did not go astray«, i. e. all the natural phenomena were timely and without disturbances. A comic attempt to evade the difficulty. — A alone is natural, logical and acceptable.

1252. Sün shī k'ao yen nai yen chī k'o tsi 81.

Chī 82 means 83 or 84 'to settle, to achieve, to accomplish, to effect', see Gl. 820. Erya says sün 85 = mou 86 (foll. by all comm. here), but it is important to observe that this does not mean mou in the sense of 'to plan' but in the sense of 'to consult, take advice from' (very common), never 'to plan'. Sün shī cannot mean 'the affairs you have planned' but must mean 'the affairs on which you have been consulted'.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders the line 87 »The affairs on which you have been consulted have (arrived =) been achieved, your words have been capable of yielding fine results«. It is obvious that this cannot be a direct paraphrase of the Shu line as it stands above, and Sun Sing-yen believes that this is corrupted, the correct wording being found in a Shu quotation in Pei T'ang shu ch'ao: sün shī k'ao yen nai chī k'o tsi 88, thus lacking the second yen 89. If Si-ma's line were to correspond to this version, we should have to say that his chī 90 ('to arrive' = 'to be achieved') corresponds to the word k'ao which often means 'to achieve', and that his brief yen k'o tsi corresponds to the fuller yen nai chī k'o tsi; thus: sün shī the affairs on which you have been consulted have k'ao been achieved, yen nai chī your words have been accomplished k'o tsi and have been capable of yielding fine results. But it is also evident that there are other possibilities: on the one hand Si-ma may have had the orthodox version 81 above but deviated from it, skipping k'ao yen

爾尚明時朕言 明 勉 孟 時天之氣用 地之財 時序其德 纂脩其緒 履于四  
門 四門穆穆 無凶人 敬 美 和 應門將將 納于大麓 入山林 麓 于大  
麓之野 納 山足 錄 使大錄之 詢事考言 乃底(底)可績 底 致 定 詢  
謀 女謀事至而吉可績 詢事考言 乃底可績 言 至 乃 言底可績 辭讓于德

and carrying the *ch i* 82 'to achieve' of the 2nd line to the 1st and rendering it by *ch i* 90, as a kind of free paraphrase, giving only the general content without following the Shu line word for word; on the other hand the version 88 need not be interpreted in accordance with Si-ma's line: it could very well be construed differently, e. g.: »In the affairs on which you have been consulted I have examined your words (and found that) they have been accomplished and been capable of yielding fine results» (which comes very near to B below). — B. The orthodox text 81 (with double *yen* 89) is supported (as pointed out by Kiang Sheng) by a passage in Kao Yao mo: *nai yen ch i k'o tsi* 91 »Your words have been accomplished and been capable of yielding fine results». This is exactly the wording in our text above, and the two passages confirm one another. Sun's theory that the Pei T'ang shu *ch'ao* version 88 is preferable should therefore be rejected. The exact meaning of the line must consequently be different from Si-ma's rendering in A above. PK'ung interprets: »In the affairs on which you have been consulted, I have examined your words; your words have been accomplished and been capable of yielding fine results». (Legge modifies this into: »I have consulted you on [all] affairs and examined your words» etc., which is certainly no improvement).

1253. *Shun jang yü tê fu si* 92.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien in *Wu ti pen ki* renders the line 93. But in his Preface (Ts'i sü) he says: »T'ang Yao ceded the high position, *Yü Shun pu yi* 94 (on which Si-ma Cheng: 95 = 96 = 97). Si-ma Cheng is evidently right that Ts'ien's 95 (\**d̥iag* / *i* / *y*) is a short-form for 96 (same sound) 'to rejoice' (this expl. 95 = 98 was already given by Sü Kuang on another passage in the Ts'i sü, which contains the phr. *pu yi* 94). The Kin-wen version thus was 99. This, however, has been understood in two ways: — *a*. Si-ma Ts'ien understood it thus: »Shun (ceded in virtue =) considered himself inferior in virtue, and was not pleased» (with the proposal). That he took *pu yi* to mean this is revealed by a letter he wrote (ap. Han shu: Si-ma Ts'ien chuan): »The emperor because of this in eating does not enjoy the taste, in holding audience *pu yi* 100 is not pleased», which evidently is an allusion to our Shu phr. — *β*. Sü Kuang paraphrases *pu yi* by *pu wei po sing so yüe* »he was not liked by the people», thus: Shun considered himself inferior in virtue, not being liked (by the people)». — B. The present orthodox version above, *fu si* 1, that of PK'ung, was the Ku-wen version, earliest attested in late Eastern Han time: Wei Chao, in comm. on Han shu says 2: »the Ku-wen version for *yi* 95 had *si* 3» (a passage in Han shu: Wang Mang chuan reading 1 must originally have had 94, being the text alluded to by Wei Chao above, later altered after the orthodox Ku-wen version). This has been explained in two ways: — *a*. PK'ung: Shun (ceded in virtue =) considered himself inferior in virtue and *fu si* did not (succeed =) accept the succession». — *β*. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Shun ceded (to =) in favour of (some one) virtuous and did not accept the succession», a very forced construction. — C. Yü Sing-wu combines our 3 \**d̥ziag* of the Ku-wen, the 95 \**d̥iag* of the Kin-wen with 4 \**d'ag* / *d'ái* / *tai* in Kan shi (5) and several more Shu lines, with 6 \**d̥iäk* in Lo kao (7), with 8 \**d̥ziag* in To shi (9) etc. and believes that they are all variations of one and the same word: the 6 \**d̥iäk* / *iäk* / *y* i which means 10 'to be tired of'; phonetically very unconvincing. Moreover, in order to make any sense of our Shu line here he has then to take *jang* 11 as wrong for *sia ng* 12 'to aid' and *yü* 13 as = *yi* 14 (very risky), interpreting: »Shun aided with his virtue, without becoming tired». A quite hopeless speculation. — There is no reason for not accepting the oldest version attested, in its oldest interpr. (that of Si-ma Ts'ien, A *a*), which is simple and good.

1254. *Shou chung yü wen tsu* 15.

»He accepted the (end =) abdication (of Yao) at (*auprès de*) the Wen tsu» (in the temple of the accomplished ancestor[s]). For Wen tsu and various scholastic speculations

about its meaning see Chavannes MH I, p. 56—58. There is, of course, no possibility of reaching any detailed knowledge of what the term purports.

1255. Tsai süan (sün) ki yü heng yi ts'i ts'i cheng 16.

For tsai 17 = 'to examine' (18) see Gl. 751. The char. 19 is read \*dziwan / züwän / süan in Shiwen and Ts'ie yün, but that is because (see below) the commentators speculatively thought it identical with 20 or 21 \*dziwan; the phonetic in the char. shows that it really should be read \*dziwän / züwän / sün (in Grammata p. 243 this reading by mistake was stated to be that of Shiwen and Ts'ie yün; it is on the contrary the sound indicated by the graph); in Han time the w. was written with the phonetic 22: 23 züwän / sün, see Shuowen.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien in Wu ti pen ki reads as above, but in Feng shan shu, in Lü shu and in T'ien kuan shu he writes 24 (\*dziwan / züwän / süan, var 21). In T'ien kuan shu he says: 25 The seven stars of the Pei Tou Northern Ladle (not, with Chavannes, Le Boisseau septentrional, see Gl. 634) that is what is said (sc. in the Shu) »süan ki yü heng, by them he (adjusted =) verified the ts'i cheng». All from Han time this has been so understood that Si-ma identified the 7 stars of the Northern Ladle (α—η in Ursa Major) with Süan ki and Yü heng, and that ts'i cheng meant something else. The Ch'un ts'iu yün tou ch'u 26 (one of the wei-shu 27 of late Han time), quoted in Shī ki so yin, says: In the Tou 28 Ladle, the 1st is T'ien ch'u 29, the 2nd is Süan 20, the 3rd is Ki 30, the 4th is K'üan 31 (the Balance), the 5th is Heng 32 (the Traverse of the balance), the 6th is K'ai-yang 33, the 7th is Yao-kuang 34; the 1st to the 4th is K'uei 35, the 5th to the 7th is Piao 36, together they all make the Tou 28 Ladle». The Wen yüe kou 37 (another of the wei shu) ap. Shī ki so yin says: »The Tou 28 Ladle is the throat and tongue of Heaven, the Yü heng 38 is the 39 attachment to the Ladle (the handle), and K'uei 35 is the Süan ki 40». According to this interpr. Si-ma would have meant: »The stars Süan ki (the four stars forming the Ladle proper) and the Yü heng (the three stars forming the »handle»), by them he verified the ts'i cheng». In such case the ts'i cheng could not mean »the 7 directors» in the sense of 7 stars, for that would make a meaningless tautology (by the 7 stars [of the ladle] he verified the 7 directors [= stars of the Ladle]), but ts'i cheng would mean something different (Chavannes: »les sept gouvernements», cf. B below). But it is not at all sure that this was Si-ma's meaning. On the contrary there are clear proofs that by ts'i cheng he really meant 7 stars, and obviously the 7 stars of the Ladle. In Lü shu he says: The Shu says (a quotation from some now lost Shu chapter): the ts'i cheng 41 7 directors, the er shī pa shê 42 Twenty-eight Mansions (parts of the firmament and constellations of these parts), the lü li 43 pitch-pipes and the calendar, by them Heaven unites the forces of the 5 elements and the 8 governing principles». Here the ts'i cheng the 7 directors obviously refers to some prominent heavenly bodies, balancing the following 28 Mansions (with their constellations). It is thus quite evident that Si-ma in his phr. 25 above by Pei Tou ts'i sing »the 7

弗嗣 23 辭讓于德不憚 24 不台 25 台 26 怡 27 悅 28 憚 29 辭讓于德者台(怡) 30 不怡 / 不嗣  
2 古文台為嗣 3 嗣 4 息 5 息 案三正 6 數 7 我惟無數其康寧公 8 辭 9 非有辭于罰  
10 厭 11 讓 12 襄 13 于 14 以 15 受終于文祖名在璿璣玉衡以齊七政 17 在 18 案 19 璿 20 璣  
21 璇 22 司 23 珣 24 璇璣 25 北斗七星所謂璇璣玉衡以齊七政 26 春秋運斗樞 27 緯書 28  
斗 29 天樞 30 璣 31 權 32 衡 33 閭陽 34 握光 35 魁 36 標 37 文耀鉤 38 玉衡 39 屬杓 40 璇璣 41

stars of the Ladle» comments, not the words *süan ki* and *yü heng* of the Shu line but its expression *ts'i cheng* «the 7 directors». To Si-ma the *ts'i cheng* 7 directors were the 7 stars of the Ladle. His phr. thus means: «The 7 stars of the Pei Tou Northern Ladle, that is what is said (in the Shu): «*süan ki* and *yü heng*, by them he (adjusted =) verified the *ts'i cheng* 7 Directors (= 7 stars of the Northern Ladle)». Consequently by *süan ki* and *yü heng* he meant something else than these stars. There is really only one detail which could suggest that Si-ma meant *süan ki* and *yü heng* to be stars: in describing the constellation he calls one of its stars *Heng* 32 (Transverse of balance). But in all his elaborate treatise on astronomy, with scores of names for stars and constellations, he never has *süan* or *ki* or a binome *süan ki* or a binome *yü heng*. It is quite evident, however, that it is the detail just mentioned: *Heng* as Si-ma's name for a star in Ursa Major, which has caused the Han-time astronomers to build up the theory of *süan* and *ki* or (binome:) *süan ki* as alternative names for certain stars or groups of stars in the Ursa Major. They have misunderstood Si-ma and further embellished his system. We revert to Si-ma under D below. — B. Fu Sheng in *Shang shu ta chuan* has another theory. He writes 44 but explains 45 as equal to *ki* 46 'a little'. *Süan ki* thus means «the one whose *süan* revolving is infinitesimal», i. e. *pei ki* 47 the Polar Star (which only turns round on itself but does not change place in the firmament). He skips the inconvenient *yü heng* and says that the *ts'i cheng* 41 «the 7 governing forces» are the four seasons, *t'ien wen* 48 the configurations on Heaven, *ti li* 49 the formations on Earth, *jen tao* 50 the principles of man. Thus: He examined the *süan ki* Polar star and the *yü heng* (whatever Fu thought that meant), and thereby (adjusted =) verified the 7 governing forces». But in another passage the same *Shang shu ta chuan* explains that *ts'i cheng* refers to sun and moon and the 5 planets, saying that their regular or irregular behaviour shows the correctness or incorrectness of the king's government, hence they are called *ts'i cheng* «the 7 (criteria of the) government». All this is plainly impossible. — C. Ma Jung reverts to the orthodox reading *sün ki* 51 (which even Si-ma has in *Wu ti pen ki*). He says *sün* 52 = 53 'a fine jade', and *ki* 30 = 54 'a celestial globe', thus taking the *ki* 30 as equal to 45 'apparatus'. But then he has not been able to withstand the temptation to draw in the earlier speculations which replaced *sün* 52 by *süan* 20 (or 21), so he adds: «It can be 55 made to revolve» (here he plays the funny trick of explaining *sün* 52 by 'fine jade' but at the same time picking up the meaning of 'to revolve' from those who took *sün* 52 as a variant for *süan* 20). Then he says that the *yü heng* 'jade transverse' was 56 «a transversal tube in the middle (of the apparatus), by which one observed the constellations». (Ts'ai Yung, 2nd c. A. D., is even able to describe the apparatus in detail, with measures and all, see quotations in Sun Sing-yen). Furthermore he adopts one of the Ta chuan ideas, that the *ts'i cheng* were sun, moon and the 5 planets, but at the same time he would save Si-ma's idea that *ts'i cheng* refers to the 7 stars of the Ladle. He achieves this by a similar syncretistic trick: the 7 stars of the Pei Tou Northern Ladle each one governs one of the 7 mobile heavenly bodies: one star governs the sun, another the moon, a third the planet Mars etc. And he concludes that the «holy man», anxious about his poor virtue, by the apparatus verifies the movements of sun, moon and planets in order to find whether his *cheng* 57 'government' is correct or not — here again he plays with the *cheng* 57 in two senses; or rather in three senses: «the 7 directors» = the 7 stars in the Ladle; the 7 directors = sun, moon and planets; and *ts'i cheng* = «the 7 (revealers of) the government». Cheng Hün adopts Ma's ideas of the apparatus: the revolving part (like Ma, Cheng is here influenced by the *süan* 20 of the preceding speculators)



is called *ki* 45, the regulator (of the apparatus) is called *heng* 32, both being made of jade (52 and 58 respectively); the 7 directors are sun, moon, five planets; Shun observes them to find out whether he is right or not in accepting the throne. — D. It was shown under A that *Si-ma Ts'ien* by *ts'i cheng* meant the 7 stars of the Ladle and that he never took *süan ki* as name of a star or of stars. The very fact that he replaced the original *sün* 52, preserved in his *Wu ti pen ki*, by *süan* 20 in the other chapters reveals that he thought *sün* 52 was a loan char. for *süan* 'to revolve', and that he (like *Ma jung* after him) regarded this *süan ki* as a revolving apparatus, taking *ki* 30 = *ki* 45. In fact, *Tuan Yü-ts'ai* elaborately tries to prove that neither the *Shu* text nor *Si-ma* (nor *Han shu*: *Wang Mang chuan*, where we likewise find 51) ever had 30 but always 45 «corrected by later copyists». This is very unlikely, but it is immaterial, for it is quite obvious that *ki* 30 does not here mean 'a pearl that is not round' (as it does in *Shu*: *Yü kung* and in *Lü*: *Chung ki*) but is equal to *ki* 45 'apparatus' (made of jade and therefore wr. with the variant 30). *Si-ma* thus took the *Shu* line to mean: «He examined the revolving apparatus and thereby (adjusted =) verified the 7 directors (= the 7 stars of the Ladle)». But the whole idea of replacing *sün* 52 by *süan* 20 (21) 'to revolve' or considering it as a loan char. for that w. is patently inadmissible. *Sün* in *sün ki* balances the *yü* 'jade' in *yü heng* and should mean some valuable kind of stone. The word is attested in *Tso*: *Hi* 28, phr. 59, as quoted both by the *Shuowen* (= 60 'fine jade') and by *Chang Heng*: *Si king fu* (the orthodox *Tso* text has 61, a corruption substituting to the unusual *sün* a similar char. very common in the classics, particularly in the *Odes*). Since *sün ki* thus does not mean heavenly bodies, *ts'i cheng* must do so, and there remains the question whether *Si-ma* is right: the 7 stars in the Ladle, or those who take it to mean sun, moon and planets. The decision is given by the context. *Shun* did not examine the celestial bodies to ascertain his own virtue «in the government» (*Ma Jung*) nor his right to accept the throne (*Cheng Hüan*), so much is clear from a comparison with the beginning of the *Yao-tien*. The account of *Yao*, after some general paragraphs praising his character and virtuous actions, starts by his first and most important task as a ruler: he orders *Hi Ho* to observe the sun and determine its course and the seasons. Now here *Shun*, having received the succession, starts his career by a similar ceremony: he verifies (by the apparatus) sun, moon and planets and their movements. It is quite obvious that the *ts'i cheng* 7 directors are these primary and fundamentally important heavenly bodies, and not the 7 stars of a certain constellation. The *Shu* line 16 thus means: «He examined the *sün*-stone apparatus and the jade transverse and thereby (adjusted =) verified (the movements of) the seven directors (i. e. sun, moon and planets)» — just as *Yao* had attended to the movements of the sun. That the paragraph refers to *Shun*'s first task of «attending to the calendar» is *Ts'ai Ch'en*'s opinion and it is evidently correct. But he describes *sün ki* as an apparatus «adorned with *sün* stones» which is not motivated.

1256. *Silei yü Shang ti* 62.

«And then he made *lei* sacrifice to God on High». There has been a voluminous discussion about the meaning and nature of the *lei* sacrifice. The commentators principally base their opinions on the meaning of the w. *lei* 'category, class, sort' (*Shuowen* has the enlarged char. 63).

七政 42. 二十八舍 43. 律歷 44. 旋機 45. 機 46. 幾 47. 北極 48. 天文 49. 地理 50. 人道 51. 璿璣 52. 璿  
53. 美玉 54. 渾天儀 55. 轉旋 56. 中橫 57. 第 58. 政 59. 玉 60. 璿 61. 璿 62. 璿 63. 璿 64. 璿 65.

A. The Hia-hou and Ou-yang schools (quoted in Hū Shen's *Wu king yi yi*) defined it: 64 »to sacrifice on the occasion of (affair-classes =) certain sorts of affairs», and the Ku-wen school (*ibid.*) likewise 65 »to report (to the God) about certain sorts of affairs». The former add that the sacrifice took place in 66 the southern suburb (the regular place for a sacrifice to Heaven). The latter adds that the lei thus was a sacrifice on a special occasion, here the succession of Shun to the throne, and not a regular seasonal sacrifice 67. Hū Shen says that since the Chouli in describing the sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburb 66 does not use the term lei, it is clear that the lei was not a regular (seasonal) sacrifice. Sun Sing-yen would confirm this further: there are two texts referring to such extraordinary (not seasonal) sacrifices. One is the present, on the occasion of Shun's succession; the other is the lei sacrifice to Shang ti in connection with a warlike expedition described in Li: Wang chī (68), of which we have an example in Ode 241. And Ts'ien Ta-chao adds further examples of such extraordinary lei sacrifices. Chouli: Siao tsung po: »Whenever there are great disasters (69) in Heaven or on Earth, one makes lei sacrifice to the gods of the Soil and the Grain and in the ancestral temple» 70; Chouli: Sī shī 71 »When they make lei and tsa'o sacrifices to Shang ti» acc. to the commentators refers to warlike expeditions (which, however, is quite unproved). — B. Cheng Hūan, stating that the sacrifice took place on the y ū a n k' i u 72 »circular mound», in comm. on Chouli: Sī shī and Siao tsung po explains lei differently: it means »of the same sort» sc. with the same rites as the regular sacrifices. — C. The same Cheng Hūan has yet another explanation. In Chouli: Siao tsung po 73 »He makes altars to the Five Sovereigns in the four kia'o suburbs; (in regard to) the four wang and the four lei (sacrifices) he does the same». Here the early comm. disagree as to whom the four lei were offered to: Cheng Chung says to San Huang 74 the Three August ones, Wu Ti 75 the Five Sovereigns, Kiu Huang 76 the Nine August ones» and 77 the 64 peoples, but that is manifestly wrong, since the Five Sovereigns were already recorded before; Cheng Hūan says the sī lei were to sun, moon, planets and constellations 78, adding: since their movements are not uniform, 79 he makes their places of sacrifice according to the k' i lei category of their influences. Thus here Cheng takes lei to mean a »category sacrifice», sacrifice according to the category of those offered to. — D. It is easily demonstrated that these various speculations are quite without foundations. Expl. C is not applicable to the phr. lei y ū Shang ti. Interpr. A and B are both based on the assumption that the lei sacrifice was an extraordinary one, not seasonal. But the only early text which says anything precise about the lei forbids this view. Kyū: Ch'u y ū, hia (in a great discourse on sacrifices): »Anciently the former kings 80 every day made tsi sacrifices, every month made hia ng sacrifices, every season made lei sacrifices, and every year made sī sacrifices». Here it is clearly stated that the lei (contrary to A and B) were precisely seasonal sacrifices. And it is then very natural to conclude that the sī lei four lei in the Chouli passage 73 were likewise regular, seasonal sacrifices, just like those to the w u ti and the sī wang recorded in the same line. The lei, in fact, seems to be a very general term applicable to sacrifices not necessarily offered in the southern suburb (in Ode 241 a lei sacrifice was offered by Wen wang when away from his capital, see Gl. 845) and offered to various divinities: both to Shang ti, God on High, and to Shē, the god of the Soil (Huai: Pen king says that »anciently» the Son of Heaven when annihilating a foe made lei sacrifice to the Shē god of the Soil of that feudatory), Tsi the god of the Grain and Tsung miao in the ancestral temple (see phr. 70 above). The meaning of the name lei 81 had possibly nothing to do with the sense 'category, class, sort', for lei is common in the sense of 'good' (see Gl. 830) and is probably only a fine denomination (»the good thing») for the sacrifice.

## 1257. Yin yü liu tsung 82.

»He made yin sacrifice to the six venerable ones». For yin see Gl. 690. Legge and Chavannes in their notes have only strided the vexed question of what was meant by the »six venerable ones».

A. Shang shu ta chuan: they were Heaven, Earth and the four Seasons. (Shiwen says Ma jung followed this, but cf. C.) — B. The schools of Hia-hou and Ou-yang (ap. Wu king yi yi): they were Heaven, Earth and the four Quarters. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Tsi yi) follows this. — C. The Ku shang shu school (ap. K'ung Ying-ta): they were Sun, Moon, the Polar Star [as presiding over planets and constellations] (= the 3 heavenly tsung venerable ones); the T'ai shan mountain, the Ho (River) and Hai, the ocean (= the 3 earthly venerable ones). This was adopted by Kia K'uei. Cheng Hsüan says Ma Jung followed this (cf. A). This interpr. is very unlikely, since in the Shu there follows immediately 83 »He made wang sacrifice to mountains and rivers» — the preceding line should not then refer to the T'ai shan and the Ho. — D. Cheng Hsüan: Since the sacrifice was called yin, like the sacrifice to Heaven (cf. Chouli: Ta tsung po) and since Li: Yüe ling says: »They pray for a good harvest to T'ien tsung 84», the six venerable ones should all be 85 Heavenly Spirits, namely, with Chouli: Ta tsung po: sing 86 the planets; ch'en 87 the (conjunctions =) constellations of the various »mansions»; si chung 88 (a star in Ursa Major); si ming 89 (another star in Ursa Major); feng shi 90 the god of Wind, identical with the constellation Ki 91; yü shi 92 the god of Rain, id. w. the constell. Pi (Gl. 634). This view has been adopted by Meng K'ang (3rd c., comm. on Han shu). The Chouli: Ta tsung po passage referred to runs: »By yin 93 sacrifice they sacrifice to Hao t'ien Shang ti 94 Great Heaven God on High; by a 95 full burnt-offering they sacrifice to 78 sun, moon, planets and constellations; by a 96 fire-pile they sacrifice to Si chung 88 and Si ming 89, to Feng shi 97 and Yü shi 92». — E. PK'ung (Wang Su): They were: the four seasons; heat and cold; sun; moon; planets; water and drought. The text which this school has in mind is Li: Tsi fa, which says: »By burying a shao lao at the (altar of the) Great Brightness 98 they sacrificed to the four seasons; by making purifications and prayers at the pit and the altar 99 they sacrificed to cold and heat; at (the altar in) the Royal palace they sacrificed to the sun; at (the altar of) the Night Brightness 100 they sacrificed to the moon; at the honoured place of the darkness 1 (or: by a darkness offering 2) they sacrificed to the planets (or: stars generally); at the honoured place of the rain 3 (or: by a rain offering 4) they sacrificed to water and drought; at the 4 pits and altars 5 they sacrificed to the four quarters 6. — F. Liu Hin: The six venerable ones were water, fire, thunder, wind, mountains and marshes 7. This is based on the theories expounded in Yi: Shuo kua, giving these 6 powers as produced by Heaven and Earth. — G. Kiang Sheng (following up some theories of Huei Tung): They were the Five emperors 8 plus the Polar Star. — Of all these speculations there are only two, viz. D and E, that are directly based on some pre-Han text clearly describing sacrifices, but in

類以單類祭以單類告南郊時祭天子將出征類乎上帝大哉萬類社稷  
宗廟萬類造上帝萬國丘萬兆五帝于四郊四望四類亦如之萬三皇五帝九皇萬  
大十四民萬日月星辰萬以萬類為之位萬日祭月享時類歲祀萬類煙于大宗萬望  
于山川萬天宗萬天神萬星萬辰萬司中萬司命萬風師萬箕萬雨師萬稷萬吳天上帝  
萬貴榮萬燄燄萬龍師萬桑昭萬坎土壇萬夜明萬幽榮萬寧宗萬寧榮萬四坎壇

both cases the counting does not tally. The powers sacrificed to in Li: Tsi fa (E above) are really seven: the seasons, cold and heat, sun, moon, planets, water and drought, the four quarters. In order to identify them with liu tsung »the six venerable ones» PK'ung has had (silently) to omit the last: the four quarters. The powers sacrificed to in Chouli: Ta tsung po (D above) are really eight: sun, moon, planets, constellations, Sī chung, Sī ming, Feng shī and Yü shi. In order to identify them with the liu tsung »the six venerable ones» Cheng Hūan has had (likewise silently) to omit the first two: sun and moon. In spite of this, this last text is really the only one which comes close to our Shu phrase. In Shu we have: »He made lei sacrifice to Shang ti God on High, he made yin sacrifice to liu tsung the six venerable ones»; in Chouli we have: »They make yin sacrifice to (Huang T'ien) Shang ti, they make shī ch'ai sacrifice to sun, moon, planets and constellations, they make yu liao sacrifice to Sī chung, Sī ming, Feng shī and Yü shī». The parallelism is striking, and there can be no doubt that the Chouli author (of late Chou time), when composing his theorizing and speculative ritual system (a typical »systematizing text», see BMFEA 18: Legends and Cults) had the Shu text in mind and tried to invent a system that would on the whole tally with the venerable Shu. The Chouli passage may thus be considered as the earliest commentary on this Shu text that we possess. It is indeed very plausible, as shown by the context, that the liu tsung were »Heavenly Spirits» placed immediately after Shang ti God on High. But we have no reason whatever to throw out (with Cheng Hūan) the sun and the moon. On the contrary, among the 8 divinities in the Chouli text there are two pairs that stand particularly close to each other and could naturally be summed up and counted as one each: sing ch'en »the planets and constellations» on the one hand, Sī chung and Sī ming (which belong to the same constellation: Ursa Major) on the other. In this way we obtain two sections, each of 3 divinities: the first group is of a higher dignity and therefore obtains the finer sacrifice (shī ch'ai): 1. sun, 2. moon, 3. sing ch'en all the (other) heavenly bodies; the second group is of a more specialized and somewhat lower dignity and therefore obtains a simpler sacrifice (yu liao): 4. Sī chung and Sī ming (sister stars in the Ursa Major), 5. constell. Ki = Feng shī, god of wind, 6. constell. Pi = Yü shī, god of rain. This, we may confidently conclude, was the idea of the Chouli author and was the basis for his expounding of the Shu phr. yin yü liu tsung 82. »He made yin sacrifice to the six venerable ones». His explanation is, of course, a mere surmise, since at his time he could not know what the Shu author in Western Chou time really meant by his liu tsung. But the context in the Shu confirms it as plausible that the liu tsung following upon Shang ti really referred to some celestial divinities.

**1258. Pien yü k'ün shen 9.**

**A.** Pien 10 (\*pian / pien / pien) is the reading not only of PK'ung but also of Pan Ku (Han shu: Kiao sī chí), of Liu Hsiang (Shuo yüan: Piao wu), of Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Tsi yi) and of Cheng Hūan (comm. on Shang shu ta chuan). Thus: »He made (all round =) comprehensive sacrifices to all the Spirits». — **B.** Sī-ma Ts'ien in Wu ti pen ki reads 11. This pien 12 (\*b'ian / b'ian / pien) properly means 'to distinguish'. But in Feng shan shu he again quotes 13, like A. It has often been stated that pien 12 (b'ian) is a loan char. for 10 \*pian, but, as stated in Gl. 1217 above, it could, through an extension of meaning: 'to distribute, distributively, *seriatim* = all round' be a mere synonym. Sü Kuang (early 5th c.) maintains that 12 (\*b'ian) should here be read like 14 \*pwan / pwan / pan 'to distribute' (the two words are cognate). And indeed, this idea is fairly ancient, for Yang Hiung in his T'ai ch'ang chen quotes an imperial stone inscription of the early 1st c. A. D. which had 14; these authors evidently conceived the w. pien 12 as meaning 'distributively, *seriatim* = all round'.

1259. Tsi wu juei ki yüe nai jī kin kien Sī Yüe k'ün mu 16.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 17 »He gathered in the 5 (kinds of) insignia; he selected an auspicious month and day and saw» etc., which shows that he punctuated after jī: ki yüe nai jī; but it does not tell us how he understood the crucial word ki 18, which he simply skips. Kiang Sheng thinks it should be referred to the preceding: »The gathering in of the 5 kinds of insignia ki 18 being finished, he selected an auspicious month and day». But if so the three words yüe nai jī should have to be equal to tsê yüe jī 20, which is plainly impossible. Grammatically the clause cannot be understood unless we make ki 18 and nai 21 correspond, just as in Ode 212 ki pei nai shī 22 »When all is ready we go to work», Ode 250 ki teng nai yi 23 »When he had stepped up on (the mat) he leaned (on the stool)», etc. (very common). The Shu phrase thus means: »He gathered in the five (kinds of) insignia; and (when he had »monthed», he »dayed» =) when he had determined a month, he determined the day, and saw the Sī Yüe and all the pastors». This way of using the nouns yüe 'month' and jī 'day' as verbs is perfectly good and regular Chinese. — B. PK'ung like Kiang Sheng punctuates after ki 18, but not after jī 24 (as against Si-ma), thus interpreting: »The gathering in of the 5 kinds of insignia being finished, yüe in the (first) month, nai jī kien he daily saw the Sī Yüe» etc. This makes the word yüe entirely hang in the air. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en, having realized this, punctuates after juei 25, and interprets: »He gathered in the 5 kinds of insignia; ki yüe having finished the month nai jī kin he daily saw the Sī Yüe» etc. This would have been all right, if the text had been yüe ki, not ki yüe (ki cannot be a transitive verb). — D. Sun Yi-jang: ki yüe 26 is equal to ki wang 27 »in the 3rd quarter of the month», which would balance the cheng yüe shang jī 28 »In the first month, on the first day» earlier in the chapter. Nai jī would then indicate an undetermined day: »In the 3rd quarter of the month, on (some) day he saw etc». This is all very speculative and unsupported by text par. — The construction ki yüe nai jī is definitely cleared up by the Shī parallels, which decide in favour of A as interpreted in the light of that construction.

1260. Hie shī yüe cheng jī t'ung lü tu liang heng 29.

A. Cheng Hūan paraphrases: 30 »He put in accord and rectified the four seasons' number of months and the day names». This means that he has inverted the order and taken cheng as a verb coördinated with hie and placed it before shī yüe, against the Shu formulation; moreover he has taken shī 31 in the genitive. Thus his interpr. deviates badly from the text. — B. PK'ung likewise combines hie and cheng, as if the latter stood at the beginning, but he improves Cheng in taking shī 31 'seasons', yüe 'months' and jī 'days' as coördinated. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en reverts to the word sequence of the Shu, but still takes cheng 32 as a verb = 'to correct', thus cutting the line into two: hie shī yüe »He put in accord the seasons and months, and cheng jī rectified the days». — D. Another interpr.: The parallelism with the following lines 33 t'ung lü tu liang heng and 34 siu wu li wu yü shows that only the 1st word in each clause should be a verb, and the rest should be the objects

6. 四方 7. 水火雷風山澤 8. 五帝 9. 偏于羣神 10. 偏 11. 辯于羣神 12. 辯 13. 偏羣神 14. 班 15. 班于羣神 16. 輯五端既月乃日觀見四岳羣牧 17. 擇吉日見四嶽諸牧 18. 既 19. 月乃日 20. 擇月日 21. 乃 22. 既偏乃事 23. 既望乃依 24. 日 25. 瑞 26. 既月 27. 既望 28. 正月上日 29. 協正月正日同律度量衡 30. 協正四時之月數及日名 31. 時 32. 正 33. 同律度量衡 34. 修五禮五

of the verb. We thus obtain: «He put into accord *shī* the seasons, *yü e* the months and *cheng jī* the (correct =) proper days». In other words, he determined the exact beginning of the seasons, the number of months (with or without *jun* intercalary months) and the proper number of days (30:29) within each month.

**1261. T'ung lü tu liang heng 33.**

**A.** Ma Jung: *lü 35 = 36*, thus taking *lü tu* as equal to 37 'laws'. He must then have taken the preceding *t'ung* as a verb: «He made uniform the *lü tu* laws and *liang heng* measures of capacity and weight». Later comm. have all rejected this, since *tu 38* 'measure' must obviously be analogous to the following *liang* and *heng*. — **B.** Wang Su (PK'ung): «He made uniform the *lü* pitch-pipes, *tu* the measures of length, *liang* the measures of capacity and *heng* the weights». — **C.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: *t'ung lü 39* is a binome = 'the pitch-pipes' (6 being *t'ung*, 6 being *lü*), as in Chouli: *Ta si yü e* and Chouli: *Tien t'ung: 40* «The 6 *lü* pitch-pipes and the 6 *t'ung* pitch-pipes». (It would seem that Cheng Hüan already held this view, though his gloss has been handed down in several badly divergent versions.) If so, there is no verb in the line and it has to be construed in connection with the preceding (*hie shī yü e cheng jī* «He put into accord the seasons and months and proper days), and the *t'ung lü* pitch-pipes, the *tu liang heng* measures of length, capacity and weight». — While **C.** could be plausible in itself, it is forbidden by the parallelism. In three consecutive lines the first word is a verb: *hie shī yü e cheng jī: t'ung lü tu liang heng: siu wu li wu yü (34)* which clearly shows, with **B.**, that *t'ung* is a verb 'to make uniform'; and this is also rhythmically best: *t'ung* is followed by four words (*lü tu liang heng*) as objects, just as *hie* (very analogous in meaning to our *t'ung 41* here) is followed by four words and *siu 42* again by four.

**1262. Siu wu li wu yü 34.**

«He attended to the five (kinds of) rites and the five (kinds of) jades».

**A.** Ma Jung: the «five rites» were those of 43 auspicious kinds (relating to sacrifices etc.), of 44 inauspicious kinds (relating to death and mourning), of 45 military affairs, of 46 receiving state guests and of 47 marriages. Here he bases himself on Chouli: *Ta tsung po*. Ma does not explain the five jades, but later (see Gl. 1264 below) he says: «When the rites of the 5 jades 48 were finished, he returned them», which shows that he took them to be jade objects used in rites. Ma's ideas are thus rather obscure. — **B.** PK'ung accepts Ma Jung's (A) expl. of the «five rites», but says (with Cheng, C below) that the five jades were the jade insignia given to the feudatories. It is easily seen that this interpr. will not do, the *wu li* and *wu yü* taken in those senses have no logical connection and could not be combined in one clause. — **C.** Cheng Hüan: the «five rites» were those pertaining to the (audiences sc. the investiture of) the 5 kinds of feudal lords (*kung, hou, po, tsī, nan*) and the «five jades» were the 5 kinds of jade insignia given to them. The «five jades» were thus identical with the *wu juei 49* «five (kinds of) insignia» mentioned a few lines earlier, which Shun had called in from the feudatories before his great tour of inspection. This is simple and logical, and suits the context: Shun went on an inspection tour in the east and there invested the lords and gave them their insignia. Thus: «He attended to the five (kinds of) (enfeoffing) rites and the five (kinds of) (enfeoffing) jade insignia». — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en, who would follow A above as to the «five rites», but who realizes that the following «five jades» is then illogical, concludes that the text is corrupted by inversion, and he divides *siu wu li — wu yü* into two parts and separates them widely by a displacement: the latter part: *wu yü* «the five jades» he reads together with the following 7 characters and puts the whole of this passage before the *siu wu li*, thus: «(He gave audience to the eastern lords), 50 the five (kinds.

of) jades, the 3 (kinds of) silk, the 2 (kinds of) living animals, the 1 (kind of) dead animal, those were the gifts presented (by the lords); *siu wu li* he attended to the 5 (kinds of) rites etc. This is an entirely unwarranted text alteration which spoils the parallelism and rhythm of the three well-balanced consecutive lines of the accepted text: *hie shī yüe cheng jī — t'ung lü tu liang heng — siu wu li wu yü. —* E. Pan Ku (Han shu: Kiao sī chī) reads *siu wu li wu yüe* 52, with 53 (\**nglōk / ngdk / y ü e*) inst. of 54 (\**ngiuk / ngiwo / y ü*). Thus: »He attended to the 5 kinds of rites and the 5 kinds of music». This would agree well with the constantly recurring combination of *li yüe* »rites and music» in the early literature, and Sun Sing-yen believes that Fu Sheng already had that version, since the Ta chuan has a long disquisition on music in connection with Shun's tour in the east. But in fact the Ta chuan is quoted as having *wu yü* »the 5 jades» (like A above) in Kuang yün s. v. 55. Indeed the reading 34 is too well established (Si-ma, Ma Jung, Cheng Hüan, PK'ung) to be rejected.

1263. *San po er sheng yi sī chī* 56.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien indicates how he understood the line by adding a *wei* 57 before the last word: *san po er sheng yi sī wei chī*, thus: »The three (kinds of) silk, the two (kinds of) living animals, the one (kind of) dead animal were the gifts presented», sc. by the lords to the sovereign. The comm. agree that the »living animals» were lamb and goose, the »dead animal» was pheasant, which is based on Li: K'ü li (»The king's ministers used [as gifts] lambs, the fu dignitaries used *yen* geese, the shī ordinary noblemen used *chī* pheasants»). — B. We saw in Gl. 1262 that Ts'ai Ch'en would carry two words of the preceding clause to this line reading *wu yü san po er sheng yi sī chī*, which 9 words he then placed in another context than the traditional version. Apart from this displacement, the idea that the *wu yü* »five jades» belongs together with the 5 kinds of silk etc. as the gifts presented by the feudal lords was already sponsored by Pan Ku (Po hu t'ung: Wen chī) and Legge and Chavannes have followed this. But we saw that considerations of rhythm and parallelism forbid this: *wu yü* »the 5 jades» belongs together with the preceding *wu li* 5 rites and refers, not to the gifts of the lords but to the insignia presented to them by the emperor.

1264. *Ju wu k'i tsu nai fu* 58.

A. Ma Jung: the *wu k'i* »five (instruments, utensils =) articles» are the *wu yü* »five jades» mentioned earlier as serving in the rites; when the rites were finished, he returned them. Ma does not explain the word *ju* 59. Possibly he interpreted: »*ju* as to the *wu k'i* 5 articles *tsu nai fu* when it was finished he returned them». This is all very uncertain. — B. Cheng Hüan sees no connection between the two lines. *Ju wu k'i* refers to the preceding, sc. the gifts presented by the lords. *Ju* 59 means »to hand over»: »For the handing over there were 5 utensils (objects on which the gifts were placed)». *Tsu nai fu* means: »When (all the proceedings) were finished, he returned» (sc. from the east to his capital). How *ju* 59 could mean »to hand over» has been variously explained. Kiang Sheng thinks Cheng meant that 59 was loan char. for 60 *nu* »bird cage» denoting the basket in which the gifts were presented, a ludicrous idea. Sun Sing-yen says that since *ju* 59 sometimes means *wang* 61 »to go» it would mean here: »For their (going =) handing over there were 5 utensils». Likewise very far-fetched. — C. PK'ung: *wu k'i* »the 5 articles» refers to the *wu yü* 54 »5 jade

玉 35 俸 36 法 37 法度 38 度 39 同律 40 大律 41 大同 42 同 43 修 44 吉 45 凶 46 單 47 賓 48 嘉 49 五  
玉 禮 49 五 瑞 50 五 玉 三 帛 二 生 一 死 贊 51 修 五 禮 52 修 五 禮 五 樂 53 樂 54 玉 55 帛 56 三 帛  
二 生 一 死 贊 57 為 58 如 五 器 卒 乃 復 59 如 60 殷 61 往 62 器 63 利 其 器 用 64 百 工 各 以 其 器

insignia» (= wu juei 49, earlier called in): «As to the 5 (articles =) insignia, when (the rites) were finished, he returned them (to the feudatories)». PK'ung adds: the 3 silks etc. (sc. the gifts) he kept. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en: ju 59 = 41 in the earlier phr. t'ung lü tu 33. Thus: «He adjusted the 5 (kinds of) (ritual) instruments; when all was finished he returned (home)». — E. Yü Yüe, rightly dissatisfied with all the forced interpr. above, proposes that k'i 62 'instrument' means 'weapons', as it does in Kyü: Chou yü 63 «He sharpened his (war) instruments» (another ex. in Ta Tai: Yung ping), and ju 59 with Ts'ai Ch'en above (D) means 'to put into accord, to adjust', thus: «He adjusted the 5 (kinds of) (war instruments =) weapons». — F. Another interpr. The weakness of all the preceding theories is that they give no natural expl. of the word ju 59. The line ju wu k'i can only be naturally explained if it is connected with the preceding: san po er shang yi si, chi. K'i 62 'vessel' very often means 'capacity' in the same figurative sense as the word 'capacity' (power of containing) has in western languages: capability, qualifications. Cf. Li: Wang chi 64 «The artisans, each according to his capacity, got their emoluments». Laotsi 65: «A great capacity is late in being perfected». Lun: Pa yi 66 «Kuan Chung's capacity was small». Lun: Tsü Lu 67 «In his employment of men, he (capacity'ed) them =) used them according to their capacity». Now in our Shu passage it is told how the feudatories of different ranks presented different kinds of gifts to the sovereign. San po er shang yi si chi, ju wu k'i «The three kinds of silk, the two kinds of living animals, the one kind of dead animal, those were the gifts presented, they ju wu k'i were according to the 5 capacities (of kung, hou, po, tsü, nan princes)». The final line: tsu nai fu has no connection with this. It is the concluding remark of the whole passage, and means, with Cheng Hün: «When all was finished, he returned home» (Yü Yüe: «When all was finished, he reported [to Yao]», which is certainly no improvement). This expl. referring «the 5 capacities» to the 5 positions of different rank of the feudatories has the advantage of following up the idea that goes all through this long passage. First Shun calls in the 5 insignia wu juei 49 (of kung, hou, po, tsü, nan). On his great tour he «attends to the wu li 5 (enfeoffing) rites and wu yü 5 (enfeoffing) jade insignia (of kung, hou, po, tsü, nan), and he receives chi 68 as tokens of loyalty from those same feudatories, and they are graduated (silk: lamb and goose: pheasant) according to the wu k'i 69 «5 capacities» of their bearers (kung, hou, po, tsü, nan). Hence, the graduation of these gifts does not refer (with Li: K'ü li above) to «ministers, dignitaries and ordinary noblemen» but to the 5 grades of «capacities», i. e. feudal lords of different ranks. Why, finally, should there be 3 categories of gifts (silk: living animals: dead animal) corresponding to «5 capacities»? Because, in regard to rank, there were 3 main groups: a. kung and hou; b. po; c. tsü and nan. See Li: Wang chi (Couvreur I, p. 265) and Gl. 1309. —

↳ The whole of this passage throws a vivid light on the fact that the «oldest» parts of the Shu king were written well into the Chou era: they are entirely based on institutions and ritual ideas pertaining to the Chou dynasty.

1265. Kuei ko yü yi tsu 70.

A. The oldest attested version (Kin-wen) of this line is that of the Shang shu ta chuan, which quotes: kuei kia yü ni tsu 71 «When he returned, he went to the (temple of) his dead father and grandfather». 72 \*kã and 73 \*klāk were synonymous and often interchangeable in the early texts. Li: Wang chi, in a slightly paraphrasing quotation, has the words inverted: kuei kia yü tsu ni 74 (Sî-ma Ts'ien elucidates further: 75). The meaning of 76 \*niar / niei / ni 'tablet and sanctuary of a dead father' and 77 'that of a dead grandfather' are well established, see for instance Li: Tseng tsü wen: «Confucius said: when princes go to the Son of Heaven, they must kao yü tsu 78 announce in (the temple of) their grandfather and tien yü ni 79 lay offerings in (the temple



of) their (dead) fathers. 76 \**niər* is etym. id. w. 80 \**niər* / *niei* / *ni* 'near, close, familiar', i. e. the nearest ancestor, and cognate to 81 \**niər* / *ni* / *ni* 'near, close'. — B. The Ku-wen version read as above: 70 *kuei ko yü* 82 *yi tsu*. This has been differently explained. — *a*. Cheng Hsüan, disregarding the Kin-wen version above, says: *yi tsu* = the Wen tsu 83 'the accomplished ancestor[s]' earlier in our chapter, *yi* 84 meaning 'talented', as in Lun: Yung ye 85 'K'iu is talented'. Thus: 'When he returned he went to (the temple of) the Talented ancestor[s]'. — *β*. Ma Jung says: *yi* 83 = *ni* 76. Pan Ku had the same idea, for in Po hu t'ung: San kün, where he quotes 76, he illustrates this by the Li: Wang chī phr. 87. Sun Sing-yen believes that Ma took *yi* 84 (\**ngiad* / *ngiäi* / *y*) as a loan char. for 76 (\**niər* / *niei* / *ni*), which he possibly did, for lack of knowledge of the archaic phonology. If so, he was very wide of the mark. — *γ*. Yü Yü: *yi* 84, as is well known, is but an enlarged form of the char. 88 (\**ngiad* / *ngiäi* / *y*). The Ku-wen version thus originally must have had 89. Now this 88, however, forms part of the char. 90 \**sjat* / *sjat* / *sie* 'familiar, near-standing' (which, besides, is etym. id. w. the common 91 \**sjat* 'familiar, intimate') and in our Shu phr. 89, the 88 is but a short-form for 90, and we should read not *yi* (\**ngiad*) *tsu* 82 but *sie* (\**sjat*) *tsu* 92. Thus the phr. *sie tsu* 92 'the (temple of) the (near-standing one =) father and the grandfather' is synonymous with the *ni tsu* 71 of the Kin-wen version (A above). There is, of course nothing to prevent that Ma Jung already held that view, when he said 84 (i. e. 88) = 76. — Under B, both *a* and *γ* are admissible. But in any case, in preference to the Ku-wen version which is not attested earlier than Eastern-Han time, we should follow the Kin-wen version attested in Li: Wang chī, in Shang shu ta chuan and in Sī-ma Ts'ien (with only the insignificant variation in the word sequence: *ni tsu* 71 *tsu ni*).

Ming shī yikung, kü fu yi yung see Gl. 1235 above.

1266. Chao shī yuer chou 93.

A. Some early scholars took *chao* 94 in its common meaning of 'to initiate, to create'. Thus Ku Yung (in Han shu: Ku Yung chuan) renders the line by *wei shī yuer chou* 95 'He made 12 provinces'. Ma Jung says *chao* = 96 'He instituted...', and PK'ung (after Erya) *chao* = 97: 'He created the 12 provinces'. — B. Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan quotes 98, and because the following line has 99 'He made altars to the 12 mountains', he takes *chao* 100 (for which *chao* 94 can serve as loan char.) in the technical sense of *chao* 1 'altar enclosure' (for ex. of this see Gl. 875); that this was Fu's idea is developed in Cheng Hsüan's gloss on the Ta chuan passage. Thus: 'He made altar enclosures (for the sacrifices of) the 12 provinces'. — C. Cheng Hsüan takes *chao* 94 = 98 in the more general sense of 'boundary, to delimit' 2, well documented, thus: 'He delimited the 12 provinces'. — C is by far the most plausible, see Gl. 875.

1267. Siang yitien hing 3.

A. There are some quite early theories that in the golden age there were no corporal punishments but only representations *siang* 4 which caused the people to avoid crime. Sün: Cheng lun says: 5 'In the governing of antiquity there were no bodily punishments but there were (only) punishments by display'. And Sün goes on to tell

食之六器晚成六器仲之器小哉六其使人也器之六費六五器六歸格于藝祖六歸  
假于廟祖六假六格六歸假于祖廟六歸至于祖廟廟六歸六祖六告於祖六奠于廟六  
通商六尼六藝祖六文祖六藝六求也藝六歸假于藝祖六以造于廟六教六教祖六智六  
藝六智祖六肇十有二州六肇六為十有二州六置六始六兆十有二州六封十有二山

how instead of capital punishment there was the wearing of a red garment without hems, and other «displays» in the dress inst. of the lighter corporal punishments (the Sün text is here badly corrupted and difficult of interpretation; Shen ts'i 6 ap. comm. on Sün has a similar but slightly varied account). The same tradition is repeated in an edict of 167 B. C. (Shi ki: Wen ti ki). Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan bases his comm. on this (a red, unhemmed garment for the worst crimes; sandals of mixed colours for the middle crimes, and a black turban for the lighter crimes). Thus: «He made displays (in the dress) for the legal punishments». The impossibility of this interpr. is shown in the next line: «Banishment was the mitigation of the wu hing 5 punishments», which shows, sure enough, that the severe punishments were a reality and not commuted into «displays». For the «punishments of Kao Yao», Shun's minister of justice (branding, cutting of nose, cutting of feet, castration and killing) see Shu: Lü hing and a now lost Shu chapter ap. Tso: Chao 14 (Gl. 1063). — B. Ma Jung: «When Kao Yao instituted the punishments of the 5 classes, there were no offenders; 8 there were only the representations (images), not the (real) men». Chavannes follows this: «Il fit des images pour les châtimens légaux». This is even more impossible than A. — C. PK'ung: siang 4 = fa 9, explaining: «According to law he used the legal punishments». But siang can have no such meaning. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en: «He made a (delineation, representation =) full description of the legal punishments». Similarly in Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi): Kao Yao shi siang hing wei ming 10 applies the (described =) legally defined punishments in an enlightened way».

**1268.** Liu yu wu hing 11.

A. Cheng Hsün takes this as an enumeration: «There are banishment, condonement and the 5 punishments». He adds that these together with the pien p'u whip and rod and the (metal =) fines made the 12 «nine punishments» (Cheng here speculates with a view to a passage in Tso: Wen 18, where it is told of an ancient law book called 12 «The nine punishments»). This is unreasonable, since yu 'condonement' (acc. to Ma Jung's interpr.: the condonement of the very young, the very old and the very stupid) cannot be called one of the «punishments». — B. PK'ung: «Banishment is the mitigation of the five (principal) punishments» (sc. branding, amputation etc.). This is amply confirmed by the parallelism with the following lines: pien tso kuan hing etc. in which the construction is the same, the 2nd word being the verb of the clause.

**1269.** Sheng tsai si shê 13.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders the line: 14. Both sheng and tsai properly mean a 'disaster, calamity of nature', such as eclipses, floods and drought etc. Tsai in this sense is common. For sheng cf. Tso: Chuang 25, phr. 15 «calamity of sun and moon», i. e. eclipse; Ta Tai: Pao fu 16 «The disasters of wind, rain, thunder and lightning». Extended to mean 'calamity, misfortune' generally, e. g. Yi: Shuo kua: «K'an... in connection with carriages it 17 signifies many disasters (misfortunes)»; Yi: Kua 6, phr. 18 «There will be no disaster (calamity)»; Kyü: Chou yü 19 «It will be a full disaster»; Yi: Kua 25, phr. 20 «If he is not straight, there will be calamity»; Kyü: Ch'u yü 21 «Who has no sickness and calamity?» (Wei Chao: sheng = tsai 22). Tsai-sheng, synonym-binome = 'calamity' occurs e. g. in Yi: Kua 24, phr. 23 «It is baleful, there will be calamity»; Yi: Kua 62, phr. 24 «That is called a calamity». Cheng Hsün in gloss on our Shu phr. above consequently considers sheng-tsai as a binome = tsai-sheng, saying sheng-tsai means «that which causes calamity and harm to people». Now in regard to crime or guilt sheng alone or the binome sheng-tsai 'calamity, misfortune' means 'mishap', i. e. 'offence by mishap', e. g. Tso: Hi 33, phr. 25 «I will not because of one (misfortune =) offense by mishap (unintentional error) shut out of view your great merits»; Tso: Siang 9, phr. 26 «Pardon those who have (misfortunes =) offenses by mishap»; Chouli: Tien si 27 «In lieu of the king he receives upon himself the (misfortunes =)

guilt of unintentional errors». Thus it is amply confirmed that *sheng* and *tsai* are really synonymous and form a binome, both in the general sense of 'disaster, calamity, misfortune' and in the sense of 'offence by misfortune, mishap' (with Cheng Hūan). The fact that *sheng tsai* is really a binome, synon. w. the simple *sheng* is further confirmed by Shu: K'ang kao 28: »If somebody has a small offense, if it is not a (misfortune =) offence by mishap but a (going to the end =) persistence... then one cannot but kill him; if he has a great offense, if it is not a persistence but a (misfortune =) offence by mishap... then one cannot kill him». Here *sheng tsai* in the 2nd line is quite synon. w. the simple *sheng* in the 1st line. Furthermore, Si-ma Ts'ien foll. by Cheng Hūan glosses *sī* 29 by *kuo* 30 'transgression' in the sense of 'a slip, a blunder'; *sī* often means 'reckless', and with Si-ma and Cheng it would then mean 'to be reckless and careless, to err without reflecting, to blunder'. The Shu line 13 would thus mean: »*Sheng tsai* in case of (misfortune =) offence by mishap, *sī* the blunder *shê* was pardoned». — B. Shang shu wei 31 (of Han time) says: »When those who should be pardoned are not pardoned, the moon is eclipsed». This shows that some Han-time scholars took *sheng tsai* 32 in its primary sense of 'eclipse-calamity', as in the Tso passage 15 above, and interpreted: »When there is an eclipse-calamity there is pardoning». This solution is definitely vetoed by our K'ang kao passage 28 above, where *sheng tsai* recurs in the sense of offence by mishap and cannot possibly mean eclipse. — C. PK'ung would separate *sheng* = *kuo* 30 'to blunder' and *tsai* = *hai* 32 'harm'; and he takes *sī* 28 = 34 'to slacken, be indulgent, to pardon', forming a binome with *shê*. Thus: *Tsai* harm by *sheng* blunder is *sī shê* pardoned». The former is decidedly unfortunate, the binominal nature of *sheng tsai* being amply proved; but *sī* = 'to pardon' is well confirmed by the Tso ex. 26: »Pardon those who have (misfortunes =) offences by mishap», in which the sense of *sī* is unambiguous. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en would separate *sheng* and *tsai*, in another way, taking *sheng* to mean 'blunder' (offence by error) and *tsai* to mean 'offence by calamity' (by force majeure). But there is really no support for such a distinction. As we have seen, *sheng* means 'calamity' just as much as *tsai* does. — E. Yü Sing-wu: In Shu: K'ang kao the line 35 is quoted 36 in Ts'ien fu lun: *Kiu shê*, and this should be the correct reading here in Yao tien as well: *sī* 29 being a particle = *suei* 37 (common). Thus: 38 »If they examine themselves they should be pardoned». This is certainly no improvement, the interjection *tsai* being meaningless and inappropriate in such a context. — As to *sheng tsai*, Cheng Hūan (A) is well supported; as to *sī shê*, PK'ung (C) is confirmed. We thus obtain: »*Sheng tsai* (misfortunes =) offenses by mishap *sī shê* are pardoned».

1270. Hu chung tsei hing 39.

A. Cheng Hūan: »Hu those who rely upon (their villainy) and chung tsei all

100 兆 1. 兆 2. 定界 3. 象以典刑 4. 象 5. 治古無肉刑而有象刑 6. 慎子 7. 五刑 8. 但有其象無其人 9. 法 10. 施象刑惟明 11. 流宥五刑 12. 九刑 13. 魯災肆赦 14. 魯哉過赦 15. 日月之眚 16. 風雨雷電之眚 17. 為多眚 18. 无眚 19. 其滿眚 20. 其匪正有眚 21. 夫誰無疾眚 22. 災 23. 凶 有災眚 24. 是謂災眚 25. 五刑以一眚掩大德 26. 肆眚 27. 代王受眚哉 28. 人有小罪非眚乃惟終...乃不可不殺乃有大罪非終乃惟眚災...時乃不可殺 29. 肆 30. 過 31. 尚書緯 32. 魯災 33. 害 34. 緩 35. 乃惟眚災 36. 乃惟省哉 37. 逐 38. 省哉肆赦 39. 怙終賊刑 40. 賊 41. 怙衆賊刑 42. 怙

their time are malefactors, *hing* are punished». This has been accepted by Chavannes, but it is rhythmically impossible. — B. PK'ung: «*H u* those who rely upon (their villainy) *chung* and persist, *tsei hing* are punished by death». Now it is true that *tsei 40* can mean 'to kill', but then invariably in an unlawful manner: 'to murder'.

— C. Therefore Sun Sing-yen turns the phrase differently: «Those who are reliant and persist *tsei hing* undergo the punishment of murderers». — D. Sū Kuang records a variant reading: 41 «Those who rely on the crowd» i. e. are rebellious. In fact the word *h u 42* as a rule always is a transitive verb and has an object, and its absolute use here: 'to be reliant' is unusual. Some scholar has tried to ameliorate this by altering *chung 43* into 44 (both *îông*) in order to obtain an object to the verb. But the variant is ruled out by the parallel text in K'ang kao, where we have *chung 43* as opposed to *sheng*, just as here, and there *chung 44* would make no sense at all. — E. Yü Sing-wu would alter the *h u 42* into *ku 45* and take *tsei 40* (*dz'ək*) as serving for 46 \**tsək*, the emendated line being 47: «If they stubbornly persist, they should be punished». An arbitrary and unnecessary text alteration. — C comes nearest to a plausible solution, but it is not necessary to force the meaning of *tsei* 'murderer'. The word very often means, in a general way, 'villain, bandit, miscreant', thus: «Those who are reliant and persist, are punished as miscreants» (as opposed to the preceding line: those who offend by mishap are pardoned).

1271. Wei hing chī sū tsai 48.

For 49 \**sjuët* / *sjuët* / *sü* the variant 50 ap. Li Shan comm. on Wsüan: same reading and meaning.

A. This is the Ku-wen version. PK'ung explains *sü 49* by *yu 51*, and it is exceedingly common in this sense of 'anxiously to care about', e. g. Shu: To shī 52 «There was nobody who did not make his virtue brilliant and (anxiously =) carefully attend to the sacrifices». In our line here *chī 53* is in the object case, resuming the preceding *hing*: «The punishments, to them you should (anxiously =) carefully attend». For the construction cf. transl. of Ode 215, note (BMFEA 16, p. 249). This version and meaning is earliest attested in an edict of 48 B. C. (Han shu: Hing fa chī, which has: «Does not the Shu say: wei hing chī sū tsai 48, may you carefully examine them 53a»; the additional phr. indicates that the author took *sü* in the sense 'to pay careful attention to'. — B. Legge, likewise using the Ku-wen version, takes *sü 49* = 'compassion': «Let compassion rule in the punishments». Similarly Couvreur in a very free paraphrase: «La sévérité de la justice y est tempérée par la compassion». This is quite inadmissible because of the balance in the whole passage, see our concluding remarks below. — C. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders the line 54, and Sū Kuang (ap. Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki) says the Kin-wen version read: wei hing chī mī tsai, this 56 (\**mjët* / *mjët* / *m i*) meaning 57 'quiet, still' (Erya; for a text ex. see Gl. 758). Sī-ma would then have paraphrased the Kin-wen version. Kiang Sheng insists that the Ku-wen likewise had *m i 56*, the *sü 49* being a mere corruption, but he is wide of the mark as shown by the Han shu edict above. The discrepancy between the Ku-wen *sü 49* and the Kin-wen *m i 56* has been explained in several ways. Sī-ma Cheng believes that when Fu Sheng orally transmitted the text, one erroneously substituted 56 \**mjët* to 49 \**sjuët* «because of sound similarity», which is obviously impossible. Sun Sing-yen proposes that even the Ku-wen's *sü 49* means 'quiet, still', like the *m i 56* of the Kin-wen, being a mere variant for 58 (\**xiwək* / *xiwək* / *h ü*) 'quiet, still' (for the phonetic discrepancy between 49 \**sjuët* and 58 \**xiwək* see Grammata 410 and 930) and that both versions mean the same as Sī-ma's paraphrase 54. This latter has been translated by Chavannes: «C'est par les châtiments qu'on établit le calme». It is difficult to see how the line could mean this; we should then have to force it into something like: «There is the quietude of the punishments».

in the sense of: 'There is the quietude brought about by the punishments', which is very strained. But it is equally difficult to give it another reasonable sense: 'There is the (quietude =) leniency(?) of the punishments'? Or, with *chī* as resuming object (as in A above): 'The punishments, them you should make (quiet =) lenient'? — Quite apart from the difficulty of making a plausible sense of a version with *mi* 56 or *hü* 58 'quiet, still', the A. version: *sü*, which after all is attested in W. Han time, is strongly confirmed by the balance in the line, which in its entirety runs: *K'in tsai*, *k'in tsai* 59, *wei hing chī sü tsai*: 'You should be reverently attentive; the punishments, to them you should (anxiously =) carefully attend'. *Sü* 49 balances *k'in* and inculcates the same idea: that of careful attention.

1272. *Ts'u an San Miao yü San-wei* 60.

A. This version (that of PK'ung) is earliest attested in *Huai: Siu wu*. The w. 61 (char.: 'hole' and 'rat') means 'to lie hidden, to skulk', here taken transitively: 'He made the San Miao skulk in San-wei'. Cf. *Kyü: Chou yü* 62 'He himself skulked among the Jung and Ti barbarians' (common). — B. *Si-ma Ts'ien* paraphrases: 63 'He transferred the San Miao to San-wei'. The Ts'ing commentators believe that *Si-ma* took 61 *\*ts'wân* as a loan char. for 64 *\*ts'ian*, because of sound similarity. That is very unlikely. *Si-ma*'s substitution of *ts'ien* for *ts'u an* is probably due to the fact that in *Kao Yao* mo we find 65 'What displacement (need there be) in regard to the Lord of Miao?', i. e. why need he banish the Lord of San Miao. But in any case his paraphrase shows that he had in view a removal and hence very likely had a text with *ts'u an*. — C. *Shuowen* under 66 = 67 says 68. The w. 66 is read *\*ts'wäd / ts'uäi / ts'uei* in *Kuang yün*. *Chu Tsün-sheng* thinks that *Hü* simply illustrated his key word 66 by the *Shu* line, and that his *Shu* version thus read 66 *\*ts'wäd* and not 61 *\*ts'wân*, this 66 meaning 67 in the sense of '(bar =) frontier', thus: 'He placed on the frontier the San Miao'. But *Hü Shen* would then not have had the words *tu jo* 'it is read like', for the rules of the *Shuowen* are that in a *tu jo* definition the illustrating phr. has another word than the key word. Thus the present *Shuowen* quotation 68 must be a corruption of something else. There has been much speculation about how *Hü*'s *Shu* version really ran, but *Ch'en K'iao-tsung* has undoubtedly solved the riddle: in *Tsi yün ts'u an* 61 has a variant 69, and *Hü*'s sentence undoubtedly ran 70: 'the w. 66 means 67 and was read like the *ts'u an* 69 'to skulk' of *Yü shu*'. Thus *Shuowen* really agrees with A above, having the recognized variant 69 for 61 (and giving another reading for 66 than *Kuang yün*). — D. *Meng: Wan Chang*, shang and *Ta Tai: Wu ti té* both read *sha* *San Miao yü San-wei* 71: 'He killed the San Miao in San-wei'. Since this disagrees with certain ancient traditions that *Shun* moved the San Miao from Central China to San-wei in *Kansu* (e. g. *Si-ma Ts'ien in loco*), the Ts'ing scholars have tried to explain away the *sha* 72 'kill' of *Meng* and *Ta Tai*: 72 does not mean 'to kill' but is a short-form for 73 (*\*sât / sât / sa*), in *Shuowen* defined as = 74 'to scatter', thus: 'He (scattered =) threw away the San Miao to San-wei'. Of the char. 73 there is no early text ex., but in *Tso: Chao* 1, in the phr. 75, *Tu Yü* defines the first 76 as = 77 'to banish' ('He killed *Kuan Shu* and banished *Ts'ai Shu*) and *Shiwen* reads it *\*sât / sât / sa*,

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adding that it is identical with the 73 of Shuowen. Thus the early existence of the word \*sāt 'to scatter' would be proved (it would indeed be identical with the modern 78 in *s a h u a n g* 'to scatter lies' etc.). A somewhat frail proof. (Tso chuan's *t s ' a i* 76 in phr. 75 above should be differently explained. In the Chou inscr. the place name Ts'ai 76 is wr. 79, and this is sure enough the phonetic in 72; thus Tso's 76 is equal to 80, probably u. f. 72; but this latter is not a short-form for 73 'to scatter' but has its common reading \*sād / sǎi / s h a i 'to reduce, diminish': »He killed Kuan Shu and reduced [the punishment] of Ts'ai shu», i. e. gave him only the next-severest punishment). Moreover, it would be extremely strange if both Meng and Ta Tai had 72 as short-form for this 73. To an unbiassed mind it is evident that Meng and Ta Tai really meant »He killed the [prince of] San Miao in San-wei». — We have thus two unreconcilable versions, one with *t s ' u a n* 61 'to cause to skulk', that of PK'ung, Huai-nan-tsi and probably Si-ma Ts'ien; the other with 72 'to kill', that of Meng and Ta Tai. Since the latter is represented by the most ancient texts, it would be tempting to give it preference, but matters are more complicated than that, for there is early support from both themes. In fact, in the very Shu king we find both. In Shu: Lü hing, where Shun's punishments are described, it is said that 81 »He stopped and (cut off =) exterminated the Miao people, and there are no descendants of them». But on the other hand later in our chapter Yao tien (Shun tien) it is said 82 »He detached and sent to the North the San Miao», and in Yü kung it is said 83 »The (country of) San-wei was regulated, the (people of) San Miao were made grandly orderly», the San-wei here defined as a place in the present Kansu; this should be combined with the statement in Ts'ê: Wei 1 that originally the San Miao lived »at the flow of the P'eng-li 84 (i. e. Po-yang lake), with the Tung-t'ing water 85 on their right», i. e. in northern Kiangsi. Again, as we have seen, in Kao Yao mo it is said »what displacement (need there be) in regard to the lord of Miao». And finally in Chuang: Tsai yu, our Shu line recurs in a slightly inverted order, and there Chuang has it: 86 »He threw the San Miao to San-wei», which agrees with version A in that it only indicates a removal of the San Miao, not their killing. And Chuang is just as early as Meng or Ta Tai. The commentators, of course, have tried to reconcile the Shu: Lü hing with the Yao tien, Kao Yao mo and Yü kung, on the one hand by saying that the Lü hing account refers to Chuan Hü and not to Shun, on the other hand that 81 »stopped and cut off» does not mean 'to kill' but only 'to banish', but that is all scholastics. Meng and Ta Tai have evidently taken the words to mean what they really do: 'to exterminate', and therefore say 'he killed', and this is confirmed by the immediately following Lü hing phrase: »and there are no descendants of them». Both versions having thus good support in early texts, the choice is difficult. But since we have here to interpret the Yao tien, and in the same Yao-tien it is said that »He detached and sent to the North the San Miao», it seems best to give preference to version A, in spite of the fact that version D agrees better with the Lü hing.

We had better examine here more closely the phrase:

*Fen pei San Miao* 82.

The commentators try desperately to find a reason why the San Miao, having been deported during Shun's regency, on Yao's order (acc. to the earlier Shu account above), again put in an appearance at the end of the document, when Shun was real emperor, in the last clause before the account of his death.

A. Cheng Hün: The San Miao had been deported to the western border, and their ruler was still a feudal lord there (though of lower rank than originally). Now (during Shun's own rule as emperor) they again acted wickedly, therefore he again 87 separated and deported them; he explains further 88: *pei* 89 is equal to *pie* 90 'to separate'. Acc. to Cheng this *fen pei* would be a binome equal to a 91. Shuowen has a graph

92 defined as = 93. There has been much discussion whether Cheng meant that 92 is straight out the old form of 90 \*b'iat / b'iat / pie, and that the Shu text should really be read 94 fen pie san Miao; or he simply meant that 92 was synonymous with 90, giving the same sense (the reading \*b'iat / b'iat / pie was given to Hū Shen's 92 only in the Yü p'ien; Ts'ie yün and Kuang yün have no such reading). This discussion is in fact futile, for there is no single text example of Hū Shen's 92 = 93, apart from our dubious case here (Tuan Yü-ts'ai therefore simply says that Hū's 92 is the character 95 chao 'to prognosticate', Hū Shen defining it as 93 'to distinguish' sc. the marks of the oracle, a very reasonable view). K'ung Ying-ta advocates that 89, being short-form for 96 'to turn the back on' taken causatively 'cause to turn the back on each other' means 'to separate'; in such a case the Shu line should still be read fen pei San Miao, but it would still mean: 'He divided and (put back to back =) separated the San Miao', the idea (with Cheng) still being that the good Miao were separated from the wicked ones, the latter being thrown out. — B. Wang Su suggests that some of the original San Miao in Kiangsi had been pardoned (and not deported to San-wei) and that our Shu line refers to those remaining in the South. Sun Sing-yen elaborates this idea, quoting various Han-time texts to the effect that Shun had troubles with the San Miao who were still in the South. *Inter alia* Huai: Ping lue says: 'Shun in the South went to attack (punish) the San Miao, and died in the road, in Ts'ang-wu'. (All these themes are of Han date and have no support in pre-Han texts.) The line: 'He divided and separated the San Miao' would refer to these Miao still in the South: he distinguished the good from the bad. — C. All these various speculations about new troubles with the San Miao (whether in the West or in the South) quite apart from the earlier deportation during Shun's regency, are very factitious. The San Miao theme is a part of the great theme of the 'Four punished ones', all in the same line in our first Shu example above: 'He (Shun) banished Kung Kung to Yu-chou, he banished Huan Tou to Ch'ung-shan, he made the San Miao skulk in San-wei, he killed Kun on the Yü-shan'. The earliest (pre-Han) sources vary considerably as to the chronology and personel of these grand punishments: some attribute all to Yao (Chuang: Tsai yu), others (like the Yao-tien author above) all to Shun during his regency, others again (Ts'ê: Ts'in 1, Sün: Yi ping) divide the glory of this great punishing between Yao (punishment of Huan Tou), Shun (that of San Miao) and Yü (that of Kung Kung). As to the San Miao, more particularly, their rebellion is placed in the time of Yao by Kyü: Ch'u, hia, in that of Shun by Tso: Chao 1; and whereas Sün: Yi ping says that 'Shun attacked the San Miao', Mo: Fei kung, hia describes how Yü, on Shun's order, attacked the San Miao, which agrees with the Yü kung line, that 'when San-wei was made inhabitable (sc. by Yü) the San Miao became grandly orderly'. (For full details see Legends and Cults, BMFEA 18.) These discrepancies between the early sources as to this important theme is such as are typical of early legends, and of course does not call for any attempt to make exact history of them, by inventing (as the commentators have done above) two consecutive misdemeanours of the San Miao and two punishments. It is all the time one and the same theme that crops up: that of the rebellion of the wicked Miao and their punishment (their crushing and deportation) by an imperial hero, the punishment forming one of the famous series of 'four punishments'. — This theme having once been disposed of in the middle part of the Yao tien (Shun tien), why does it then crop up a second time, at the very

蔡蔡叔在蔡放放撒乃余米過絕苗民無世在下四分北三苗以三危既亡三苗丕  
殺彭蠡於洞庭也故三苗於三危以分析而流之於北猶別也於北別於分則於北

end of the chapter, in our line *fēn pei San Miao*? The reason is obvious: in this final passage, just before the account of his death, Shun's sovereign way of treating his subordinates is summed up: the well-behaved were encouraged, the misbehaving were punished: «Every three years he examined the achievements (of his subordinates); after three examinations he degraded or promoted the (dark =) unenlightened and the enlightened (respectively); the achievements were all resplendent; he (separated, set apart =) detached and («northed» =) sent to the North the San Miao». In other words, the 3 other great culprits: Huan Tou, Kung Kung and Kun were individual «lords» who were punished (but not their peoples), hence they are covered by the first lines about the «degradation», but to the San Miao rebellion, more serious than the rest since it concerned a whole people and its deportation, a separate line is devoted, emphasizing that (acc. to the Shu author) this was Shun's greatest deed as an overlord. We could, of course, take *pei 89* as = *96* 'to turn the back' = 'to rebel' (common) and translate: «Fēn he (separated =) set apart the *pei San Miao* rebellious San Miao», but that is rhythmically unsatisfactory: *fēn — pei San Miao*. The ordinary stylistic rules demand a division: *fēn · pei — San · Miao*, with *fēn* and *pei* as coordinated verbs. The explanation of the commentators: *fēn · pei* he separated and (put back to back =) distinguished (the good and the bad) of the San Miao is much too scholastic. Hence our translation: «He detached and («northed» =) sent to the North». San-wei was in the far North-west; the original home (Kiangsi) was in the far South-east. Their removal could indeed be called *pei* a «sending to the North». For *fēn 93* = 'to separate' = 'to detach, set apart', cf. Tso: Hi 28, phr. 97 «He (separated, set apart:) detached some fields of (the states) Ts'ao and Wei, and gave them to the Sung people».

Ki Kun yü Yü shan 98 — for *ki* = 'to kill' and not (with some comm.) = 'to banish', see BMFEA 18, p. 249, note.

#### 1273. *Ti nai tsu lo 99.*

A. This is PK'ung's version. — B. Older quotations (Meng: Wan Chang, shang, Ch'un Ts'iu fan lu: Huan yü shu to) have 100 «Fang-hü died», which thus should be given preference.

#### 1274. *P'i si men, ming si mu, ta si ts'ung 1.*

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases 2, which simply joins the two last lines into one, explaining *ta 3* by *t'ung 4* 'to penetrate, to reach far' and *si 5* 'four' by 6 'the four quarters'. The latter is not so scholastic as it might seem, on the contrary it is quite regular; in the Odes we frequently have *si kuo 7* 'the four(-side) states' = 8 the states of the four quarters. In Lao 10, phr. 9 «When his intelligence reaches in the four directions», and similarly in Li: Yüe ki 10 «Chou's principles have (penetrated =) reached to the four quarters». But then both the Shu line and Si-ma's paraphrase have been interpreted in several ways. — *α*. PK'ung first takes *p'i si men* to mean «(He consulted with the Si-yüe) to open the gates in the four quarters» (everywhere in the world, sc. those that were not open, so that wise men should not be obstructed), which is plainly impossible: the *si · men* refers to the *si · men* earlier in our chapter, see Gl. 1250 above. Then PK'ung paraphrases the rest: 11 «He made wide his seeing and hearing in the four quarters». This would give for the Shu line: «He *ming* made clear-sighted his *si · mu* (four-side eyes =) four-directioned eyes, *ta* he made far-reaching *si ts'ung* his (four-side =) four-directioned hearing». The phr. *si · mu* 'four-side eyes' and *si · ts'ung* 'four-side hearing', analogous to the *si ta* «to four-side reach» in the Lao and Li ex. (9, 10) above, would thus refer to Shun himself: his own observing of the realm (Chavannes therefore renders Si-ma's line 2: «Pour percevoir par les oreilles et les yeux tout ce qui se passait dans les quatre directions», a very free paraphrase). — *β*. Long before PK'ung a middle-Han scholar Mei Fu (in a memorial to the throne



(Han shu: Mei Fu chuan) has the same idea, that the perception referred to Shun himself. He writes: 12 »Widely to see and comprehensively to hear, and in one's planning reach to the distant and low-stationed ones, that is what is called p' i s i m e n, m i n g s i m u«. It would thus seem that this author included the phr. p' i s i m e n in the expressions referring to the perception. This in itself would be quite admissible. We have m e n in the sense of 'gates of perception', i. e. the senses, in Lao 52, phr. 13 »Block up their holes (eyes and ears etc.), shut their gates (of perception), so that during their whole life they do not struggle« (but remain passive). The Shu line would then mean: »to open the four-directioned gates (of perception), to make clear-sighted the four-directioned eyes and make far-reaching the four-directioned hearing«. This is very consistent and logical and hence tempting. But it will not do to take s i m e n »the four gates« in quite another sense here than earlier in our chapter. — γ. Legge: t a s i t s' u n g 14 means »to hear with the ears of all«, thus the Shu phrase: »To open the four gates, m i n g to perceive s i m u with the (four-side eyes =) eyes of all, and t a penetrate s i t s' u n g with the (four-side hearing =) hearing of all«. This is obviously impossible (curiously enough Legge in a note quotes with approbation the different interpr. in α. above). — δ. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases 15 »to make wide the seeing and hearing of the four quarters«, thus our Shu line: »To open the four gates, to m i n g make clear-sighted s i m u (the four-side eyes =) the eyes of those in the four quarters, and t a make far-reaching s i t s' u n g (the four-side hearings =) the hearing of those in the four quarters«; thus, as expounded by Couvreur: »pour ouvrir les quatre portes (aux hommes capables), éclairer tous les yeux et faire entendre toutes les oreilles« (c. à. d. pour connaître et attirer tous les hommes capables de l'empire). The s i m u would thus mean »four-side eyes« in the sense of »the eyes in the four quarters«, and Si-ma's paraphrase 2 would mean: »To open the four gates, to make clear-sighted and far-reaching the ears and eyes of the four quarters«. — B. In comm. on Tso: Wen 18, Tu Yü (3rd c.) quotes: p' i s i m e n, t a s i t s' u n g, and Shiwen says that t s' u n g 16 'hearing' (\*t s' u n g) there was »originally« the variant 17 (t s' ü n g / t s' ä n g / c h' u a n g) 'window'. That this is no whim of Lu Tê-ming's but represents an early Shu version different from that of Si-ma and PK'ung, is proved by Feng su t'ung (Eastern Han): Shī fan, which has: 18 »The sovereign opens the gates and opens the windows (and calls and widely seeks and obtains wise men)«. This obviously alludes to our Shu phr. and renders t a 3 'to [cause to] communicate' by k' a i 'to open up' (common meaning of t a). Tuan Yü-ts'ai rightly points out that the original Shu graph probably was simply 19 and that this in Han time was enlarged by some scholars into 16, by some into 17 according as they understood the line (some combining it with 20 'gate' and hence taking it to mean 'windows', others combining it with 21 'eye' and hence taking it to mean 'hearing'). In the same way 22 serves for 23, 24 for 25, 26 for 27 etc. Thus our Shu line: »(He consulted with the S i Yüe) to open the four gates (sc. towards east, south, west, north), to make clear the four (eye-sights =) views, and to open up the four windows«, i. e. in order

11分 14分兆 三苗 15兆 16背 17分 昔衛之田以界宋人 18經畝于羽山 19帝乃殂落 20放  
 動乃殂落 1 闢四門明四目達四聰 2 辟四門明通四方耳目 3 達 4 通 5 四 6 四方 7  
 四國 8 四方之國 9 明白四達 10 周道四達 11 廣視聽于四方 12 博覽兼聽謀及疏賤...  
 所謂辟四門明四目 13 塞其兌開其門 14 達四聰 15 廣四方之視聽 16 聰 17 達 18 人君之  
 闢門開竅 19 國 20 門 21 目 22 台 23 怡 24 尼 25 昵 26 庸 27 鑄 28 賓于四門 29 咨十有二牧曰

to observe in all the four directions and invite good men from all the realm. (Yü Yüe tries to show that *ts'ung* had a double meaning: both 'window' and 'hearing', which is much too sophisticated). The *p'i si men* »to open the four gates» then naturally connects with the earlier passage 28 »He received the guests (the feudal lords) at the four gates», see Gl. 1250 above). — A is the oldest version attested (*Sī-ma*), but whichever interpretation we give it ( $\alpha$  or  $\delta$ ,  $\gamma$  being quite impossible and  $\beta$  unlikely), the *si mu* »four-directioned eyes» or »eyes of the four quarters» is strained and scholastic; version B, though only attested in Eastern Han time, is far superior by its simplicity and plausibility.

**1275. Tsi shī yu er mu yüe 29.**

A. The PK'ung version has this reading: »He deliberated with the 12 pastors and said». — B. In various passages of a similar kind in the Yao tien, *tsī* 30 is an initial interjection. Particularly important is the almost exact parallel in the end of this chapter: 31 »The emperor said: Oh, you 22 men». But even the next line after our head line above has the same structure: 32 »Shun said: Oh, you *Sī Yüe*» (this phrase occurs 4 times in the Yao tien). And earlier in the chapter we had 33 »The emperor said: Oh, you *Hi* and *Ho*». It seems quite evident that the PK'ung text has an inversion and that the line should be: 34 »He said, Oh, you 12 pastors». Thus *tsī* does not mean 'to deliberate' but is the interjection 'Oh' which goes all through our chapter.

**1276. Shī tsai wei shī jou yüan neng er 35.**

For *jou yüan neng er* »Be gentle with the distant ones, be kind to the near ones» see Gl. 917.

A. PK'ung punctuates: *Shī tsai wei shī, jou yüan neng er* »Oh, the food, it should be (seasonable:) in accordance with the seasons; be gentle with the distant ones», etc. This makes sheer nonsense. — B. Sun Sing-yen therefore believes that *shī* is an interjection, and punctuates: *shī tsai, wei shī jou yüan neng er*. He adduces that Fang yen (W. Han colloquial) says *shī* 36 = 37 'an exhortation', (38 = 39 as usual); thus: »Mind you! now you shall be gentle with the distant ones» etc. But in fact Fang-yen says that in »southern Ch'u 40, when oneself does not like something but other people like it, or when oneself does not get angry over something but other people get angry over it, one says *shī yen* 41 (wait a moment! mind you!), a restraining interjection 37. To use this colloquial Han-time binominal idiom for explaining the *shī* of the Shu line is of course inadmissible. — C. Hū Tsung-yen: Our present passage is quite analogous to one in the end of the chapter. In the present passage we have: »Oh, you 12 pastors, *shī tsai* 42, *wei shī jou yüan neng er*. There we find: »Oh, you 22 men, 43 *k'in tsai*, *wei shī liang t'ien kung*. It is obvious that *shī* 36 is merely a scribe's error for the graphically similar *k'in* 44. Our line thus should run: 45: »Be reverent! Now be gentle with the distant ones and kind to the near ones». — Hū's emendation is obviously right.

**1277. Tun tē yün yüan 46.**

A. *Sī-ma Ts'ien*, skipping the last two words, paraphrases the first two: 47 'to practise an ample virtue' (48 = 49 after Erya). Moreover he adds before it a line, not in the Shu, »to take as a norm the virtue of the Emperor» (sc. Yao). — B. PK'ung follows *Sī-ma* in his interpr. of the first words and adds that *yün* 50 means 51 (common) and *yüan* 52 = 53 'superior in goodness' (this latter after Yi: Wen yen under Kua 1). One would then expect PK'ung to take *tun tē — yün yüan* as parallel phrases: »make ample the virtue and sincere the goodness», but he does not, for he explains them: »to practise an ample virtue, and to trust the prominently good (men)». The reason for the latter is obviously the following line: »to balk the insinuating ones», which demands the antithesis of the »good men» here. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en has realized this and carried

through this idea in the whole line: »treat (amply =) generously the virtuous men, and trust (and employ) the good men». So far Ts'ai is obviously right, as confirmed by the parallelism in the lines here (j o u y ü a n, n e n g e r : t u n t ê, y ü n y ü a n — y ü a n, e r, t ê, y ü a n all refer to people »treated» in some way be the emperor). But there is really no reason for giving y ü a n 52 a meaning of 'good' which it has nowhere else. It regularly and frequently means 'head, principal, great', and in the Yi: Wen yen phrase 54 »y ü a n means the prominent in goodness» it is really c h a n g 'superior' (principal) which glosses y ü a n, not s h a n. Our line thus means: »Treat (amply =) generously the virtuous men, and trust the great men».

1278. E r n a n j e n j e n 55.

Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases it by 56 »keep far away the artful». N a n is read in falling tone and properly means 'to cause difficulties, obstacles to', i. e. 'to balk'. Erya says j e n 57 = 58 »specious talk, artful»; in Kao Yao mo the same word is wr. 59.

A. Sun Yen (early glossist of Erya) explains this j e n = n i n g thus: 60 »a man whom it seems possible to trust», thus j e n 57 = '(apparently) trustworthy', i. e. artful in his words 58; very far-fetched. — B. Ho Yi-hang explains it by the fact that both 57 and 59 can mean 60 'great', thus »ostensibly great», one who makes himself better than he is, hence »artful». Equally strained. — C. Chu Tsün-sheng: j e n 57 or 59 (even tone) are short-forms for 61 »soft, pliable», a word well known from both Shī and Lun, e. g. Lun: Yang Huo 62 »One who in his appearance is strong but inside is soft». 57, 59 and 61 were homophonous (\*ñjəm, even tone). Thus or Shu phr.: »And balk the (soft =) insinuating ones». — C is obviously right.

1279. M a n Y i s h u a i f u 63.

A. PK'ung: s h u a i 64 (Han shu var. 65, the two graphs being interchangeable) = 66, thus: »The Man and Yi barbarians will lead on (one another) to submit». — B. Wang Yin-chī, following a gloss by Mao Heng in ode 275: 64 s h u a i = y u n g 67, which has no safe text support (see Gl. 1089), says s h u a i here means y u n g: M a n Y i y u n g f u »The Man and Yi barbarians y u n g (using this =) thereby will submit». Wang adduces a long series of Shu and Shī phrases in which s h u a i would = y u n g; but they are all susceptible of other interpr. better in accord with well-attested meanings of s h u a i, and his speculation is not convincing. — C. Sun Sing-yen: 64 = 68 »The Man and Yi barbarians will follow and submit». Since the word s h u a i 64 is well attested in the sense of 'all' (see Gl. 642) it would seem most simple to translate »The Man and Yi barbarians will all submit». But after all C has the advantage that the two words s h u a i and f u will be very analogous and form a good binome. — We compare (later in our chapter):

P o s h o u s h u a i w u 69.

A. PK'ung: »All the animals lead on one another to dance». — B. Sun Sing-yen: »All the animals follow (it) and dance».

20 咨 31 帝曰咨汝二十有二 32 人 33 舞曰咨四岳 34 35 帝曰咨汝羲和 36 37 曰咨十有二牧 38 39 食  
哉惟時柔遠能通 40 食 37 勸 38 時 39 是 40 楚 41 食閭 42 食哉 43 食哉惟時亮天功 44 欽 45  
欽哉惟時柔遠能通 46 惇德允元 47 行厚德 48 惇 49 厚 50 允 51 信 52 元 53 壽之長 54 元者  
壽之長也 55 而難任人 56 遠佞人 57 任 58 佞 59 至 60 似可任之人 61 大 62 在 63 色厲而內  
荏 64 變表率服 65 率 66 帥 67 相率 68 用 69 循 69 百獸率舞 70 有能奮庸 71 庸 72 功 73 奮

## 1280. Yu neng fen yung 70.

For yung 71 = 72 'achievements, merits' see Gl. 1235.

A. Ma Jung: fen 73 = 74. Since fen 'to be energetic' has no such meaning as ming 'bright, to make bright', Sun Sing-yen believes that Ma by his gloss meant ming 74 = 75 (\*mǐāng for \*mǐan), which is very unlikely. — B. PK'ung: fen 73 = 76 'to raise, to start, set in motion', thus: «Is there anybody who can start achievements».

Hiti ch'itsai see Gl. 1229. Sh'itsê po k'uei see Gl. 1248.

## 1281. Liang ts'ai huei ch'ou 77.

Liang ts'ai 79:

The same phr. recurs in Kao Yao mo: liang ts'ai yu pang 78.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien in the first example renders liang ts'ai 79 by 80 'to assist in the affairs' (this after Erya). The fundamental sense of liang being 'bright' (see Gl. 786), this is an extension of meaning: 'to enlighten' = 'to guide, to assist'. — B. Ma Jung in 78 defines liang as = 81 (likewise after Erya), and PK'ung has adopted this in both cases (77, 78): «to be faithful (reliable) in the affairs». Liang would then be loan char. for 82 'true, sincere'. Cf. Meng: Kao tsī, hia: 83 «If the noble man is not faithful» (Chao K'i: liang = 81). — C. Ts'ai Ch'en in both cases takes liang in its fundamental sense of 74 'bright': «brightly (manage) the affairs». (Legge follows A in the 1st example, C in the second, a curious inconsistency). — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

Huei ch'ou 84:

A. PK'ung (after Erya): huei 85 = 86 in the sense of 'to be compliant with, to accord with'. Then he takes ch'ou 87 = 88, as earlier in the chapter, paraphrasing 89: «(the one who) accords with (the affairs) is who?» An impossible construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: huei 85 = 86 (as in A), and ch'ou 87 = 90, thus: «to assist in the affairs and accord with the categories», i. e. acc. to Legge «to manage each department according to its nature». Huei fundamentally and usually means 'kind, complacent', but the extension of meaning 'to be compliant with, accord with' is also attested, e. g. Shu: To fang 91 «Why do you not obey the king, and make resplendent the mandate of Heaven». Ch'ou 87 'category' is found for instance in Hung-fan: «(Heaven) gave to Yü the Great Plan in 9 (categories, classes =) sections 92». None the less, interpr. B. is very far-fetched. — C. Couvreur therefore take huei 85 in its more ordinary sense of 'to be kind to', still taking ch'ou = 'category': huei ch'ou = benefacere generibus, which in his Shu transl. he paraphrases: «faire prospérer chaque chose comme la demandent son espèce et sa nature»; in his dict. he paraphrases: «faire du bien aux différentes classes du peuple». — D. Another interpr. Huei 85, with Couvreur, has its ordinary meaning. But ch'ou 87 means 'of the same category' = 'equal, colleague'. Cf. Kyü: Ts'i yü 93 «Man matches with (is the equal of) man, family with family» (Wei Chao: ch'ou = 94). Han fei: Sh' kuo 95 «Two thousand well-matched (of equal quality) horses» (comm: ch'ou = 96). That this meaning of 'an equal, a colleague' is the one intended here follows from the context. This is the famous passage in which Shun nominates his ministers: first Yü who becomes sī-k'ung, then K'i who becomes hou-tsi, then Sie who becomes sī-t'u etc. But the section is introduced by our phrase here, in which Yü as *primus inter pares* at the same time is made to 97 «occupy the (hundred disposals =) general management», supervising his colleagues (those who follow in the rest of the paragraph): «Is there anybody who can start achievements and make resplendent the emperor's undertakings? I will let him occupy the general management, liang ts'ai huei ch'ou assist in the affairs and be kind to his (equals) colleagues» (the other ministers) — as general manager helping them out with their tasks.

## 1282. Weishimout sai 98.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien (after Erya: Shī hūn m o u m o u = 99) renders m o u 100 by 99, thus: «In this be energetic!». Erya: Shī ku has an entry 1 = 99 and in comm. on this Kuo P'o quotes Shu as having 2 (1 loan char. for 100). Cf. Shu: P'an Keng 3 «Energetically establish our great heavenly mandate», on which Cheng Hūan: m o u = m i e n 99. — B. Ma Jung: m o u 100 = 4, thus: «May this be beautiful». Ma Jung takes 100 as loan for 1 'luxuriant', fine'. — No reason to abandon A.

1283. L i m i n t s u k i 5.

A. Han shu: Shī huo chī reads 6, and this was evidently Si-ma Ts'ien's version, for he paraphrases: 7; this 8 (\*tso / tsoo / t s u) = 9 'to begin, beginning' is based on Erya: Shī ku. Chavannes translates in the past tense: «lorsque, au commencement, le peuple était affamé (j u H o u T s i vous, Prince Millet, vous avez semé etc.). But that is not acceptable, for the words j u H o u T s i expresses the nomination: you shall be Hou Tsi («Governor of the Millet»), and we have to interpret in the present: «The multitudinous people begin to starve», (you shall be Hou tsi, etc.). Now t s u 8 ('ancestor') is common as a noun, meaning 'the beginning, the origin' (e. g. Kuan: Ch'i mi 10: «One honours the ancestors, in order to show respect for the beginning, the origin» etc.), but t s u 8 rarely serves as a verb = 'to begin'. There is only one text ex. that has been frequently adduced. Li: Chung ni yen kū 11 «Then there are no means of t s u taking the initiative and securing harmony among the people» (a very doubtful case). For an alleged Shī par. (with 12 as loan chr. for 8), which, however, is not admissible, see Gl. 382. — B. The Kuwen version read as above 13 (\*tšio / tšiuo / t s u), defined by Cheng Hūan as = 14 'straits, difficulties', by Wang Su [PK'ung] as = 15 'difficulties, embarrassment'. PK'ung paraphrases: «The people's embarrassment is hunger», but that is rhythmically bad: l i m i n t s u — k i, and it should better be turned thus: l i m i n — t s u k i, with l i - m i n as subject: «The multitudinous people (has for embarrassment the hunger =) is embarrassed by hunger». T s u 13 in the sense of 'obstruction, difficulties, embarrassment' is common. — C. Yü Yü: The original graph was probably simply 16. Now 16 is defined in Shuowen as = t s i e n 17. And since 17 can mean 'repeatedly', the phrase 18 means «the multitudinous people repeatedly starves». This is a comical play on a double sense in the char. t s i e n 17. Shuowen means that 16 was the original char. for 19 'sacrificial table', and hence defines it by 17 'to present in sacrifice'. But then further this char. 17 can serve as loan char. for a totally different word t s i e n 'repeatedly'. 16 or 19 of course can have no such meaning. A school example of bad philology. — D. Yü Sing-wu: The original graph (with Yü Yü) was certainly simply 16, enlarged into 8 by the Kin-wen school and into 13 by the Ku-wen school, according as they understood the line. For a similar erroneous filling-out of 16 into 13 cf. Yi li: Ta shē li, where the orthodox version reads (correctly) 20 but the Ku-wen version (as recorded in Cheng Hūan's gloss) read erroneously 21. In our Shu line, 16 should be read t s 'ie, as frequently, and this t s 'ie is a mark of future tense, the line being equal to 22: «The multitudinous people will presently starve». Cf. Ode 96, phr. 23 «The assembly will presently return home». — D is simple and plausible.

明 25 勉 26 起 27 亮 采 惠 暗 28 亮 采 育 卯 29 亮 采 10 相 事 31 信 32 諫 33 君子不亮 34 惠 暗 35  
惠 36 順 37 暗 38 誰 39 順 其事者誰乎 40 類 41 爾昌不惠 王配天之命 42 洪範九疇 43 人與  
人相暗 家與家相暗 44 匹 45 暗 暗二千 46 等 47 宅百揆 48 惟時懋哉 49 勉 50 懋 1 茂之茂  
哉 3 懋建大命 4 美 5 黎民阻飢 6 黎民祖飢 7 黎民始飢 8 祖 9 始 10 尊祖以敬祖 11  
則無以祖 治於衆 12 祖 13 阻飢 14 危 15 難 16 且 17 薦 18 黎民且飢 19 祖 20 且左遷 21 阻左

## 1284. Po shī po ku 24.

A. Cheng Hūan takes shī 26 as short-form for 25 'to transplant': «Sow and transplant the hundred cereals». But on the one hand the idea of «to transplant» comes in very strange, since it is only the rice that has to be transplanted, and the majority of the «hundred cereals» are never so treated. On the other hand the word 25 (Kuang yūn \**d'æg / éi / shī*) never occurs earlier than in Eastern Han texts. It would be better then to take 26 (\**d'æg / éi / shī*) as loan char. for 27 (\**d'æg / d'i / chī*) which means 'to plant' generally: «Sow and plant the 100 cereals». — B. PK'ung: 26 = 28, as usual: «Sow those hundred cereals». — C. Chang Shou-tsie: «Sow the seasonal 100 cereals». — A means a quite unnecessary loan speculation. B and C are both possible, B being simplest and in accord with the commonest use of 26 in the Shu.

## 1285. Wu p'in pu sun, ju tso sī t'u, king fu wu kiao 29.

For sun 30 (Shuowen var. 31) 'docile, compliant', Si-ma Ts'ien has 32 in the sense of 33, same meaning.

As pointed out by Ma Jung, there is parallelism between wu p'in 'the five classes' and wu kiao 'the five instructions', the latter being the instructions pertaining to the «five classes».

A. The oldest interpr. is given in Tso: Wen 18, where it is told how Shun appointed wise men to 34 spread out the 5 instructions in the four quarters, these having in view 35 the father being just, the mother loving, the elder brother friendly, the younger brother respectful, the son filial. Thus our Shu line: «(36 The hundred families are not affectionate), the 5 classes (sc. fathers, mothers, elder brothers, younger brothers, sons) are not compliant; you shall be Master of the Multitude and respectfully propagate the 5 instructions (sc. that they should be just, loving, friendly, respectful and filial)». Cheng Hūan has followed this. — B. Another interpr. is given by Meng: T'eng Wen Kung, shang: He made Sie Master of the Multitude to give instructions about 37 the human relation: between father and son there should be 38 love, between sovereign and minister (subject) 39 righteousness; between husband and wife 40 distinction (of functions); between elder and younger 41 proper order; between friend and friend 42 fidelity. Thus the Shu line: «The five categories (of social relations) are not compliantly (observed); you shall be Master of the Multitude and respectfully propagate the 5 instructions (about the principles of those 5 social relations)». — It is easily realized that A is the most logical sequence to: «The hundred families (the people) are not affectionate», since «father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, son» enumerates precisely the «categories» 43 inside a family. Moreover, in the B interpretation sun 'to be compliant' as verb to wu p'in as subject in the sense of «the five human relations» is very strained.

## 1286. Wu hing yu fu wu fu san tsiu 44.

A. The oldest text which clearly alludes to this Shu passage is a lecture by Tsang Wen-chung in Kyū: Lu yū, criticizing the unlawful killing by poison of an enemy: «The punishments are 5 only, and there are no secret ones . . . ; 45 in the greatest punishment (sc. against a rebel) one uses weapons (sc. war); 46 in the next-following one uses axes (the culprit is beheaded); 47 in the punishments of the middle category one uses knife and saw (amputation); 48 in the next following one uses bore and chisel (smaller mutilations); 49 in the smallest punishments one uses whips and flogging; 50 hence, the greatest (punishments) are exhibited in the plains and wilds (sc. the war against rebels); 51 the smaller ones are effectuated in the market place or the court; 52 there are 5 punishments and 3 (successive stages =) grades; 53 that means that there are no secret (punishments)». Evidently the Kyū author took the Shu phr. 44 in the sense of 52, thus: «The 5 punishments have their applications, in the 5 applications there are 3 (successive stages =) grades». By the wu hing «5 punishments» he understood crushing by

warfare, decapitation, amputation, smaller mutilations, flogging, and by the »3 stages» (sān tsiu = sān ts'ī) the 54 »greatest punishments», 55 »the middle punishments» and 56 »the smallest punishments». This is all very reasonable. But it is not reconcilable with the preceding passage in our chapter where it is spoken first of the 57 »five punishments that are 58 clearly defined», then of the banishment as mitigation of the 5 punishments, and after that of the flogging, which thus evidently, to the Shu author, did not form part of the »5 punishments»; nor, evidently, did »warfare» constitute one of the »5 punishments» of the Shu. In fact we know definitely by several texts (see Gl. 1267) that »Kao Yao's 5 punishments» were death, castration, cutting of feet, cutting of nose, branding (on forehead). Thus the Kyü interpretation is not admissible. — B. Wei Chao in comm. on Kyü above has misunderstood the phr. 52, not realizing that ts'ī 59 »successive stages» has the same sense as earlier in the passage 60 »the next-following»; he says ts'ī 59 »stage» means 61 ch'ü »place» where the punishment was carried out, and refers it to the a) plains and wilds, b) market place and c) court of the Kyü text. Wei Chao adds that executed dignitaries (»from ta-fu and upwards») were exposed in ch'ü a the court, and nobles (»from shī and downwards») were exposed in shī the market place. Kiang Sheng has seized upon Wei's speculations, taking the tsiu 62 of the Shu phr. to mean ts'ī 59 in the sense of ch'ü 61 »place» (which Wei erroneously gave it in the Kyü text): tsiu 62 means »to go to», hence »destination», the place to which one went for applying the punishment. The Shu line 44 would thus mean: »The 5 punishments (for which Kiang follows Kyü's inadmissible series) have their applications, the 5 applications have their 3 (destinations =) places where they are carried out» sc. (the plains and wilds, the market place and the court). It is easily seen how fallacious all this is: we know from texts that executed officers were exposed in the market or in the court; but there is not the slightest support — apart from the Kyü sermon — for the other punishments (acc. to Kyü above: amputations, flogging) having been carried out in such determined »places». — C. Ma Jung and Cheng Hsün have realized that »the 5 punishments» of the Shu were not those of the Kyü text, but the well-attested series: death, castration, cutting of legs, amputation of nose, branding. But they nonetheless draw upon the Kyü for explaining sān tsiu 63 as = 64, and make the same mistake as Wei Chao: they do not realize that Kyü's sān ts'ī 64 means »the 3 successive stages» in the sense of »great crimes, middle crimes and small crimes» but take ts'ī 59 (and hence also tsiu 62) as = 61 »place». But unlike Wei they unite shī ch'ü a »market and court» into one »place» and add a new one: because Chouli: Tien shī shī 65 says that the members of the sovereign's clan were not punished publicly but secludedly by the officer tien shī, they interpret 44: »The 5 punishments (death, castration etc.) have their applications, the 5 applications have their 3 (destinations =) places where they are carried out (the plains and wilds, the market and court, the office of the tien shī). As already stated, there is no text indication that punishments

還 22 黎民將飢 23 會且歸矣 24 播時百穀 25 時 26 時 27 植 28 是 29 五品不遜汝作司徒敬  
敷五教 30 遜 31 慈 32 訓 33 訓 34 布五教于四方 35 父義母慈兄友弟共子孝 36 百姓不親  
37 人倫 38 親 39 義 40 別 41 序 42 信 43 品 44 五刑有服五服三就 45 大刑用甲兵 46 其次用  
斧鉞 47 中刑用刀鋸 48 其次用鑕 49 薄刑用鞭扑 50 故大者陳之原野 51 小者致之市  
朝 52 五刑三次 53 是無隱也 54 大刑 55 中刑 56 薄刑 57 五刑 58 象 59 次 60 其次 61 處 62 就

like amputations or branding were done in the «market or court». — D. PK'ung varies the same ideas in his own way: 66 'the great criminals' (rebels) were punished in the plains and wilds, dignitaries *ta fu* in the court and ordinary nobles *sh i* in the market place. This is in part based on Wei Chao above, but does not refer merely to the (well-attested) exposing of the corpses in the market and the court, but refers all the punishments (amputation, branding etc.) to those 62 'places'. Just as unfounded as the preceding. — E. Ts'ai Ch'en has realized the inadequacy of all the preceding. It is all very well, he says, that the executed culprits were exposed in the market, but as to castration it was done in the 67 («silkworm house, hot-house») and the smaller mutilations certainly in some secluded place where the culprits would not catch cold and die (sic!). Thus even Ts'ai cannot make himself free from the obsession that *san tsiu* 63 meant «the 3 places» where the punishments were carried out. — F. Sun Sing-yen brushes aside all the speculations above and takes *fu* 68 not as = 'the application' of the punishment, but as = 'clothes', reverting to the scholastic idea (see Gl. 1267) that Shun had no corporal punishments but only 69 «represented punishments», indicated by the garments of the culprits. Thus: «The 5 punishments have their garments, the 5 kinds of garments have their three 62 = 70 elaborations» (crime-indicating clothes of 3 kinds). Hopelessly scholastic. — G. Another interpr. The line has a quite different purport from those proposed above. *Fu* 68, which does not mean 'to undergo' (as in the common phr. 71; Chavannes translation: «Pour les cinq châtimens, il y a ceux qui les subissent» is certainly wrong) but is transitive = 'to cause to undergo', i. e. 'to apply', has to be understood in the light of the other great treatise on punishments, the *Lü hing*. There we find: 72 «In regard to a higher punishment, when (the crime) tends towards the lighter side, it should be downwards applied; in regard to a lower punishment, when (the crime) tends towards the heavier side, it should be upwards applied». And we have seen earlier in our Yao tien chapter, in a previous discussion of punishments, that involuntary crimes should be condoned. These three considerations of the influencing circumstances, give us the key to the phr. *san tsiu* 63. *Tsiu* *inter alia* means 'to approach' in the sense of 'to accommodate oneself to, to adapt oneself to', as in Shu: Ts'in *sh i* 73 «they did not accommodate themselves to me»; Tso: Ai 11 (she is too young; answer: «no») 74 he (being young) accommodately obeys orders». Even in modern Mandarin *tsiu* 62 has this sense (*tsiang tsiu* 75 'to accommodate oneself'). *San tsiu* hence means «three accommodations, adaptations to circumstances, *Anpassungen*». Our Shu line 44 thus means: «The 5 punishments *yu fu* have their applications; in the 5 applications there are 3 accommodations (heightening, lowering or condoning the punishment)». Parallel to this we have in the next line: 76 «The 5 banishments have their placings; in the 5 placings, there are 3 (kinds of) dwellings» (among the barbarians, in the outer dependencies and inside the Chinese realm proper). — It should be added that in the latter clause Cheng Hsüan has a wild speculation that *tsê* 77 'to place' (for which Sî-ma Ts'ien as usual, has 78) is a short-form for 79, which would mean 'hand-fetters and foot-fetters'. Such a word is entirely unknown. Moreover *tsê* 77 corresponds to *kü* 'dwelling', which proves that it has its ordinary meaning.

*Ch'ou tsî jo yü kung* see Gl. 1233. *Ju tso chen yü*, see Chavannes I, p. 85.

1287. *Ju hie* 80.

A. Sî-ma Ts'ien has abbreviated this line, but in the next paragraph, where we have exactly the same formulation, he paraphrases so as to show that he understood: «Do you (act in harmony with =) cooperate with them». Sun Sing-yen even believes that 81 stands for 82 'together', but that is not necessary. 81 \**g'er* / *γäi* / *hie* and 82 \**ker* / *käi* / *kie* are two aspects of the same word stem (s. a. 83 \**ker* 'all together'). — B. PK'ung



takes *hie* as a transitive verb, referring to Ch'uei's subordinates: »Do you bring them into harmony». Chavannes translates more generally: »Faites régner l'harmonie». — The context favours A.

1288. *Kiao chou tsī 84*.

A. The Kin-wen version ap. Shuowen (under 85) and Yang Hiung: Tsung cheng chen read: *kia o yü tsī 86*. »To teach the (sons in rearing =) young sons». Sī-ma paraphrases 87 »To teach the young (tender) sons», which may show that he had the same Kin-wen version. P'ei Yin, however, believes that Sī-ma rendered the 88 of the Ku-wen text by 89 because they were »similar in sound»: 88 \**d'îôg* / *d'îzu* / *chou* would then be a loan char. for 89 *d'îor* / *d'î* / *chî*, which is phonetically impossible. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, on the other hand, believes that the 88 of the Ku-wen »had the same sound and meaning» as 85 of the Kin-wen and that Sī-ma's 89 translated either of them, but that is very wrong (88 \**d'îôg*: 85 \**d'îôk* / *îuk* / *yü*). But it is not excluded that Sī-ma really had a text with 88 and thought that 88 \**d'îôg* was a word cognate to 85 \**d'îôk* (or a loan char. for the latter) and hence translated it by 89 'young, tender'. The phr. *yü tsī 90* (\**d'îôk*) 'son in rearing' = 'young son' is a well-known expression recurring written 91 (\**d'îôk*) in Ode 155 (see Gl. 379). — B. The Ku-wen version ap. Ma Jung (gloss here), Cheng Hsüan (comm. on Li: Wang chī), Wang Su and PK'ung read as above 84. But this has been interpreted in 3 ways. — *α*. Han shu: Li yüeh chī, quoting our Shu line, says the pupils of the Music Master were the *kuo tsī 92* »young men of the states», and defines them as the 93 sons (both elder and younger) of *k'ing* ministers and *ta fu* dignitaries. Cheng Hsüan likewise says our phr. 94 means 92, and in comm. on Chouli: *Ta sī yüeh* he defines these *kuo tsī* as = the 93 sons (both elder and younger) of *kun g* feudal lords, *k'ing* ministers and *ta fu* dignitaries. This is based on Chouli: *Ta sī yüeh*: »He arranges and establishes the system of studies in the state, and 95 brings together there (in the school) the sons (elder and younger) of the states». In fact the word *chou 88* (\**d'îôg*) is well attested in the sense of 'descendants' generally, e. g. Tso: Siang 14 »They are the 96 descendants of Sī Yüeh»; Kyü: Lu yü 97 »to classify the nearness or remoteness of the descendants». Thus our Shu line: »To teach the descendant sons». — *β*. Shuowen under 88 (as quoted in K'ung's comm. on Ode 259; the current Shuowen text is abbreviated) says: »*chou* means descendants; in the rituals the 98 first-rank sons (sons of first-rank wives) were called *chou tsī 94*». This is based on Li: Wang chī, which says: The Yüeh-cheng Music Master taught the polite arts to 99 »the heir-apparent of the king, the (other) sons of the king and the first-rank sons (sons of the consorts) of ministers, dignitaries and higher noblemen» — since this discusses the »Music Master», it evidently refers to the *chou tsī 94* of our Shu line. Thus the latter: »To teach the first-rank sons». Wang chī is considered to be one of the latest chapters in the Li, possibly written in Han time. — *γ*. In all the preceding interpretations *yü* or *chou* were taken as attributes to *tsī*. But Ma Jung says *chou 88* = 100 *chang*<sup>3</sup> as a verb, paraphrasing 1 and evidently explaining 84 thus: »*kia o* to teach and *chou* bring up the sons». Evidently he took 88 \**d'îôg* as loan char. for (or a word cognate to) 85 \**d'îôk*. A much inferior interpr. — Both A and B are quite

63三就 64三次 65旬師氏 66大罪 67蠶室 68服 69象刑 70成 71服罪 72上刑通輕下服下  
刑通重上服 73未就于 74就用命焉 75將就 76五流有宅五宅三居 77宅 78度 79宅 80汝  
諧 81諧 82皆 83皆 84教育子 85育 86教育子 87教緝子 88肖 89緝 90育子 91醫子 92國子  
93子弟 94肖子 95合國之子弟焉 96商肖 97等肖之親統 98適子 99王太子 王子羣后之

admissible; but since we do not know whether Sī-ma had the A or the B reading, the B version (Ku-wen) is the oldest one safely attested (Han shu), and we should therefore abide by that; the *a* interpr. of version B is best corroborated. Cf. also Gl. 1471 below.

**1289. K'uan er li 2.**

**A.** Ma Jung paraphrases 3: »Wide and great and yet respectfully apprehensive». PK'ung likewise says k'uan: 4 'great'. When Cheng Hūan defines it further 5: 'the capacity being wide and great', this is not very fortunate, for always, when k'uan denotes a mental quality, it means 'magnanimous, large-minded' — so *passim* in Shu, Shī, Li etc. (Legge, Couvreur and Chavannes therefore render it here by 'gentle' or 'indulgent'). Li 6 (s. a. 7) 'trembling, full of fear' is common (Meng: Wan Chang 8 »full of veneration and awe» etc.). Thus: »Large-minded and yet apprehensive (careful)». — **B.** PK'ung defines li by 9, certainly (as K'ung Ying-ta expounds) meaning the same as Ma Jung in A above, but Legge has taken this chuāng-li as = 'dignified': »That the gentle may yet be dignified»; similarly Couvreur in Kao Yao mo: »l'aisance et la gravité». Chuāng 10 certainly can mean 'dignified', but li 6 alone never has that sense. — **C.** Couvreur in Yao tien has another interpr: »Indulgence et sévérité»; here he takes li as = 'to fear' but as a causative: 'scaring' (in the Dictionnaire he translates: »Indulgent et néanmoins inspirant le respect et la crainte»). — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: li 6 is defined as = 11 'solid, firm' in comm. on Li: P'ing yi, and hence our line means: »Large-minded and yet firm». When Chavannes translates: »Indulgents mais avec énergie», I suppose he follows Sun in taking li = 11 (solid = energetic?). But all this is false, for in Li: P'ing yi li means 11 in another sense: 'compact, dense', said of jade (see Gl. 873). — **E.** Cheng Hūan has no gloss on li 6 here, but he gives his interpr. of it in Li: Piao ki, in comm. on the line 12: »He is large-minded but discriminating». Then Cheng says: pien 13 is = 14, and is equal to the li 6 of our Shu phr. Now in Ode 156 the same Cheng explains li sin 15 as = »cleft firewood» (erroneously, see Gl. 387), taking 6 \*lǐēt to be a loan char. for 16 \*lǐat 'to cleave'. Thus our Shu line: »Of great capacity and yet (cleaving =) discriminating». A very arbitrary loan speculation. — **F.** Yü Yüē believes that 6 \*lǐēt is loan char. for 17 (\*d'ǐēt / d'ǐēt / c h ī) 'orderly' because of some variants 6 = 17 in Shī and Kung-yang, see Gl. 1132, a hopeless speculation. — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A, Ma Jung), which is quite convincing.

**1290. Kien er wu ao 18.**

In Kao Yao mo we have correspondingly kien er lien 19.

**A.** Cheng Hūan defines kien 20 = 21. It is not very clear what he means by that; Sun Sing-yen believes he means: »The capacity being (condensed =) achieved and great». Be this as it may, kien 20 = 22 'great' is a well-attested meaning, see Gl. 109, and PK'ung in Kao Yao mo defines kien as = 22 'great'. Thus 18: »Great and yet not arrogant». 19: »Great and yet punctilious». — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en: kien 20 = 23 'to abbreviate, to simplify, summary', likewise a common meaning of the word. Thus: »Taking it (summarily =) easy and yet not arrogant». (Chavannes: »Indifférents aux détails mais sans arrogance»; when Legge translates: »that the impetuous may not be arrogant», I fail to see how he can arrive at such a meaning as 'impetuous' for kien). — Both interpr. are admissible, but A suits the context much better: kien balances ch ī 24 »straight» and k āng 25 »(hard =) firm»; »great» is then better than »easygoing».

Poshou shuai wu see Gl. 1279.

**1291. Koyung yen 26.**

Sī-ma Ts'ien renders yung 27 by 28 'to make long'. Han shu: Yi wen chī quotes 29 (sic). This 30, homophonous with 27 (\*gǐwǎng), is etym. the same word: 'to draw out long', i. e. 'to chant', and the 27 of the orthodox text has this meaning: »The song is a (drawing-out =) chanting of the words».

## 1292. Tsi ch'an shuo t'ien hing 31.

The char. 32 is rendered 33 'to fear and hate' by Si-ma Ts'ien and defined as = 34 'to hate' by Shuowen and PK'ung. Shiwen after Sū Miao reads it \*dz'ɨək / dz'ɨək / tsi. This, however, is not convincing. The char. 35 had originally a reading \*tsjēt (see Gram-mata p. 226) and as such is phonetic in several words having final -t. It has later also been applied to a synonymous word \*tsjək / tsjək / tsi. But the compound 32 'masonry' (Li) is read \*tsjēt / tsjēt / tsi. When this graph is used as a loan char., it should in all probability not be read \*dz'ɨək but \*dz'jēt / dz'jēt / tsi, being a loan char. for 34 \*dz'jēt 'to hate'. — Si-ma writes: 36 and Chang Shou-tsie takes wei 37 in its ordinary sense of 'false, to cheat' (Chavannes therefore: «je redoute . . . les wei tromperies t'ien corruptrices»); but wei renders the hing 38 of the Shu which cannot mean 'false' and Sun Sing-yen is certainly right that 37 is here simply a variant for wei 39 'to act' (the two are cognate words).

A. Ma Jung explains t'ien hing by 40, thus interpreting 31 as: «I hate (those who) speak slanderously and who destroy the (good) actions». This has been accepted by PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en (Legge: «I abominate slanderous speakers and destroyers of [right] ways»). But this is to read into the line a crucial word ('good') that is not there. — B. Cheng Hūan paraphrases (by a quotation from Lun) so as to show that he understood: «I hate those who speak slanderously and (destructively act =) act destructively». This alone does full justice to the parallelism: ch'an corresponds to t'ien, and shuo balances hing. — C. Erya: Shī ku has an entry hing 40 = 41 'talk' and Shao Tsin-han in comm. on Erya thinks this refers to our Shu line: «I hate slanderous words and destructive talk». It is of course quite imaginable that hing could mean 'what is current', i. e. 'rumour', t'ien hing thus = «nocuous rumours», but in the absence of corroborating text par. this interpr. is not acceptable (Chang Ping-lin accepts it, adding that t'ien 42 should be a loan char. for 43, which Erya says = 44, thus 45 = 46; very improbable).

## 1293. Wei shī liang t'ien kung 47.

For liang = 'to assist' see Gl. 1281. Si-ma Ts'ien renders the line by 48.

A. PK'ung: t'ien kung 49 = 50: «And now you shall assist me in the meritorious work of all the realm» — an ellipsis which is not plausible. — B. Chang Shou-tsie: «According to the seasons you shall assist me in the works (assigned by) Heaven» (Chavannes freely: «Conformez vous aux temps; observez quels devoirs prescrit le ciel»; it is not clear here how he understood liang). — C. A comparison with an earlier line (Gl. 1276) shows that shī 51, as usual, is merely = 52, thus: «Now you shall assist me in the works (assigned by) Heaven».

Shu tsi hien hi see Gl. 1229. Fen pei Yu Miao see gl. 1272.

Shun sheng san shī etc. For a full discussion and interpretation see BMFEA 18, p. 290.

## 1294. Chī fang nai si 53.

A. In Si-ma's free paraphrase of the long passage about Shun's dates he says: «Making

太子卿大夫元士之適子 10 長 1 教長天下之子弟 2 寬而栗 3 寬大而謀欲戰栗 4 宏  
5 度量寬宏 6 栗 7 慄 8 齊栗 9 莊栗 10 莊 11 聖 12 寬而有辨 13 辨 14 別 15 栗薪 16 殺  
17 秩 18 簡而無傲 19 簡而廉 20 簡 21 器量凝簡 22 大 23 簡易 24 直 25 剛 26 歌永言 27 永 28  
長 29 哥詠言 30 詠 31 聖讓說矜行 32 聖 33 畏忌 34 疾 35 卽 36 讒說矜偽 37 偽 38 行 39 為 40  
絕君子之行 41 行 42 言 43 矜 44 矜 45 矜行 46 告言 47 惟時亮天功 48 惟時相天事 49

an inspection tour in the South, he died in the wilds of Ts'ang-wu», which suggests that he took *f a n g 54* in the sense of (one of the) *s i f a n g* 'the four quarters, the four regions', thus: »He went up to (one of the four) regions and died». This interpr. has been championed for inst. by Kiang Sheng. — **B.** PK'ung curiously says *f a n g 54 = 55*, expounding: *56* »ascending to the road, he made an inspection tour in the South» etc. In order to confirm this K'ung Ying-ta says *f a n g 54* is = *55* e. g. in Lun: *Yung ye 57* »a (way =) trick of the goodness»; a hopeless defense for a weak explanation. — **C.** Han Yü: *ch i 58* 'to ascend' means 'to die' and *f a n g - n a i* are particles: *Ch i — f a n g n a i s i* »He ascended and (then) died». — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en, criticizing interpr A, rightly says that to go to the South would certainly not have been called 'to ascend to a region'; he accepts C as to *ch i*, but takes *ch i f a n g* together: »he ascended to his place, i. e. died. Legge finds a difficulty in the mentioning of the »ascending» before the »dying», but that is to press the words too strongly: »He ascended to his place and died» is equal to »Ascending to his place (sc. in Heaven) he died». In the authentic *Chu shu ki nien* we find *59*: »That year Yin Kia (ascended =) died». This confirms C as to *ch i*; since our text has *ch i* combined with *s i* 'died' and since the *Chu shu* shows it to be a term for the death of a sovereign, there can be no doubt on this point. But D is rhythmically preferable to C.

**1295. Yin ti küe tê 60.**

**A.** This is the orthodox version: »If (the ruler) sincerely pursues the course of his virtue». — **B.** Si-ma Ts'ien (*Hia pen ki*) renders the line *61*, which indicates another word sequence: *62* »If he is sincere in his following the virtue», making *y ü n* the principal verb. — We dare not simply on the indirect testimony of Si-ma's emendate the traditional text. For a full discussion of the line see further Legge's gloss.

**Kao Yao mo (with Yi Tsi).**

**1296. Shen küe shen siu si yung 63.**

**A.** The oldest interpretation is revealed by an edict of the year 39 B. C. (*Han shu: Yüan ti ki*) which has *64*, clearly alluding to our *Shu* line. It shows that the writer punctuated: *shen küe shen, siu si yung*. Sun Sing-yen points out that *s i 65* in the 2nd line corresponds to *k üe 66* in the 1st and should be a grammatical word. That is evidently correct, since the edict writer skipped them both. On the analogy of *shen küe shen* »He should be careful about his person» it would be tempting to take *siu* as a verb (corresponding to the 1st *shen*) and *yung* as an object (corresp. to *shen*): »and cultivate the eternal (principles)». But that will hardly do. *Si*, common as initial or final particle (*Shi passim*, cf. Gl. 700), is rare inside a sentence, and there are no cases in which it separates a verb from its object. The construction is quite different. In ode 215, phr. *67* »The good wine is mellow», *s i* has the position of a copula (equal to *68*), and so it has here: »He should be careful about his person, the cultivation (of it) should be perpetual», *siu si yung* (quite analogous to the Ode line) being equal to *69*. The strict grammatical parallelism between the two lines is then lost, but in return we obtain a very logical sequence of ideas. — **B.** PK'ung paraphrases *70*, which shows that he punctuated: *shen küe shen siu, si yung*: »He should be careful about the cultivation of his person, and think of (enacting) the eternal (principles)». Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates in the same way but turns it slightly differently: *si yung* »and think far-reachingly». — **B** is decidedly inferior, both rhythmically (*shen küe shen siu — si yung*, as against: *A: shen küe shen — siu si yung*) and logically.

**1297. Tun sü kiu tsu 71.**

**A.** Cheng Hün and PK'ung (after Erya): *tun = 72*: »If you amply regulate your

nine family branches». — B. Legge, Couvreur and Chavannes all take *tun* and *sü* as two coördinated causative verbs. (Legge: »he will effect a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine classes of his kindred»; Chavannes: »il fera observer la sincérité et les rangs aux neuf degrés de parenté»; Couvreur: »Generosas et ordinatas faciet novem generationes consanguineorum»). No reason whatever to abandon the ancient interpr.

1298. *Shu ming li yi* 73.

*Shu ming*:

A. Cheng Hün: *Shu ming* = 74 »all the enlightened ones». — B. Sun Sing-yen: *ming* has here the same sense as earlier in our chapter: 75 »Promote one (already) illustrious, or raise one humble and mean», thus: »All the illustrious ones». — C. PK'ung would take *shu ming* as a finite clause: »All will be enlightened» (and energetically help). This is clearly inferior to A and B. — D. Yü Yüe: *ming* 76 is a short-form for 77 in the sense of 78 'people', 79 thus meaning 80 »all the people». An unnecessary loan speculation. A and B are both plausible, but A seems logically preferable: All the wise men of the realm give their aid.

The whole line:

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 81. Thus: »All the enlightened ones will loftily assist him». (Chavannes translates: »Tous les sages seront ses ailes sur lesquels il s'élèvera», properly: »All the enlightened ones will be his high-(lifting) wings», which is certainly too strained). If Si-ma really rendered *li* by *k a o* 82 'high', it shows that his version had 83, not 84 (cf. B. below); cf. Ch'u: Yüan yu 85 »I rise high». But Si-ma's reading is not safely attested; certain *Shi ki* versions read 86 (87 and 82 being graphically similar, one of them is an erroneous graph for the other): »All the enlightened ones will assist him» (*liang yi* being then a binome of synonyms). *Li*, however, has no such meaning as 'to assist', so if *liang yi* was really Si-ma's reading, he has skipped *li* and rendered the *yi* 88 of the *Shu* by a binome. — B. Cheng Hün, reading 83, defines this (after Erya) as = 89, paraphrasing 90, thus: »All the enlightened ones will act as his (wings =) coadjutors». But Erya's gloss *li* 83 = 89 does not mean *tso* in the sense of 'to act as, to be' but of 'to be active, energetic', cf. C below, and Cheng's interpr. is not admissible. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *li* = 91 'to stimulate, to be stimulated, to exert oneself', thus: »All the enlightened ones will energetically (be wings to =) assist him». *Li* 83 is common with this meaning and 84 of the PK'ung version is merely an enlarged variant of 83 in this sense. Cf. Li: P'ing yi 92 »When the princes stimulate each other to exertions by the laws of good conduct»; Kuan: K'uei to 93 »Such servants who can plan to exert themselves for the country and establish their fame». — D. Sun Sing-yen: *li* 83 = 93a 'to attach', thus: »All the enlightened ones will be attached (to him) and assist him». This meaning of *li* is poorly substantiated, see Gl. 582. — C is certainly best supported.

天功 50 天下之功 51 時 52 是 53 防方乃死 54 方 55 道 56 升道南方進守 57 仁之方 58 防 59  
其年胤中防 60 允迪厥德 61 允其道德 62 允厥迪德 63 慎厥身修思永 64 慎身修承 65 思  
66 厥 67 旨酒思柔 68 旨酒惟柔 69 修惟永 70 慎修其身思為長久之道 71 惇敘九族 72 厚  
73 庶明勵翼 74 衆賢 75 明明揚側陋 76 明 77 萌 78 毗 79 庶明 80 庶民 81 庶明高翼 82 高 83  
厲 84 勵 85 高厲 86 庶明克翼 87 克 88 翼 89 作 90 作羽翼之臣 91 勉 92 諸侯相厲以禮 93 臣

## 1299. Er k'o yüan tsai tsi 94.

A. Cheng Hsüan and PK'ung: »That what is near can be (made distant =) caused to reach far lies in this», i. e. that his influence on his nearest can reach to more distant people. — B. Chavannes, following a comm. Ch'en Ta-yu, punctuates after k'o and translates: »Ce qui est près sera digne d'approbation; ce qui est loin sera sous la main»; a curious idea.

## 1300. Yü pai ch'ang yen 95.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders ch'ang 96 (\*i'iang) by 97 'beautiful, fine', the fundamental sense of ch'ang being 'bright, splendid' (Shi etc.). Thus: »Yü did reverence to the splendid words». — B. PK'ung explains ch'ang by 98 (\*t'ang, falling tone) 'suitable, appropriate'. It would seem that he takes \*i'iang as loan char. for \*t'ang. »Yü did reverence to the appropriate words». — C. Another school ap. Chao K'i's comm. on Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou read 99. This same word occurs without rad. 149 in Yi Chou shu: Chai kung kie 100 and in Sün: Fei siang. Both 1 and 2 were \*t'ang in rising tone. 1 is defined as = 3 'good' and 97 'fine' in comm. on Yi Chou shu and 2 likewise as = 97 'fine' in the dict. Ts'ien; but 1 is defined as = 4 'straight-forward words' by Yang Liang in comm. on Sün, and 2 is likewise so defined in Ts'ie yü. The former definition 'fine, good' is due to these authors' knowing that it corresponds to the ch'ang 96 in the orthodox Shu version (Si-ma = 97), but it is wrong; the true meaning 'straight-forward (words)' is proved unambiguously by the context in Sün: Fei siang, where we have the binome 5 'straight-forward and straight'. Thus: »Yü did reverence to the straight-forward words». A and C are both admissible, but A is earliest attested (through Si-ma's paraphrase) and should therefore be given preference.

K'ung jen see Gl. 1278.

## 1301. Yi hing yu kiu tê 6.

A. PK'ung entirely skips yi 7 in his paraphrase, thus taking it as the ordinary particle, which often introduces a line without any pregnant meaning of its own (very common in the Odes: Odes 14, 26, 35, 156 etc.). Thus: »In the actions there are 9 virtues». — B. Ku Ye-wang in Yü p'ien interprets yi 7 here as meaning 8 (the char. 7 is the primary graph for 8 or 9 'armpit', see Grammata p. 334) and it would here mean 'to armpit' = 'to support under the arms' = 10: »In supporting the actions there are 9 virtues». Both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have adopted this interpr. But since it is not applicable in the next line which continues: 11, it is obviously inadmissible. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: yi 7 means 12: »Altogether, in the actions there are 9 virtues». No text par. — No reason to abandon A.

Tsai ts'ai ts'ai see Gl. 1233. K'uan er li see Gl. 1289. Kien er lien see Gl. 1290.

## 1302. Ji süan san tê, su ye sün ming yu kia 13.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders sün ming 14 by 15. In order to reconcile this with the Shu text, Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen both take 16 yi (\*giak) to be a variant for the homophonous 17, one meaning of which is 18 'respectful, careful' (see Gl. 433) and, after Fang yen and Kuangya, define sün 19 as = 18. But then they interpret the line quite differently. Kiang Sheng: »(The one who) daily displays three (of the said nine) virtues, morning and evening respectfully manifests them in his family» (referring to such as still have no official positions). Sun Sing-yen: ming 20 is loan char. for meng 21 and this is defined in Erya as = 22; yu kia »those who have (hereditary) houses», i. e. dignitaries. Thus: »Daily display three (of the said nine) virtues, and morning and evening respectfully stimulate (the possessors of houses =) the dignitaries». (This theory of 20 = 22, propounded by Wang Yin-chi, has no unambiguous text support.) Chavannes, accepting the definition of yi (= sün) = 18, turned the line differently, more in

accordance with the later comm. below: «Celui qui, journellement, manifeste trois de ces vertus, celui-là, matin et soir, est attentif et intelligent, et il sera mis à la tête d'une maison». All this is very well, but there are no early texts at all confirming a sense 'respectful, careful' of the word *sün* 19. Thus, if that was really Sī-ma's opinion, he has no support in pre-Han literature. Other Ts'ing scholars have therefore a quite different opinion. Erya: Shī ku has an entry *sün* 23 = 24 'early, early morning', and Kuo P'o expounds this as = 20 'to become bright'. Since Sī-ma's *yi* 16, id. w. 25, is defined as = 20 'bright' in Erya: Shī yen, Ho Yi-hang and others believe that (19 being id. w. 23) *sün ming* 14 as well as *yi ming* 15 simply are synonym-compounds, thus: «... he morning and evening is (bright =) enlightened». But again, there are no text par. whatever for *sün* 19 or 23 meaning 'bright'. — B. Ma Jung says *sün* 19 (\**siwän*) means 26 'great', evidently taking it to be a loan char. for 27 or 28 \**tsiwen* / *tsiuen* / *tsün* 'great'. For the rest he does not explain the line. — C. PK'ung says *sün* 19 = *sü* 29, paraphrasing 30. What PK'ung meant by this is obscure, and K'ung Ying-ta explains his *sü* 29 = 31 and takes *ming* as = 32, thus: «The one who can daily display and practise those virtues, morning and evening thinking of them, the next morning practising them, will be a dignitary». This, of course, cannot be reconciled with the brief Shu text, and more probably PK'ung meant: «The one who daily displays three virtues, morning and evening *sü* ought to *ming* manifest them, and *yu kia* he will (have a house =) be a dignitary». (Chu Tsün-sheng finds PK'ung's gloss *sün* = *sü* so unintelligible, that he believes *sü* 29 is a corruption of 33 'great', in accordance with B above). In any case, there is not the slightest text support for a meaning *sün* 19 = 29. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en: *sün* 19 = 34 'to regulate': «(The one who) can daily display three virtues, and morning and evening be regulating and enlightened, will (have a house =) be dignitary». But again, there is no text support whatever for *sün* meaning 34 'to regulate'. — E. Couvreur, who in his Shu translation follows D above, in his Dictionnaire has another interpr.: *sün* 19 = 'wise'; *sün* 19 frequently means 'deep, to make deep' (Shī, Meng etc.) and this 19 \**siwän* (falling tone) is then merely a variant of the common 35 (\**siwän* falling tone) 'deep'. This word is well attested in the sense of 'deep-thinking, wise', e. g. Ode 304, phr. 36 «Deep and wise was Shang». When we here in our Shu phr. have its variant *sün* 19 together with *ming* 20 'bright, enlightened' and referring to the great virtues of the prominent men, it is obvious that the sense is 'deep, profound, wise': «(The one who) daily displays three (of the said nine) virtues, and morning and evening is (deep =) wise and enlightened, will (have a house =) be a dignitary».

Liang ts'ai yu pang see Gl. 1281.

1303. Hī shou fu shī 37.

A. Ma Jung: shī 38 ('to apply') = 39 'to use' (sc. in government), thus: «By bringing together and receiving (such men) and widely applying them (in the government)». It would seem that Pan Ku held the same opinion for, having quoted our preceding *kiu tē*

之能謀國定名者附焉通可遠在茲焉拜昌言焉昌焉美焉當焉商拜謚言焉拜  
手稽首冀言 / 冀言 2 冀言 3 善 4 直言 5 冀言 6 亦行有九德 7 亦 8 披 9 腹 10 扶持 11 亦  
言其人有德 12 總 13 日宣三德夙夜浚明有衆 14 浚明 15 翊明 16 翊 17 翼 18 敬 19 浚 20 明  
21 益 22 勉 23 浚 24 早 25 翼 26 大 27 俊 28 駿 29 須 30 能 日日布行三德早夜思之願明行之可以  
乃卿大夫 31 侍 32 明旦 33 頒 34 治 35 濟 36 潛 37 維 38 商 39 翁受敷施 40 施 41 用 42 賢布於宮

hien shī, tsün ai tsai kuan, he says (Han shu: Ku Yung chuan): 40 »the wise men are distributed over the offices». — B. PK'ung: »By bringing together and receiving (such men) (and letting them) widely apply (the government and the instructions)». — B, which supposes that shī has an understood object »the government and instructions» which is not expressed, is far inferior to the simple and logical A.

**1304. Tsün yi (ai) tsai kuan 41.**

A. Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan: the one who in talent and virtue surpasses 1000 men is called tsün; the one who surpasses 100 men is called yi. — B. Kiang Sheng points out that the former is based on Huai: T'ai tsu, the latter having no foundation in early texts. Sun Sing-yen soberly comments that tsün is common in the sense of 'great, eminent', and 42 is often a variant for 43 ai, which *inter alia* means 'old, aged'. Indeed, in Han shu: Ku Yung chuan, our line is quoted with 43 inst. of 42. Thus: »The eminent and aged (i. ex. experienced) ones are in the offices». It is a common theme that the ai 'aged ones' are wise men, suitable to direct and teach others, e. g. Kyü: Chou yü, shang: »The music masters and grand scribes give teachings, 44 the aged ones elaborate it». That Sün-tsī already understood our ai in this sense is revealed by a passage quoted under Gl. 1305 below.

**1305 a. Po liao shī shī 45;**

b. K'ing shī shī shī fei tu 46 (Shu: Wei tsī);

c. Wo yu shī shī, sī t'u, sī ma . . . . . 47 (Shu: Tsī ts'ai).

A. Ma Jung on 46 says: shī shī = 48, thus: »The dignitaries reciprocally imitate each other in doing irregular things», and PK'ung also under 45 has followed this, saying: shī shī = 49. Thus: »All the officials will imitate one another». Under 47 PK'ung explains: »I have shī masters shī to imitate (follow)». Thus he has a totally different grammatical construction in 45, 46 (reciprocal) and in 47, which is quite unacceptable. Moreover, it is difficult to see how in po liao shī shī, the shī shī could grammatically be construed to mean 'the officials imitate one another'. (K'ung Ying-ta explains that shī shī is equal to 50 »each imitates his teacher»). — B. Sün-tsī seems already to have taken shī as a verb meaning 'to take as teacher, to imitate, to follow', for (in Sün: Chī shī) he alludes to our Shu line: 51 »those who are aged and reliable can be taken as teachers». This allusion, however, reveals that Sün took our line 45 in connection with the preceding: tsün ai tsai kuan: »The eminent and aged ones are in the offices, and all the officials (magistros imitant =) imitate them as teachers». But here again this is not applicable to case 46, which would demand a different construction. — C. Si-ma Ts'ien has contracted the line 45 and the following 52 into one 53: »The hundred officials are respectful and attentive». When Sun Sing-yen tries to make this free paraphrase correspond to the Shu lines, he has to resort to desperate speculations: shī 54 (\*sīər) and su 55 (\*sīók) were »similar in sound», and Si-ma must have believed that 54 shī was a loan char. for su 55; shī 56 can mean 'good' and is rendered by kin 57 'careful, attentive'. This, of course, is impossible, but it is difficult to see how Si-ma arrived at his su 55 'respectful, careful'; did he take shī 54 in the sense of 'orderly' (properly: 'army-like, arraigned')? In any case, this meaning will not do in ex. 46. — D. Shī 54 frequently means 'a host, a great number', and Kuangya (Shī hün) says shī shī 58 = 59 'a crowd, numerous', probably having our Shu cases in view. Yü Yü reminds that such a reduplication is common, e. g. in Shī: tsi tsi to shī 60 and maintains that this is the meaning in all three examples: 45: »The hundred officials (=) all the officials (are there) in a host, all the functionaries are observant of the seasons», etc. 46: »The dignitaries and officers in a great host are doing unlawful things»; 47: »I have, shī shī (hostlike =) in a great array, the Master of the Multitude, the Master of the Horse» etc. (various others). It would seem



that in 45 this suits the context badly, but the idea seems to be that when all the virtuous men are in the offices, the whole government is well equipped and rich in good officials. — D alone is at the same time grammatically satisfactory and applicable to all the three Shu cases.

**1306.** Wu chia o yi yü yu pang king king ye ye 61.

**A.** Si-ma Ts'ien renders only the first 4 words (skipping the rest) and paraphrases them 62: »Do not teach depraved and extravagant counsels». Sun Sing-yen proposes that Si-ma's text had 63 'plan, counsel' instead of 64, a corruption due to the similarity of the characters — a plausible conjecture; that 63 is a corruption of 64 and not vice versa follows from the context: 65 'relaxed (licentious, lazy) counsels' makes poor sense, whereas yi yü 66 is a natural combination. — **B.** Another school (ap. Han shu: Wang Kia chuan) had the text: 67, thus having a o 68 inst. of the kia o 69 of the orthodox text; the two char. are very similar and easily confused. Yen Shī-ku carries yu kuo (= yu pang of the orthodox text) to the first clause, interpreting: 69 b »Those who possess states (sc. the feudatories) should not be arrogant or lazy and full of desire». But that yu kuo should be the subject of the clause placed at the end (not having arrogance or laziness and desires (should be) the possessors of states) is grammatically very strained. In the B text version, yu kuo (= yu pang) must rather be an adverbial phrase: »They (the feudatories) should have no arrogance nor laziness and desires in their states». That there is no preposition before yu kuo is no obstacle to this. — **C.** PK'ung, reading 61, likewise carries yu pang to the first line and explains: 70 »Not to teach lazy enjoyments and covetous desires, is [the norm of] those who possess states» (sc. feudatories); grammatically entirely impossible. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates in the same way but takes »the emperor» as understood subject: »You (the emperor) should not (teach =) set an example of laziness or desires to the possessors of states (sc. feudatories)»; thus yu pang is taken as object to the verb kia o (Couvreur: »ne doceas segnitiam ac libidinem qui tenent regna [regulos]»). — **E.** Sun Sing-yen carries yu pang to the second line (yu pang king king ye ye): »The feudatories should be awed», without giving his own opinion of the meaning of the first line; Yü Yüe, dividing in the same way, says kia o 69 is equal to hiao 71 'to imitate, learn': »They should not learn laziness and desires», but his reasons for this are quite insufficient. — **F.** Another ancient school (ap. Hou Han shu: Ch'en Fan chuan) reads yi yu 72 »laziness and amusements» inst. of yi yü 66. — First there is the question of the yu pang; it should certainly be carried to the first line. The expression king king ye ye as a complete phrase is common (see Gl. 1199) and is spoiled by the addition of a yu pang as a preceding subject; furthermore the whole passage consists of alternating 6 and 4 syllables: wu kia o yi yü yu pang (6) — king king ye ye (4) — yu jī er jī wan ki (6) — wu k'uang shu kuan (4) — t'ien kung jen k'i tai chī (6). In the second place, version B (a o 68) is tempting: but the kia o 69 is attested in so different sources as Si-ma

41 俊又在官 42 又 43 艾 44 書艾修之 45 百僚師師 46 卿士師師非度 47 我有師師司徒司馬 48 轉相師效 49 相師法也 50 各師其師 51 書文而信可以為師 52 百工惟時 53 百吏肅謹 54 師 55 肅 56 時 57 謹 58 師師 59 衆 60 濟濟多士 61 無教逸(佚)欲有邦兢兢業業 62 無教邪淫奇謀 63 猷 64 猷 65 逸猷 66 逸猷 67 亡教佚欲有國兢兢業業 68 教 69 教 70 有國之人不可傲慢逸欲 71 不為逸猷貪欲之教是有國者之常 72 效佚遊 73 遊 74 一日二日 75 萬 76 萬機

Ts'ien, the PK'ung version, and that of Hou Han shu, which deviates on another point from the PK'ung version, and it would thus be too bold to reject it. Thirdly Si-ma's 63 is unacceptable in itself, but indirectly it testifies to the early existence of the reading 64, which recurs both in the Han shu quotation and in the PK'ung version; y ü 64 is therefore preferable to the y u 72 attested much later. The passage should thus read 61. Finally there is the question whether the lines refer to the feudatories and officials mentioned in the preceding paragraphs: »They should not (teach =) give an example of laziness and desires to the states they possess»; or, with D, they refer to the emperor: »You should not . . . » etc. The latter seems preferable, for the whole passage must reasonably refer to the sovereign, since we find two lines later: w u k ' u a n g s h u k u a n, which clearly is an exhortation to the emperor.

King king ye ye see Gl. 1199.

**1307.** Yi ji er ji wan ki 73.

A. In Han shu: Wang Kia chuan the reading is w a n k i 74, k i meaning 'spring, mainspring, mechanism', thus: »In one day, in two days there are ten thousand (main-springs, causes setting things in motion =) causes of happenings». The 75 of the orthodox version acc. to Kiang Sheng is only a short-form for this 76. — B. PK'ung, after Shuowen, says k i = 77 'small, minutiae', i. e. the first symptoms, the beginning: »In one day in two days there are ten thousand (minutiae =) first signs of happenings» (i. e. one must be on the alert for what is beginning to happen). This is based on Yi: Hi t s ' i 78 »K i, that means a trifle of movement (the smallest symptom of movement), the first visible signs of luck or misfortune». The idea that a sage ruler should attend to the first symptoms of events and so at an early stage direct them recurs *passim* in the early literature. Ts'ai Ch'en therefore rightly quotes Lao tsi: 79 »You should plan against difficulties while they are (still) easy, you should (do =) handle the great while it is (still) small». K'ung Ying-ta, on the other hand, misunderstood PK'ung's w e i and failed to realize that it referred to this current idea of ancient thought; he believed that w a n k i »ten thousand minutiae (small things)» referred to all the various small matters which the ruler could not find time to handle himself, but must leave to his subordinates. — C. Chang Ping-lin adduces a gloss by Mao Heng in Ode 209 defining k i 75 as = 80, and he believes w a n k i here means 81 »a myriad times (occasions)». But that Mao definition was refuted in Gl. 668. — B is superior to A since it falls in with the same theme in other early philosophical texts. Perhaps, however, the opposition between A and B is more imaginary than real, in that k i 76 'spring' etymologically may mean 'the minute thing' which sets a greater complex in motion. Cf. in this connection an ancient text Tao king 82, quoted by Sün (Kie pi) — later incorporated in the spurious Shu chapter Ta Yü mo — 83: »The precariousness of man's heart, the (minuteness:) subtlety of Tao's heart, the (small beginning, minute primary force, spring =) cause of the precariousness and the subtlety respectively, only an enlightened sage can understand it» (observe the variant 75: 76). Cf. also Gl. 1320 below.

**1308.** T'ien sü yu tien, ch' i wo wu tien wu tun tsai 84.

Ma Jung inst. of yu tien reads wu tien, as later in the line, but the parallels in the following lines (see below) show that yu is the better reading. For the w u t i e n »the five rules (of the family relations: father, mother, elder and younger brother, son)» see Gl. 1247.

A. The commentators find it difficult to construe the 85 t u n (Erya = 86). PK'ung paraphrases: »Heaven arranges the existing rules (of family relations: father, mother, elder and younger brother, son); 87 we should carefully regulate the teaching of our five norms and cause its agreeing with the five to be ample, and amply apply (it) to the world»(?) PK'ung's line is somewhat obscure and certainly cannot be made to tally with the Shu

text. K'ung Ying-ta therefore tries to ameliorate it: »Heaven arranges the existing rules (of family relations), (the ruler) should carefully regulate the teachings of our five rules and cause the five all to be ample»; word for word: »(The ruler) should carefully regulate our five rules, (so that) the five (become) ample». As a construction this is inadmissible. Ts'ai Ch'en does not refer to the »ruler» as understood subject, but simplifies: »We should carefully regulate our five rules, (so that) the five (become) ample», which is little better. (Couvreur: »Coelum ordinavit habitas leges, componamus nostras quinque leges, quinque vigeant sane»; Legge has a paraphrase which deviates badly from the Shu text). Kiang Sheng has a similar clumsy construction. — B. In order to discern the construction we have to compare four consecutive lines here (in the second, the orthodox text read 88 but Ma Jung had 89, the latter correct, as shown by the parallelism):

- a. T'ien sū yu tien, ch'ī wo wu tien, wu tun tsai 84;
- b. T'ien chī yu li, tsī wo wu li, wu yung tsai 90;
- c. T'ien ming yu tē, wu fu wu chang tsai 91;
- d. T'ien t'ao yu tsuei, wu hing wu yung tsai 92.

In 90, char. 93 is defined as = 94 'constant norm' by PK'ung, K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en (this after Erya, text ex. in Meng 6) but as = 95 'to use' by Kiang Sheng (common); the char. can have both meanings, but the latter is improbable, since it would coincide with the yung 95 of line 92 (for which there is the variant 93 in Hou Han shu: Liang Tung chuan). Tun 85 (\**twən*), means 'solid, thick, ample' and is etym. id. with 96 (\**twən*) in many of its functions. We have it in Li: Nei tsē 97 »He amply practises filial piety and fraternity». Line b. traditionally has yu yung tsai, here corrected into wu yung tsai, after the parallels.

From lines c and d it is easily seen that the phrases wu x are coördinated, and we must conclude that they are so in lines a and b as well. We thus obtain:

- a. »Heaven arranges the existing rules (of family relations), we carefully regulate our five rules and (their five amplifications =) the five modes of amply practising them» (five modes: one for the behavior to the father, one to the mother etc.).
- b. »Heaven regulates the existing rites, we follow our five rites and their five constant norms» (one norm for each of them).
- c. »Heaven gives charges to those who have virtue, (there are) five (degrees of) garments and their five (classes of) emblems».
- d. »Heaven punishes those who have guilt, (there are) five punishments and their five (uses =) applications» (one »use» for each of the five).

### 1309. Tsī wo yu li, wu yung tsai 90.

For the transl. see Gl. 1308. There are various theories about the »five rites».

A. Cheng Hūan: they are those pertaining to: 1. the king (t'ien tsī); 2. the feudal lords (ch u h o u); 3. the ministers and dignitaries (k'ing, t a f u); 4. the officers (s h ī); 5. the common people (s h u m i n). This is based on Li: K'ü li, where in several ritual contexts (their demeanour, the ritual terms for their wives) these classes of society

55 幾 之 機 乃 微 乃 幾 吉 動 之 微 吉 凶 之 先 見 吉 也 乃 固 難 於 其 易 為 大 於 其 細 也 期 乃 萬 期  
 政 道 經 乃 人 心 之 色 道 心 之 微 危 微 之 幾 (機) 惟 明 君 示 而 後 知 之 84 天 敘 有 典 敘 (敘 我 五  
 典 五 惇 哉 85 惇 厚 87 當 勅 正 我 五 常 之 教 使 合 于 五 厚 厚 天 下 88 有 庸 89 五 庸 90 天 秩  
 有 禮 自 我 五 禮 五 庸 哉 91 天 命 有 德 五 服 五 章 哉 92 天 討 有 罪 五 刑 五 用 哉 93 庸 94 常 95

are enumerated. The king's wife was styled *fei* 98, the feudal lord's *fu jen* 99, the dignitary's (*ta fu*) *ju jen* 100, the officer's *fu jen* 1, the commoner's *ts'i* 2. — **B.** PK'ung: they are the rites pertaining to the well-known 5 classes of feudal lords: *kung*, *hou*, *po*, *tsi*, *nan* (see e. g. Li: Wang chī). — **C.** Wang Su: they are those pertaining to the 5 classes of nobility (with exclusion of the *shu min* commoners): the king, the three *kung* highest lords, the *k'ing* ministers, the *ta fu* dignitaries, *shi* the officers. This is based on Li: Wang chī (»The son of Heaven has *san kung* three lords (ministers) of the highest rank, nine *k'ing*, twenty seven *ta fu*, eighty one *shi*). — **D.** Kiang Sheng objects to A above that Li: K'ü li says that »the rites do not go down to the common people«, and hence *shu min* cannot be intended under one of the 5 rites; the commoners followed the ceremonies of the *shi* and did not form a ritual category of their own. On the other hand the 5 kinds of feudal lords formed, from a ritual point of view, 3 classes as expounded in Chou li: Tien ming: *kung* who had 9 emblems, *hou* and *po* who had 7 emblems, *tsi* and *nan* who had 5 emblems (cf. Gl. 1265). Our »five rites« thus pertained to: 1. *kung*; 2. *hou* and *po*; 3. *tsi* and *nan*; 4. *k'ing* and *ta fu*; 5. *shi*. — **E.** Yü Yü points out that there is another division of the 5 classes of feudal lords into 2 ritual categories. Tso: Hi 29 says: »li according to the rites, a *k'ing* (minister) does not hold a meeting with a *kung* or a *hou*, he may hold a meeting with a *po*, a *tsi* or a *nan*«. This division in two ritual rank classes is indeed the earliest text we have on this subject. Hence acc. to Yü Yü the »5 rites« were those pertaining to: 1. the king; 2. the *kung* and *hou* princes; 3. the *po*, *tsi* and *nan* princes; 4. *k'ing* ministers and *ta fu* dignitaries; 5. *shi* officers and *shu min* commoners. — It must be conceded that Yü Yü (E) has penetrated the problem most thoroughly.

**1310.** T'ien ts'ung ming, tsi wo min ts'ung ming, t'ien ming wei tsi wo min ming wei 4.

For wei 5, Ma Jung's and Cheng Hsuan's version had 6 — the two words are etym. identical (both \**iwər*).

**A.** Cheng Hsuan (ap. the T'ang comm. [Cheng yi] in Ode 260) says: 7 »(the question) whom Heaven considers intelligent and virtuous, (follows depends on) the people«. This means that both *ts'ung ming* and *ming wei* above are taken as transitive verbs: »When Heaven considers (someone) intelligent (properly: »hearing and seeing«), it follows our people's considering (him) intelligent, when Heaven brightly overawes (somebody), it follows our people's brightly overawing (him)« (i. e. revolting against him). This was followed by Kiang Sheng. — **B.** PK'ung: »Heaven's hearing and seeing (proceeds from =) works through our people's hearing and seeing; Heaven's (enlightenment =) discernment and (fearsomeness =) severity works through our people's discernment and severity« (sc. against bad rulers). The first line is conclusively corroborated by Meng: Wan Chang, shang, quoting the now lost Shu chapter T'ai shi: 8 »When Heaven sees, through our people it sees, when Heaven hears, through our people it hears«. The second line is confirmed by a par. in Shu: Lü hing, see below. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, while accepting B for the first line, explains the second differently, finding an antithesis, not a coördination between *ming* and *wei*: *ming* means 9 'to make bright' in the sense of 'to make illustrious, to honour', *wei* being the opposite: 'to overawe, to terrify', thus: »Heaven's honouring (sc. the good) or overawing (sc. the wicked)«. Sun Sing-yen supports this, saying that *ming* and *wei* refer to 10 rewarding and 11 punishing respectively, and quoting, for *ming* = *hien*, Kyü: Chou yü 12 'to esteem the prominent and (make bright =) honour the wise«. For the antithesis of *ming* and *wei* (as against A and B above) he refers to our Lü hing ex. below, in which he follows interpr. A there. — It is obvious, that just as in the first line *ts'ung ming* are two very analogous

notions, coördinated, so in the second line *ming wei* should be analogous and coördinated, with interpr. B, which is well supported by Shu parallels. — We compare:

Shu: Lü hing: Tê wei wei wei tê ming wei ming 13.

For 6, Li: Piao ki and Mo: Shang hien quote 5.

A. Cheng Hün (ap. comm. on Li: Piao ki): »By his virtue he overawed (the wicked ones) and they became overawed; by his virtue he (made bright =) honoured (the good ones), and they became honoured». This is the same idea of *shang fa* rewards and punishments as in C above, but it is very far-fetched to take *ming* in the sense of 'to distinguish, to honour' here. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *ming* in its ordinary sense of 'to enlighten, enlightened': »By his virtue he overawed (them) and they became overawed; by his virtue he enlightened (them), and they became enlightened». This is certainly much more natural but it might be further simplified: Tê wei is not a finite clause (»by his virtue he overawed») here, but means '(his) virtuous (overawing =) severity', since it balances and forms a contrast to a corresponding phrase in an earlier line: 14 *nü e wei* »tyrannical severity» — the Miao prince exercising a *nü e wei* »tyrannical severity», whereas Shun practised a *tê wei* »virtuous severity». We thus obtain: »His virtuous severity overawed them, his virtuous enlightenment enlightened them».

1311. Ta yü shang hia 15.

A. PK'ung: »It (sc. the distinguishing of good and bad by Heaven through the people) reaches to those above (those in high positions) and those below (the commoners)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *shang* refers to t'ien Heaven, *hia* refers to min the people: »There is (communication =) correspondence between the upper and the lower (world)». Both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have accepted this, and it forms a logical summing up of the preceding lines. It is further confirmed by a similar use of *shang hia* in the beginning of the Yao tien: 16 »He reached to (Heaven) above and (Earth) below», see Gl. 1209.

Nai yen chik'o tsi see Gl. 1252.

1312. Yü wei yü ch'ü yü e tsan tsan siang tsai 17.

A. Sî-ma Ts'ien skips *yü e* 18, evidently taking it as a particle, and paraphrases: 19; Chang Shou-tsie has understood this thus: »I have no knowledge, but I ponder and assist in (following) the (ancient) way». As Sun Sing-yen points out, this is all wrong, for Sî-ma's *tao* 20 is merely the briefer way of writing *tao* 21 'to guide' (as often). *Tsan* 22 is very common meaning 'to assist' in the sense of 'to guide' (as a ceremony master assists i. e. guides a guest etc.; cf. Kyü: Chou yü 23 »The Nei-shi [assisted =] guided him», on which Wei Chao: *tsan* 22 = 20). Since Sî-ma has taken *tsan tsan siang* as equal to *tsan tao* 23a 'to assist and guide', he evidently considered *siang* 24 as practically synonymous with *tsan*, but such a meaning of *siang* 24 is not attested by text parallels. — B. Cheng Hün carries *sî* 25 to the first line, and says *tsan* 22 = 26 'to make bright', and *siang* 24 = 27 'to raise' (he says nothing of 18 *yü e*), interpreting: »I have no knowledge or thought, I (make bright =) glorify (the emperor's virtue) and (raise =) manifest (my loyalty)». Sun Sing-yen believes that Cheng by his *ming* 26, glossing *tsan*, meant 28 ('to make

用 數 行 孝 弟 紀 夫人 瑞 人 婦 人 妻 公 天 聰 明 自 我 民 聰 明 天 明  
威 自 我 民 明 威 威 畏 天 之 所 謂 聰 明 有 德 者 由 民 也 天 視 自 我 民 視 天 聽 自 我  
民 聽 顯 賞 罰 尊 貴 明 賢 德 威 恒 畏 德 明 惟 明 虛 威 達 于 上 下 格 于 上  
下 予 未 有 知 思 曰 賢 賢 襄 哉 曰 余 未 有 知 思 賢 道 也 道 尊 賢 內 史 贊 之

an effort' = 'to assist'), but that is wrong. It is based on Yi: Shuo kua 29 »He (mysteriously =) with deep wisdom brought light on the divine intelligences», on which Han K'ang-po (Eastern Tsin time, probably basing himself on some now lost gloss of Cheng Hsian's) says *tsan* 22 = 26; yet this interpretation of the Yi text is contested and uncertain. As to *sian* g, it is well attested in the sense of 'to rise', and could hence be construed to mean 'to raise, to manifest'. But the whole of the B interpr. is exceedingly forced and scholastic. — C. PK'ung and Wang Su divide the lines in the same way as B, but take *tsan tsan* as = *tsan tsou* 30 'to report' (evidently taking *tsan* as = *ming* 26 in the sense of 'to make clear, to explain') and *sian* g 'to raise' in the sense of 'to quote': »I have no knowledge or thought; I report (about ancient deeds) and (raise =) quote them». K'ung Ying-ta insists that the *yü e* 18 should have its sense of 31 'to speak': »*yü e* what I have said *tsan tsan* reports and *sian* g quotes». All this is even worse than B. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en carries *si* to the second line and alters *yü e* 18 into the similar *jī* 32; he takes *sian* g 24 in the well-attested sense of 'to achieve' (Tso: Ting 15, phr. 33 »They could not achieve the affair», on which Tu Yü: *sian* g 24 = 34). Thus: »I have no knowledge, I (think =) wish daily to assist in achieving (the government)». Ma Jung had already defined *sian* g 24 as = 𠄎. This is rather obscure, but possibly by *yin* he meant 'to continue, to follow up, bring to a successful end', which is essentially the same idea as this 34 'to achieve'. — D is certainly most natural and reasonable. Sun Sing-yen, however, does not accept Ts'ai's emendation of *yü e* 18 into *jī* 32; he says that *yü e* being a common particle (see Gl. 791) *si yü e* 36 probably is wrong for *yü e si* 37. Ts'ai's emendation, however, is conclusively confirmed by the very next line, where we find: 38 »I (think =) wish daily to be energetic». (When Sun says that *si* 25 here is a particle — as it often is, see Gl. 700 — he is certainly wide of the mark).

In the orthodox version the chapter Yi Tsi starts here, but in reality it is only the second part of the original Kao Yao mo.

### 1313. Hia min hun tien 39.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases 40; Chavannes translates this *fu yü shuei* by 'accablé par l'eau' (properly: subdued, vanquished by the water), but, as Sun Sing-yen points out, *fu* 41 is probably only a loan char. for the homophonous 42 (both \**b'jūk*). Thus: »The lower people all fell down into the water» (*fu* 42 meaning 'to fall down prostrate', and *tien* 43 meaning 'to throw down, *zu stürzen*', text ex. in Chuang: Wai wu). It seems probable that Si-ma's version has never had *hun* 44 but the graphically similar *kie* 45 'all'. — B. Cheng Hsian: *hun* 44 = 46 'to sink (sc. in water)', thus practically synon. with the following *tien*. In order to confirm this Kiang Sheng says: 47 »When the sun goes down, it is called *hun* 44, hence *hun* can have a meaning 'to go down (be submerged)'. But of course the word-stem *hun* (\**χmwən*) has no such sense, it means fundamentally 'dark'. — C. PK'ung therefore takes *hun* in a sense derived from the fundamental 'dark', saying *hun* = 48 'blinded, troubled eyesight, deluded': »The lower people were (darkened, blinded =) confused and thrown down (in the water)». This extended meaning 'obscured, deluded, confused' of *hun* 'dark' is quite common, but it suits the context here badly. — D. Sun Sing-yen: *hun* 44 (\**χmwən*) is a variant for 49 (\**mjən*) 'to ruin, destroy' (ex. in Shī): »The lower people were destroyed and thrown down». — E. It seems better, with Chu Tsün-sheng, to take *hun* 44 in the sense it has in the expression *ya o hun* 50 'to die a premature death' (Tso. Chao 19), in which sense it also occurs with the enlarged char. 51 (one reading \**χmwən*, like 44) 'to die', e. g. Lü: Lun wei 52 »the place of death» (comm.: 51 = 53 'breath cut off'). Thus: »The lower people are killed and (thrown down =) submerged». —

It is tempting to evade the difficult *hun* by accepting *Sī-ma's kie 45 (A)*, but that is hardly allowable, since *Sī-ma* after all often makes very free with the text in his paraphrases. *D* therefore seems preferable.

1314. *Suei shan k'an mu 54.*

**A.** *Sī-ma Ts'ien* in *Hia pen ki* has the variant *55* for *k'an* (both \**k'án*, even tone), and he takes it to mean 'to cut' in the sense of 'to cut notches' (marks) in the tree stems, which is revealed by his paraphrase *56* 'to mark the trees' — thus cutting notches to indicate the road. *Hü* in *Shuowen* has followed this, and in recent times *Kiang Sheng* (cf. *Chavannes MH I*, p. 100). — **B.** *K'ung Ying-ta* and *Ts'ai Ch'en*: *k'an mu* 'cut down the trees'. Cf. *Tso*: *Siang 25*, phr. *57* 'They filled in the wells and cut down the trees'. — The *Tso* ex. shows that *k'an mu* was the term for felling trees, which confirms *B*.

1315. a. *Ki Yi tsou shu sien shī 58;*

b. *Ki Tsi po tsou shu kien shī sien shī mou ts'ien yu wu 59.*

**A.** *Sī-ma Ts'ien* paraphrases a. thus: *60*, thus taking *tsou 61* = 'to give' (the fundamental sense being 'to bring forward') and *shu* as = 'the multitudes', and adding a *tao 62* 'rice' that is not in the *Shu* text. Since *Ma Jung* says *sien 63* = *64* 'raw' and *sien* is very common in the sense of 'fresh meat or fish' (e. g. *Tso*: *Süan 12*, there quite unambiguous), *P'ei Yin* believes that *Sī-ma* meant: 'Together with *Yi* I gave to the multitudes rice and fresh(-meat) food', and the *Shu* line a. would mean the same minus *Sī-ma's* addition *tao* 'rice'. But it is very awkward that in line b. *Sī-ma*, punctuating after *kien-shī*, renders the same *sien shī* by 'rarity of food': 'Together with *Tsi* I sowed and gave to the multitudes (difficult food =) food that was difficult to get'; when there was (rare food =) scarcity of food I exchanged what they had for what they had not' (cf. *Tso*: *Siang 21*: *sien shī 65* 'he took [rare food =] little food'). *Sun Sing-yen* tries desperately to vindicate that *Sī-ma* in both lines took *sien* as = 'rare' (not = 'fresh'). *Tao* 'rice' being 'rare' in Northern China, *Sī-ma* would have meant by his first line: 'Together with *Yi* I gave to the multitudes rice, the rare food', and in the second: 'When there was (rare food =) scarcity of food'. This is ingenious but very speculative. — **B.** *Cheng Hüan* in a. takes *chung 66* as an attribute to *sien shī*: 'Together with *Yi* I gave (the people) *shu* all the *sien shī* fresh(-meat) foods' (sc. of the waters: fishes and turtles). In line b. he punctuates (like *Sī-ma* above) after *kien shī* and paraphrases very freely: 'Together with *Tsi* I taught the people to cultivate in the swamps vegetables (that were) *kien shī* the foods (used) in straits' (sc. inferior to grain, but passable in years of famine). The *Shu* line b. would then be: 'Together with *Tsi* I sowed and (brought forward =) gave (to the people) *shu* all the *kien shī* foods (used in) straits'. His interpunctuation here, however, entails that he has to take *sien shī* in a. as = 'fresh(-meat) foods', but in b. as = 'scarcity of food'. — **C.** *Ma Jung* in line b. inst. of *kien shī 67* has *ken shī 68*, explaining this as = 'stalk foods', i. e. grain, which shows that he took the following *sien shī* as belonging to the first line and balancing *ken shī* 'Together with *Tsi*

23 隨 24 襄 25 思 26 明 27 揚 28 勉 29 幽 質於神明 30 質美 31 言 32 日 33 不可 襄事也 34 成 35  
因 36 思曰 37 曰思 38 于思 日政政 39 下民昏墊 40 下民皆服於水 41 服如伏 42 墊 43 昏 44  
皆 45 沒 46 日沒 47 替 48 泯 49 大昏 50 殤 51 殤死殤之地 52 氣絕 53 隨山刊木 54 聚 55 表木 56  
堙井刊木 57 暫 58 奏 59 鮮食 59 暫 60 播 61 庶艱食 62 鮮食 63 懋 64 有無 65 與 66 益于 67 東 68 稻 69 鮮食

I sowed and gave to the multitudes (stalk foods =) grain and fresh(-meat) foods» (Yü Yüe tries to improve this by supposing that *kien 69*, in its old variant *70*, stood for *71* = *72* as opposed to *sien shī*, an arbitrary speculation). This is quite tempting, but Sī-ma confirms that the text (long before Ma Jung) had really *kien 69*. — D. PK'ung: in line b. *kien shī* refers to the places that were difficult to cultivate, and *shu* is an attribute (with B above), thus: a. »Together with Yi I gave (the people) *shu* all the *sien shī* fresh(-meat) foods»; b. »Together with Tsi I sowed and gave (the people) all *kien shī* the food grown in difficult places, and the *sien shī* fresh(-meat) foods». — E. Ts'ai Ch'en follows Sī-ma as to *shu*, but in line b. he punctuates after *sien shī*: a. »Together with Yi I gave to the multitudes the fresh(-meat) foods»; b. »Together with Tsi I sowed and gave to the multitudes the hard-gotten foods (sc. cultivated grain) and the fresh(-meat) foods». — F. Kiang Sheng takes *tsou 61* (defined as = *73* in the Shuowen) as = »to bring forward» with the following *shu* construed not as a dative but as a direct object, thus a: »Together with Yi I brought the multitudes forward to fresh(-meat) foods», i. e. (in Legge's formulation): »Along with Yi I showed the multitudes how to get flesh to eat». This is certainly no improvement on the earliest interpr. (*tsou* = »to bring forward» = »to give»). — It is quite obvious that *sien shī* must be translated in the same way in both lines; and since it cannot mean »scarcity of food» in line a., this interpr. will not (with A) do in line b. either. Thus, *sien shī* must mean »fresh(-meat) food» in both places, and this entails that (with C—E) *sien shī* in b. must be carried to the first line. It might seem strange that *sien shī* should be thus repeated, and it is tempting to believe that in line b. it is an erroneous addition (the words carried over there from line a.) and should be eliminated; but we dare not make this text alteration since all the ancient text versions have it in both places. As to *kien shī* the E explanation: »the hard-gotten foods» (the cultivated grain) as opposed to *sien shī* »the fresh(-meat) foods» (immediately obtained in the woods and lakes) seems most simple and convincing. The idea thus seems to be that Yü, assisted by Yi, cut down woods in the hills — and there got meat for the people; and that he, assisted by Tsi, irrigated the lowlands — and there got both (cultivated) grain and meat (in the swamps) and fishes (in the waters) for the people.

1316. Mou ts'ien yu wu hua kü 74.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 75. Chavannes takes Sī-ma's last two words *si kü*, corresponding to the *76 hua kü* of the text, to mean: »I removed their domiciles» (*hua* meaning »to transform», here then = »to exchange» — moving people from poor tracts to rich). But, as Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen point out, this was hardly Sī-ma's idea. *T'iao 77* normally means »to adjust, to dispose», here then »to barter, to exchange». Li Shan in comm. on Wsüan quotes our Shu line 78, having 79 (\**mlug / mzu / mou*) inst. of the 80 (\**mug / mzu / mou*), of the orthodox text (from certain Sung and Yüan quotations it would seem that Shang shu ta chuan already had that reading), and Sī-ma's paraphrase *t'iao 77* clearly reveals that his Shu text had 79 and not 80. On the other hand, *kü 81* is well attested in a sense of »to station» = »to hoard», e. g. Kyü: Tsin yü 8, phr. 82 »He hoards treasures». And *hua 83* regularly occurs on Chou time coins with the legend 84, which is equal to 85 »Legal (valuables =) currency of Ts'i» (that *hua 83* here is merely a short-form for *huo 86* is proved by later coins' having the legend *huo ts'üan 87*). Thus *hua (huo) kü* is a binome meaning »ware-hoard», i. e. hoard of goods. That Sī-ma really understood *hua kü* = *huo kü* in this sense might be suggested by a parallel in his chapter Lü Pu-wei chuan: 88 »This is a fine ware worth being hoarded». Now Kiang and Sun believe that Sī-ma by his *t'iao 77* rendered the *mou* of the Shu text and by his *si 89* the *ts'ien 90* of the Shu, thus arraigning the two verbs side by side and letting the objects follow after,



the line *mou ts'ien yu wu hua* (*huo*) *kü* being equal to *mou yu wu, ts'ien hua* (*huo*) *kü* »I exchanged — and transferred — the existing and the non-existing — the hoarded goods», the 3rd phr. referring to the 1st verb and the 4th to the 2nd verb. If this was really Si-ma's meaning, he violated the Shu text strongly. — B. PK'ung takes *mou* 80 in its common and well-attested sense of 91 'energetic, to make an effort, to stimulate', and *hua* 83 'to transform' in the sense of 92 'to change, to exchange', thus: »I stimulated (the people) to *ts'ien* transfer *yu* the existing to the *wu* non-existing, and to *hua* exchange *kü* the hoards», explaining that fish and salt were brought to the mountainous regions, and wood to the regions of rivers and swamps. Ts'ai Ch'en followed this (Couvreur: *Impuli ut transferrent habita et non habentes, commutarent reposita*). The Han shu (*Shi huo chi*) had the short-form 93, and (*Sü chuan*) the loan char. 94 (just as 94 is loan for 80 'to stimulate' in Tso: Chao 8 etc.). — It must be conceded that version A, with the two very analogous words *mou* 79 'to barter, to exchange' and *ts'ien* 90 'to transfer' is far more plausible than text B. *Mou-ts'ien* is practically a binome (the 80 of the B text is then a loan char: \**mug* for \**mlug*). But the explanation of *yu wu* is grammatically faulty in all the interpr. above. We must take *yu wu* as attributes to the following *huo kü*: »I (bartered =) exchanged and transferred those who had and those who had not any hoards of (wares =) stores», (bringing those wealthy in stores to poor regions and those poor in stores to rich regions).

*Cheng min nai li* see Gl. 1087.

1317. *Wan pang tso yi* 95.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 96 »All the states have become (regulated =) well-governed». Tso 97 (rendered by *wei* 98) should not be stressed too much. »The myriad states (have made governing =) have become well-ordered», is quite analogous to Ode 235, phr. 99 »All the states will (make confidence =) have confidence», see Gl. 769. — B. Cheng Hüan reads 99a (= 100) *ai* = 1 'to nourish' (after Erya), interpreting: »The myriad states *tso ai* (make nourishing =) perform (the rites of mutual) nourishing». This is very strained, and the sense of 'to nourish' for *ai* is not attested by safe text ex., see Gl. 1245. — C. PK'ung, in the main following A, tries to give some particular force to *tso*, interpreting: »All the states made (this) (the basis of) government», which is not reconcilable with the Shu text. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *tso* 97 in its well-attested meaning of 'to rise' = 'to start', and takes *yi* 99a as a transitive verb: »All the states rise and *yi* (regulate =) order their works». — E. Wang Yin-chi takes *tso* 97 as = *cha* 2, which he defines as = 3 »The myriad states now first became well-ordered». But this meaning of *cha* is modern; in early texts it means 'suddenly'. — No reason to abandon A.

1318. *Shi ju ch'ang yen* 4.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien curiously renders this by 5 »This is your beautiful (speech)» (6 = 7). Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that *shi* 8 stands for 9, and Kiang Sheng thinks 8 is an erroneous char. introduced because of sound similarity, which is impossible (8 \**ʃiər*: 9 \**ʃiəg*). Probably Si-ma has simply skipped *shi* (he often simplifies by an abbreviation) and renders

61 奏 62 彩 63 鮮 64 生 65 鮮 66 食 67 衆 68 艱 69 艱 70 艱 71 艱 72 饒 73 饒 74 饒 75 進 76 懋 77 有  
無化居 78 調 79 有餘 80 不足 81 徒居 82 化居 83 調 84 貨 85 遷 86 貨 87 懋 88 居 89 居 90 居 91 化 92 齊 93 去  
化 94 齊 95 齊 96 貨 97 貨 98 貨 99 貨 100 此 101 奇 102 奇 103 奇 104 奇 105 奇 106 奇 107 奇 108 奇 109 奇 110 奇  
萬國為治 111 作 112 為 113 萬 114 邦 115 作 116 年 117 又 118 又 119 又 120 又 121 又 122 又 123 又 124 又 125 又 126 又 127 又 128 又 129 又 130 又

ju ch'ang yen by his 5. — B. PK'ung: shī 8 = 10 (common): «We shall (take as master =) take as norm your splendid words».

1319. An ju chī 11.

A. Cheng Hūan: «Be quiet in (your stopping-place =) the position which you occupy» (sc. on the throne), and he further explains: «do not recklessly move (act), if you move, you disturb the people». — B. PK'ung takes chī to refer to moral things: «Find your rest in (that in which you stop =) your (moral) platform». This meaning of chī is well attested, e. g. Li: Ta hūe: 13 «To rest in the highest goodness»; *ibid.* 14 «Being a ruler, he rested in kindness». — C. Chavannes translates: «Vous obtiendrez le calme en étant parvenu au but», which is wide of the mark. — A refers to the constantly recurring theme of the wu wei «non-action» on the throne of the good ruler, and it balances the wei tung p'ei ying a few lines later: «If you (move) act (sc. through your assistants) there will be a grand response». That chī 12 «your stopping-place» means «your (high) position» sc. the throne is further confirmed by the context; it follows up the preceding shen nai tsai wei «Be careful about your being in the high position».

1320. Wei ki wei k'ang 15.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 16 «Think of the minutiae (first symptoms of coming happenings) and so preserve the peace». Thus the Shu line: «Think of the minutiae, (then) there will be peace». This really means that PK'ung took the first wei 17 as the verb 'to think', but the second wei as a particle, which is unacceptable. Moreover the wei as introducing a line recurs immediately below: wei tung p'ei ying 18, and there it cannot possibly mean 'to think'. — B. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen in the same way take the first wei 17 = 19 'to think of', but since Erya says ki 20 = 21 'danger' and Shuowen says ki = 22 'there is danger of', they interpret: «Think of the danger(s) (so as to have) peace». Cf. Tso: Sūan 12, phr. 23 «I have made my gain from the perils of others». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en realizes that the two wei 17 must mean the same. He takes them both as verbs, and ki (with PK'ung) as = 'small, minutiae': «Think of the small beginnings (of happenings), think of the peace» (Legge: «Attend to the springs of things, study stability»). For ki 'first symptoms', of important happenings (hence also 'spring', the small motive force of a greater complex), as we had it in 24, see Gl. 1307 above. — D. The construction of the line has to be judged in the light of the parallelism with the following; there are four lines, which correspond two and two:

An ju chī — wei ki wei k'ang,  
K'i pi tē — wei tung p'ei ying.

Since the last obviously must mean: «If you (move =) act, there will be a grand response», our line wei ki wei k'ang should be construed in an analogous way. In fact, the first two lines describe the ruler in «non-action» (wu wei); himself only directs the course of events by attending to ki «the minutiae», the first symptoms, without noticeable active interference; the following two lines describe how the ruler works through his ministers: through them he really tung (moves =) acts, and all the realm readily responds. We thus obtain: «Be quiet in the position you occupy — if you (are minute =) attend to the smallest beginnings, you will have peace; your assistants should be virtuous — if you (move =) act (through them), there will be a grand response». It should be added that the PK'ung text read k'i pi chī 25 «your assistants should be straight (upright)», but Si-ma renders it 26, which reveals that the oldest text version probably had 27(= 28), of which 29 is merely a short-form. — We should study here:

Shu: Kao Yao mo (further below): Wei shī wei ki 30 (following upon: «In rightly disposing the mandate of Heaven»), see Gl. 1348.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien (Yüe shu) renders this: 31, which — whatever it may mean («Those

first signs of happenings will be tranquil? or, with Sun Sing-yen: »Those perils will be tranquillized?») — certainly cannot be brought into accord with the Shu text. Evidently, however, Sī-ma took *shī* 32 to be the demonstrative = 33 (common). — B. PK'ung: »There are the (proper) times, there are the (minutiae =) first symptoms of happenings» (to attend to). — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: »It is *shī* 32 constantly and *ki* in all first symptoms (that one must be careful)». — D. Chang Ping-lin says *ki* 20 = 34 'time', which was declined in Gl. 1307 above. — B leaves less unexpressed and to be supplied than C. 1320a. *Hī chī yī chao shou Shang ti* 35.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 36. Some scholars take Sī-ma's first two words: *ts'ing yi* as belonging to the preceding line *wei tung p'ei ying* 18, e. g. Chavannes: »...l'empire répondra universellement à votre pensée pure». But it is quite evident (with Sun Sing-yen) that Sī-ma carried *hī chī* 37 to the following line, for he renders *hī* 38 by *tai* 39 'to wait for' (text ex. in Shu: T'ang shī), and he transfers *tai* from the opening phrase and lets it replace the *shou* 'to receive' of the Shu text: »With a pure mind they will brightly wait for the orders of God on High». By this splitting up of *hī chī* and adding a notion *ts'ing* 'pure' that is not in the Shu text, Sī-ma deviates too badly from the latter. And if we restore the order and translate *hī chī* as an adverbial phrase to the following *shou*: »With a (waiting =) expectant mind they will brightly receive (the will of) God on High», this will be rather nonsensical in the context. — B. PK'ung places *hī chī* 37 in a logical connection with the preceding line: (if you act, there will be a grand response), they will wait for your will, and you will brightly receive (the gifts of) God on High». — C. Whereas Sī-ma (A above) filled out *shou Shang ti* into 'Shang ti ming' »the orders of God on High» and PK'ung into »the gifts (recompense) of God on High» (40), Ts'ai Ch'en rightly rejects this and considers *shou Shang ti* as equal to *shou yü Shang ti* 41, which certainly does better justice to the Shu text. Thus: »(There will be a grand response), they will wait for your will, and so it will be manifest that you have received (your mandate) from God on High». — C is most logical and in agreement with the traditional philosophy; the lines here are in fact a condensed programmatic declaration of the fundamental theory of kingship: the king himself is inactive (*an ju chī*) but for his attention to incipient symptoms, by directing which he can remain at peace (*wei ki wei k'ang*); he intercedes actively only through his good ministers (*k'i pi tē*), and then the whole people responds (*wei tung p'ei ying*), they wait for his will (*hī chī*); and the people's willing acceptance of his rule is the proof that he has the mandate of God (*yī chao shou Shang ti*).

1321. *Jī yüe sing ch'en shan lung hua ch'ung tso huei tsung yi tsao huo fen mi fu fuh ch'i siu yi wu ts'ai chang shī yü wu sē tso fu* 42.

This long passage, following upon: »I want to see the *siang* 43 symbols (emblems) of the ancient men», has given rise to all kinds of speculations.

而天汝 8.師 9.斯 10.法 11.安汝止 12.止 13.止於至善 14.為人君止於仁 15.惟幾惟康 16.念慮幾微以保其安 17.惟 18.惟動至應 19.思 20.幾 21.危 22.殆 23.利人之幾 24.一日二日萬幾 25.其弼直 26.輔德 27.德 28.德 29.直 30.惟時惟幾 31.維是幾安 32.時 33.是 34.期 35.侯志以昭受上帝 36.清意以昭待上帝命 37.侯志 38.侯 39.待 40.天之報施 41.受于上帝 42.日月星辰山龍華蟲作會宗彝藻火粉米黼黻絺繡以五采彰施于五色作服 43.采 44.畫績 45.青 46.

A. The oldest text which undoubtedly alludes to it is K'ao kung ki (Chouli): Hua huei. »The task of the hua huei 44 'painter' is to combine the 5 colours; east is 45 blue (green), south is 46 red, west is 47 white, north is 48 black, Heaven is 49 dark, Earth is 50 yellow (these are indeed 6 colours, but only 5 of them come into play in the following colour scheme; the dark of Heaven being left out, is therefore said '5 colours'); (a combination of) blue and red is called wen 51, of red and white is called chang 52, of white and black is called fu 53, of black and blue is called fuh 54, when all 5 colours are complete, it is called siu 55; earth 56 is (represented) by yellow, its symbol siang 43 is square; Heaven changes (sc. in its representation) with the seasons; fire 57 is (represented) by a circle 58, mountain 59 by a chang 52 (meaning of this much discussed), water 60 by a dragon 61; (and there are) birds, beasts and snakes 62...» In this passage we recognize various of the siang 'symbols' in our Shu line, namely shan 'mountain', lung 'dragon', huo 'fire' and possibly hua ch'ung 'the flowery animal', if this corresponds to 'birds, beasts and snakes', further fu 'white and black' (pattern), fuh 'black and blue (pattern)'; (for practical purposes I distinguish the two words by different spelling fu and fuh); and siu '(pattern in) five colours'. On the other hand, the Chouli passage does not exhaust the list of the Shu, and nowhere in it is there anything to suggest that it is a question of emblems on garments — it may equally well be such on banners (sun, moon and stars on banners, e. g. Tso: Huan 2; dragon banners and falcon banners, e. g. Shi; banners with 9 chang 52 emblems, among which sun, moon, dragon, tiger, bird, snake, e. g. Kuan: Ping fa). The important point in our Chouli text is that in the same paragraph where siang 43 'symbols' are enumerated, among them 'mountain, dragon, fire', we find fu 53, fuh 54 and siu 55 defined as 'white and black pattern' and 'black and blue pattern' and '5-colour pattern' respectively. To the K'ao kung ki author fu, fuh and siu must reasonably have had this sense in the Shu paragraph. — B. Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan (a short extract of its text in Swei shu: Li yi chi deviates on some points from the extensive extracts in the Li shu of Ch'en Siang-tao, Sung-time) is the first to apply the major part of the Shu enumeration of »symbols» to garments and to refer it all to the tso fu 63 »make garments» at the end. And Fu Sheng has tso huei 64 (\*g'wad) inst. of the tso huei 65 (\*g'wad) of the orthodox text; but we cannot accept this as an earlier and better reading, for it is probably a correction made by Fu Sheng under influence of the K'ao kung ki passage in A above, since he has a colour-scheme speculation alluding to that K'ao kung ki text; he says: shan lung mountain and dragon are blue (green) 45; hua ch'ung (»the flowery animal») is yellow 50; tso huei 64 is black 48; tsung yi ancestral-temple vase is white 47; tsao huo water-plant and fire are red 46. He thus takes tso huei as an »emblem» analogous to hua ch'ung etc. And though he really has 7 emblems, he combines some of them so as to obtain »5 emblems for the 5 (classes of) garments 66». He manages this in the following way: The Son of Heaven on his garments had 5 kinds of emblems: 1. hua ch'ung; 2. tso huei; 3. tsung yi; 4. tsao huo (water-plant and fire); 5. shan lung (mountain and dragon); the higher feudal lords had only n:is 2—5 of those; the lower feudal lords (tsi, nan) had only n:is 3—5; the dignitaries (ta fu) had only n:is 4 and 5; and the nobles (shi) had only n:o 5 (shan lung). In fact, Fu Sheng in this way does not recognize as »symbols» (emblems) the sun, moon and stars, nor the fen mi, the fu, the fuh the ch'i siu of the Shu text. What he meant by tso huei 64 is very obscure. The Ts'ing scholar P'i Si-juei believes that tso 67 here means 68 'raised, sticking out, elevated' (»the raised ornament», whatever that may be). Though this Fu Sheng commentary in no way satisfies the Shu text, it has had a great influence in so far that the scholars of all later ages have interpreted all the »symbols»

as emblems on garments. (Si-ma Ts'ien has contracted the long Shu passage into a few words in this vein; to the idea of emblems on garments may have contributed a passage in Li: Ming t'ang wei to the effect that on the knee covers the Hia dynasty had *shān* mountains, the *Yin huo* fire and the *Chou lung* dragons as emblems). — C. Cheng Hūan takes the cue about »garment emblems» from Fu Sheng, but elaborates a totally different scheme. He does not take *tso huei* as an emblem, but as a verb, which balances the *ch'i siu* later in the line. *Huei* 69 acc. to him is a short-form for 70 (Shuowen quotes our Shu line 71) and this again is equal to 72, and so *tso huei* 64 means »to make painted (ornaments)», as opposed to *siu* 55 which means »embroidered» (ornaments). The *ch'i* 73 of the orthodox text he regards as an erroneous enlargement of 74, and this again as a corruption of *ch'i* 75, and so he obtains a binome *ch'i siu* 76 'embroidered'. And he gives a nicely balanced scheme: there were 12 symbols, six of them painted on the *yi* 77 upper garment (jacket), six of them embroidered on the *shang* 78 lower garment (skirt). The former were sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon and *hua ch'ung*, the latter were *tsung yi*, waterplant, fire, white rice (*fen-mi*), *fu* 53, and *fu h* 54. In order to determine the value of *hua ch'ung* 'the flowery animal', Cheng draws upon the Chouli: Si-fu, which enumerates 6 kinds of sacrificial garments of the king: »the great fur» 79, *kun* 80 the dragon robe, *pi* 81 the pheasant robe, *ts'uei* 82 the felt robe, *hi* 74 (Cheng =) the embroidered robe, *huan* 83 the dark undecorated robe. Since *kun* here, Cheng points out, is equal to the *lung* dragon of our Shu text, *pi* 91 'pheasant' must correspond to the *hua ch'ung* 'flowery animal', this latter emblem thus being the figure of a pheasant. And then he takes one bold step further. *Tsung yi* 84 'ancestral-temple vases' were not depicted on the clothes, but *tsung yi* here stands for »tiger and monkey», which formed the décor on the ancestral vases. And the emblems tiger and monkey probably were applied to the *ts'uei* 82 felt robe of the Chouli (sic)! How has Cheng arrived at this eccentric idea? In Chouli: Si tsun there is the enumeration of *yi* 85 vases: *ki yi* 86 chicken vase; *niao yi* 87 bird vase; *kia yi* 88 *kia*-vase; *huang yi* 89 yellow vase; *hu yi* 90 tiger vase; *wei yi* 90b monkey vase. And since Li: Ming t'ang wei says that the Hia dynasty had »chicken *yi* vases», the *Yin kia-yi* vases, the *Chou huang-mu* 90c vases, the only thing left for pre-Hia times evidently were *hu yi* 'tiger vases' and *wei yi* 'monkey vases'. Ergo the emblem *tsung-yi* ('ancestral-temple vase') in our Shu line means the emblems 'tiger' and 'monkey'(!). And in this case Cheng seems to have borrowed that brilliant idea from his teacher Ma Jung, who says: *tsung-yi* 'ancestral-temple vase', that means *hu* 90 'tiger'. As to *fu* 53 and *fu h* 54, Cheng does not define them. Thus our Shu line according to Cheng: »Sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon, (flowery animal =) pheasant are the painted (emblems, sc. of the jacket); tiger and monkey, waterplant, fire, white rice, the *fu* emblem, the *fu h* emblem are the 5-colour-embroidered (emblems, sc. on the skirt)». All this seems very ingenious and systematical, and it has been received with the greatest reverence by the commentators of later ages (even great scholars like Kiang Sheng and Sun Yi-jiang). But first the *tsung-yi* = 'tiger and monkey' is an appalling speculation, and secondly Cheng's theory of the 1st series of 6 emblems that were *huei* 'painted', being on the jacket, as opposed to the 2nd series of 6 emblems

赤 47. 白 48. 黑 49. 玄 50. 黃 51. 文 52. 章 53. 黼 54. 黻 55. 繡 56. 土 57. 火 58. 國 59. 山 60. 水 61. 龍 62. 鳥 獸  
蛇 63. 作服 64. 作績 65. 作會 66. 五服五章 67. 作 68. 興起 69. 會 70. 繪 71. 作繪 72. 績 73. 緇 74. 布 75.  
帶 76. 帶繡 77. 衣 78. 裳 79. 大裘 80. 交 81. 驚 82. 毛 83. 玄 84. 宋舞 85. 舞 86. 舞 87. 鳥 88. 華 89. 英 90. 虎

that were *chī-siu* embroidered, being on the skirt, breaks down entirely if tested by pre-Han texts. Ode 130 says: *fuh yi siu shang* 91 »jacket with *fuh* emblems and embroidered skirts» — here the *fuh* is on the jacket, not (with Cheng) on the skirt. On the other hand, Sün: *Ai kung wen* says: »*fu yi fuh shang* 92 »jacket with *fu* emblems and skirt with *fuh* emblems» — here the *fu* is on the jacket (against Cheng) and the *fuh* on the skirt (with Cheng, against the Ode). In short, these emblems *fu* and *fuh* had no fixed placing on jacket or skirt respectively, and so Cheng's ingenious structure tumbles down. — D. PK'ung, while still accepting the early idea of all the symbols being applied to garments, has a different scheme. He leaves out *tsung-yi* as a »symbol», and takes *hua* and *ch'ung* separately and likewise *fen* and *mi* separately (Hü Shen in Shuowen also took *fen* as separate from *mi*); *fen*, PK'ung says, is = 93 'ice-crystal of grain', probably he meant the white grain after peeling; *fu* 53 he defines as the figure of a *fu* 94 'axe' and *fuh* 54 as a figure 95 consisting of two 96 back to back. As to *tso huei* he follows Shuowen (*huei* = painting combining 5 colours). Thus: »Sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon, *hua* flower *ch'ung* (animal =) pheasant form the (emblems) painted in 5 colours; (some of them are likewise on) *tsung yi* ancestral-temple vases; water-plant, fire, peeled grain, rice, axe, *fuh*-figure are *siu* embroidered on *ch'i* fine dolichos cloth». PK'ung thus has 13 »symbols» as against Cheng's 12. His construction of *tsung yi* as a parenthesis without verb is, of course, impossible. In regard to the *fu* and *fuh* symbols, PK'ung followed Sun Yen (3rd c. A. D., comm. on Erya) and Tu Yü (3rd c., comm. on Tso: Huan 2) who both, however, combine it with the Chouli definition in A above: the *fu* axe was made in white and black, the *fuh* symbol in blue and black. As to *fu* = axe, there is the substantiation that Yi li: Kin li 97 »a screen with axes (as ornament)» corresponds to Chouli: *Sī ki yen* 98, same meaning, and that in Shu: Ku ming the same object is called 99. This is fairly conclusive. As to *fuh*, on the other hand, Sun Yen's idea that it was two *ki* 96 back to back was modified by Yen Shi-ku (T'ang time, comm. on Han shu K. 73) that it was the symbol 95, which was »an ancient form of *fu* 100» (which is not at all confirmed by the bronze inscriptions), and Yüan Yüan took this to be two bows back to back (identifying it with the *Ya hing* 2 of the bronze inscriptions which, acc. to Yüan, would mean 3 'to assist'). But for all these speculations there is not the slightest pre-Han text support. We simply cannot know what the *fuh* symbol was like and what it depicted. When PK'ung rejects Cheng Hsün's emendation of *ch'i* 73 into 75, and gives the ordinary meaning to *ch'i* 'fine dolichos cloth', he follows Huai-nan-tsi, who (Huai: Chu shu) says: 4, evidently with our Shu line in mind, and probably Sī-ma Ts'ien was of the same opinion, for (in Wu ti pen ki) he says that »Yao gave Shun 5 a garment of fine dolichos cloth». — E. There are various other attempts at interpretations in later times, with different calculations, which cannot all be related here. As an example may be quoted Sū Hao (Shuo wen kie tsī chu tsien, Ts'ing time): *fu* and *fuh* were not among the *siang* symbols: *fu* 53 simply means 'skirt' and *fuh* 54 means 'knee cover' (well attested in this sense in early texts); the symbols were those: sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon, *hua* flower, *ch'ung* pheasant — 7 symbols were painted (on the jacket); *tsung yi* (ancestral-temple vase), waterplant, fire, *fen* grain, *mi* rice — 5 symbols, on *fu* 53 skirt and *fuh* 54 knee-covers, were *chī siu* embroidered. — F. Whichever line of interpretation we adopt of the preceding (B—E), we are always brought up against the difficulty of *tsung-yi* 'ancestral-temple vase'; it cannot mean 'tiger and monkey' (C), nor be a loosely inserted parenthesis (D), and to conclude that the »temple-vase» was one of the symbols »painted» on the jacket is very little plausible, to say the least. In fact, the fundamental error in all those speculations is the idea that all the *siang* symbols were

on the garments. If we make ourselves free from this fixed idea of the scholasts, we recognize at once that we need not alter *huei* 69 into 70 or 72, nor *chī* 73 into 75, and that these lines naturally divide into two sections which balance each other, each ending by a *tso* 67 'to make': *tso huei tsung yi* 6 »they are made and combined on the ancestral-temple vases», *tso fu* 7 »they are made on the garments». Shun wants to see the »symbols» of the »ancient men» such as they are manifest at the solemn sacrifices. The ritual paraphernalia in those sacrifices are of two kinds: the temple vases and the ritual garments of the officiants. The first section refers to the former, the second to the latter: »Sun, moon, stars, mountain, dragon, flowery animal (pheasant or phoenix?), those are made and combined on the ancestral-temple vases; water-plant, fire, peeled grain, rice, white-and-black figure (axe), black and blue figure, five-colour-embroidery on fine dolichos cloth, with five pigments applied into five colours, those are made on the garments». The latter series certainly refer to textile and embroidery patterns (»the water-plant pattern», »the fire pattern» etc.) which we cannot now identify, since early Chou textiles have not been preserved. But the former series »made and combined on the ancestral-temple vases» should be identifiable. »Sun, moon and stars» probably refers to certain archaic symbols, well-known on early bronzes, which I have called »whorl-circle» 8 (e. g. BMFEA 9, pl. 5) and the closely related symbol 9 (e. g. BMFEA 8, pl. 28); possibly also to the symbol called »square with crescent» 10 (e. g. BMFEA 9, pl. 38). Though the latter was probably originally a stylization of a dragon figure (cf. BMFEA 9, Pl. 32, vessel 132), the writer of our Shu chapter in early Chou time could know nothing of the art evolution in Yin time, and it was reasonable that he took these various symbols to refer to heavenly bodies. *Shan* 'mountain' probably refers to the design which I have called »rising blades» (e. g. BMFEA 9, Pl. 13, 25) which is identical with the earliest form of the char. 12 'mountain'. The *lung* dragon is ubiquitous on the bronzes and the »flowery animal» — whether phoenix or pheasant — is a very apt description of the conspicuous bird figure on many early Chou bronzes. 1322. *Tsai chī hu yi ch'u na wu yen* 13.

The line follows upon »I want to hear 14 the 6 pitch-pipes, 15 the 5 notes, 16 the (8 sounds =) sounds of the 8 kinds of instruments».

A. The above is the reading of the PK'ung version, and he explains: *tsai* 17 = 18 (well attested, see Gl. 751), and *hu* 19 = 20 'careless' (*hu* in this sense in Chuang: T'ien ti), so *chī*: *hu* form an antithesis: »I will examine the good government or neglect (of my officers) in order to bring out and (bring in =) receive the five discourses» — the latter being the discourses on the five virtues (*jēn*, *yi*, *li*, *chī*, *sin*). This has been accepted by Ts'ai Ch'en, yet with the modification that *wu yen* 21 does not mean »the 5 discourses» but »the 5 kinds of odes» (corresponding to the 5 *sheng* notes), *ch'u* brought out from the court to the people or *na* presented to the court from the people. The logical connection with the preceding would be that a correct music corresponds to and reveals a correct government. This theme of the correspondence between music and government has been fully treated and embroidered in Li: Yüē ki. But it is evident that with fundamentally the same meaning of the words, a better sense of the whole could be attained, the line simply referring to the music: »(I want to hear the 6 pitch-pipes, the 5 notes, the sounds of the 8 kinds of instruments)

101. 雌 102. 黃目 103. 黻衣繡裳 104. 黼衣黻裳 105. 栗冰 106. 斧 107. 彗 108. 己 109. 斧依 110. 黼依 111. 黼依 112. 虎 1.

弓 2. 亞 3. 弼 4. 人主好黼黻文章 5. 絺綌 6. 絺衣 7. 絺衣 8. 絺衣 9. 絺衣 10. 絺衣

11. 山 12. 山 13. 在治忽以出納五言 14. 六律 15. 五聲 16. 八音 17. 在 18. 察 19. 忽 20. 忽 21. 五言 22.

and to examine whether they are *chī* well-regulated or *hu* neglected, in order to (bring out and bring back =) sing antiphonally the 5 (kinds of) words (to the music)». What is meant by »5 (kinds of) words« we can of course merely guess at. If we examine the early odes preserved (*Shī king*), there are, for instance, love songs, lamentations, songs of the daily life of the gentry, feast hymns, and songs about heroes and their sacrifices. But the categories intended by this early Shu author may have been something quite different. — B. Wang Yin-chī would improve PK'ung's interpr. on one point: *hu* 19 does not mean 'to be careless, neglect' but stands for *ku* 22 = 23 'to trouble, disturb, disorder' (well-attested word). Thus the antithesis is not »good government or neglect« but: »good government or disorder«. Wang evidently thought 19 (\**χmwət*) was phonetic loan char. for 22 (\**kwət*). But Sun Sing-yen points out that the char. 24 (\**kwət* / *kuət* / *ku*), which in a loan char. sense means 'to disturb, disorder' (then id. w. 22) in its primary sense means 'to flow' and in this sense has a Shuowen variant 25; and he thinks the A version *hu* 19 is merely a graphical error for this 25 = 24 = 22 'to disorder'. For all these speculations there is really only one feeble support. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders the line by *lai shī ku* 26, which admittedly makes no sense and must be a corrupted text; but the last word 22 would be this 'to disorder' demanded by the context as contrast to *chī* in the PK'ung version, which is there written 19. — C. Cheng Hūan inst. of *hu* 19 has the version 27 which he takes as equal to *hu* 28 'writing tablet', and he carries this word to the second line, explaining: »I want to hear the 6 pitch-pipes etc.) and to *tsai chī* examine the government, *hu yi ch'u na wu yen* by means of writing-tablets giving out and receiving back the 5 statements», these »5 statements« meaning the orders given to and reports handed in by the 5 classes of officers. An obviously impossible speculation, particularly since it has no logical connection with the preceding lines on music. Sun Sing-yen believes that the 27 of Cheng's text again is a corruption of the 25 of Shuowen, see B above, which is very unlikely. Yü Yüe believes 27 is simply »a particle«, for which there is no text support whatever. — D. In Han shu: *Lü li chī* the Shu text is quoted *ts'i shī yung yi ch'u na wu yen* 29. The Sui shu: *Lü li chī* quotes *hün* 30 inst. of *yung* 31, and Tuan Yü-ts'ai advocates this version, but it is easily seen that in this connection (musical terms and performances) *yung* 'to sing' makes much better sense than *hün* 32 (which Tuan explains as = 33 'to accord' and thinks is phonetically similar [32 \**χiwən*] to the 19 \**χmwət* of the A version, which is very wrong). Pan Ku takes this *ts'i shī* »the seven beginnings« to refer to 34 »the affairs of Heaven, earth, the four seasons and man«, interpreting: »(I want to hear the 6 pitch-pipes, the 5 notes, the 8 kinds of instruments) and *ts'i shī* (according to) the 7 (beginnings =) primary things bring out and receive the 5 discourses« (the discourses on the 5 *ch'ang* constant norms, *jen*, *yi*, *li*, *chī*, *sin*, see A above). But long before this scholastic speculation a more reasonable and concrete interpretation was given by Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan, when he coördinates *ts'i shī* with the preceding numerical categories, thus clearly indicating that he took it to refer to music; he says 35: »He fixes them by the 6 pitch-pipes, the 5 notes, the 8 sounds (8 kinds of instruments) and the 7 primary (tones)«. Indeed, a set of 7 in the musical categories is well known from pre-Han texts, though nowhere else called *ts'i shī*. It is called *ts'i lü* 36 in Kyü: Chou yü, hia, and *ts'i yin* 37 in Tso: Chao 20 and Chao 25. That the Han scholars considered these three terms as synonymous is shown by the fact that the same enumeration (the tones *huang chung*, *t'ai tsu*, *ku sien*, *lin chung*, *nan lü*, *ying chung*, *juei pin*) is given by Cheng Hūan in explaining the *ts'i shī* of the Ta chuan, by Kia K'uei in defining the *ts'i lü* of Kyü and by Tu Yü in defining the *ts'i yin* of Tso. The Tso passages are particularly valuable,



because they clearly confirm that we have to do with a category of tones (Tso: Chao 20): 38 »The 5 notes, the 6 pitch-pipes, the 7 tones, the 8 airs (feng being really a pun, meaning at the same time 'an air, a tune', see Gl. 757, and 'wind', the 8 airs corresponding to the 8 winds), the 9 songs». With this concrete and natural interpretation we need no speculations about »heaven, earth, four seasons and man». The passage, with yung 31 carried to the second line, means: »(I want to hear the 6 pitch-pipes, the 5 notes, the sounds of the 8 kinds of instrument) and ts'i shi the 7 primary tones, yung yi ch'u na wu yen sung in order to (send out and bring back =) bring out antiphonally the 5 (kinds of) words (to the music)». This version, the oldest attested (ts'i shi in Ta chuan) being obviously the best in the context, must be preferred to the A and C texts. It is easy to see how the tsai chi 39 of A and C have originated. In Chou script tsai 17 was 40 and ts'i 41 was 42 — nearly identical; nothing was easier than to misread tsai for a correct ts'i. The second word was probably (in Chou fashion) simply written 43, supplied with the (correct) radical 'woman' 44 in one Han school (Ta chuan, Shi ki), by the (wrong) radical 'water' 45 in another (Cheng Huan, PK'ung). Further, there was a common Han time variant of ts'i 41 'seven' wr. 46, and this has been misunderstood and corrupted into lai 47 in Si-ma Ts'ien's version 26. Finally Si-ma Cheng tells us that the Kin-wen version read the line 48; here ts'ai 49 is an obvious corruption of 46 (= 41), and cheng 50 paraphrases its synonym chi 45. Thus both Si-mas Ts'ien's version and the Kin-wen version are mixed products, half D, half A (Si-ma: lai shi 51, corruption of ts'i shi 52 = 53, D version; ku 22 rendering 19, A version; Kin-wen ts'ai 49 corruption of ts'i 46 = 41, D version, cheng hu 48 rendering the chi hu 13 of the A version). No wonder that Si-ma's line is quite unintelligible, and that the Kin-wen line is even more strained than the A line (ts'ai cheng hu: »I want to gather the good government or the neglect», namely I want to distinguish between them, is nearly impossible). — The oldest attested version in its concrete sense is the only plausible one.

1323. Shu wan ch'an shuo jo pu tsai shi hou yi ming chi 54.

Shu wan ch'an shuo:

PK'ung takes this in its natural way: »All the stupid ones and calumniating talkers». Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases it very freely 55 »All the calumniating and fawning ministers», skipping the word wan 'stupid' and rendering shu by chu-chung 'the many, all'. Some scholars would press Si-ma's line to correspond more closely to the Shu phrase: chu-chung 'the many' would render shu wan 56. Sun Sing-yen refers to Kyü: Cheng yü 57, which, acc. to him, means: »If they are not near relatives, they are (the many:) the great crowd». But the context there shows that it means: »If they are not near relatives (of the royal house), they are stupid ones (i. e. barbarians, outside China proper)». Thus this gives no support. Chang Ping-lin proposes that Si-ma took shu wan 56 to stand for 58, which would mean 'all the crowd,' which is very unlikely. No reason to abandon the simple and natural ancient interpr.

The whole line:

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases very freely: »All calumniators, 59 if the kün prince's

滑 23 亂 24 汨 25 累 26 來始 滑 27 留 28 苟 29 七始詠以出內五言 30 七始訓 31 詠 32 訓 33 順 34  
 天地四時人之事 35 定以大律五聲八音七始 36 七律 37 七音 38 五聲六律七音八風九  
 歌 39 在治 40 十 41 七 42 十 43 台 44 始 45 汨 46 來 47 來 48 采政忽 49 采 50 政 51 來始 52 來始  
 53 七始 54 庶頑詭說者不在時侯以明之 55 諸衆謔聲臣庶頑 56 非親則頑 57 庶元 58

virtue is sincerely applied, will become ts'ing pure». This means that he skips the difficult jo pu tsai shī, and takes hou 60 in the sense of 'prince' (common) and ming 61 in that of 'to make bright, to enlighten', thus: hou yi ming chī 62 »by the prince one enlightens them». — B. PK'ung: shī 63 = 64, but in the sense of 'right' (as opp. to wrong); hou 60 = 'target' (common), ming 61 'to make clear' = 'to distinguish, to discern', thus: »All the stupid ones and calumniating talkers, if they do not (dwell in =) abide in what is right, by the target (i. e. archery tests) one (makes clear =) reveals them». This idea of archery as the test of moral qualities is ancient and fully developed in Li: Shī yi. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: shī 63 = 64, referring to the preceding line: »If I err, you shall assistingly correct me; you shall not to my face accord with me, but, when having retired, have (other) words afterwards». Thus: »All the stupid ones and calumniating talkers, if they do not abide in those (principles just mentioned), by the target (archery tests) one (makes clear =) reveals them». — D. Kiang Sheng: tsai 17 = 18: »Jo pu tsai shī = if they do not (investigate =) show discernment in this». It is true that tsai can mean ch'a 18 as in Yao tien 65 »He examined the sūn stone apparatus». As stated in Gl. 751, however, tsai in this sense of ch'a is simply an extension of meaning: »to dwell upon, keep the mind on» = »to study, investigate»; it is really no improvement to take tsai in this secondary sense instead of the primary sense in interpr. C. — E. Sun Sing-yen reverts to Sī-ma's idea that hou 60 means 'prince', and, like Kiang, he takes tsai 17 = ch'a 18: »All the stupid ones and calumniating talkers, if one (cannot) (investigate =) discern those, by princes one reveals them», the idea being that the king has his feudal princes as his coadjutors in detecting which subjects are good or bad. The parallelism with the following lines: »by the scourge one imprints it on their memory, by the documents one records it» shows that the »target», of interpr. B—D is far better, a concrete instrument in the hand of the ruler.

**1323a. T'a yi ki chī 66.**

A. PK'ung: »By the scourge one (causes them to remember =) imprints it on their memory». — B. Sun Yi-jang: ki 67 is a loan char. for ki 68: »By the scourge one (causes them to abstain =) deters them». — B is, of course, quite possible, but A balances better the following »By the documents one records it».

**1324. Yü ping sheng tsai 69.**

A. PK'ung: »One wishes that they shall live along with (the rest)», thus taking sheng 70 as an intransitive verb. — B. Sun Sing-yen: 70 = 71: »Ones wishes to keep them alive along with (the rest)». — C. Kiang Sheng: sheng 70 = 72: »One wishes to make them advance (towards goodness) along with (the rest)». But sheng has no such meaning. — A and B are both possible, but B, which takes sheng as a transitive verb parallel to all the preceding (ming, ki, shī) is most consistent.

**1325. Kung yina yen, shīeryang chī, ko tsê ch'eng chī, yung chī, fou tsê wei chī 73.**

A. PK'ung, who believes that kung 74 means 'the music masters' (a common meaning of the word e. g. in Li: Yüe ki, Yili: Yen li, Tso: Siang 4), takes the first half to refer to the king, and na yen 'to introduce words' = 'to remonstrate' (by odes sung as remonstrances); and the second part to refer to t'ien hia chī jen »the people of the realm»; thus: »Kung the music-masters yina yen by (introduced words =) songs sung in remonstrance shī correct (the king) and yang (lift =) lead him on; if (men) arrive (at goodness), one receives and employs them, if not, one overawes them (by punishments).» — B. Ts'ai Ch'en refers the whole to the wicked men mentioned in the preceding lines: »The music masters take their (sc. the miscreants') (introduced words =) presented songs and constantly (lift =) recite them; if they ko become re-

formed, one receives and employs them, if not, one overawes them». For *k o* 75 = 'to become reformed' *Ts'ai* refers to *Lun*: *Wei cheng* 76 »Guide them by virtue, normalize them by the rites, and then they will feel shame and become corrected (reformed)». This is *Ho Hiu's* interpr. (*k o* 75 = 77 'to correct'); but in *Li*: *Tsi yi* this *Lun yü* clause is paraphrased so as to show that the *Li* author took *k o* 75 in its sense of 'to come': »then they will feel shame and come (to you)»; and the *Ts'i* school of *Lun yü* (ap. a Han-time inscription) had another version: 78 »they will feel shame and be respectful» (so paraphrased in *Han shu*: *Huo ch'i chuan*). Thus the *Lun* text par. gives no safe support at all for *Ts'ai's* interpr. A better and safer par. is *Meng*: *Li Lou*, shang: 79 »Is only the great man who can correct the faults of the ruler's (heart =) mind» (*Chao K'i*: 75 = 77). In fact *k o* is attested in the sense of 'law, norm, rule', e. g. *Li*: *Tsi yi* 80 »The conduct has its norms», and by extension of meaning 'to put a norm for, to regulate' = 'to correct', as in the *Meng* ex. But even though *k o* can thus have this sense, it is infinitely more common in the sense of 'to come'. And the whole idea that the reformation of the wicked men is revealed by the songs they present at court sung by the music masters, is, of course, ridiculous. *Kiang Sheng*, in the main, follows *Ts'ai* but says that *n a y e n* 81 'to introduce words' refers to the rite of *h o y ü* 82 »conversations at general reunions', described in *Li*: *Wen wang shi ts'i*. — *C*. *Sun Sing-yen* takes *k u n g* 74 in its general sense of 'officer, official', as we already had it in *Yao tien* 83 »If you earnestly control all the functionaries», etc. (very common); *y a n g* 84 is equal to 85 'to lift', as already stated in A-B above, but not in the senses there proposed but in the sense of 'to recommend, to promote', as in *Li*: *Wen wang shi ts'i*: 86 »Some are promoted because of their deeds, some are (raised, lifted =) promoted because of their speeches». Cf. *Yao tien* above: 87 »Raise one humble and mean». So far *Sun* is undoubtedly right. But then he goes on saying that *ch 'e n g* 88 is equal to *ch e n g* 89 'to promote', an unnecessary text alteration; and that *f o u* 90 should not be read *f o u* 'not' but *pei* 'to obstruct', as in *Yi*: *Kua* 12, the last words meaning »if (the officials) obstruct them (do not let them come forwards) they are overawed (by punishment)» — an interpr. which entirely misses the antithesis expressed by *f o u*. The lines, which refer to the wicked men whose reformation was described in the preceding paragraph, therefore mean: »Through the officials reports are brought in (about them); if they are *sh i* (correct =) good, one *y a n g* promotes them; if they come, one receives them and employs them, if not, one overawes them (into obedience)». — *C* alone is simple and logical in the context.

1326. *Ts 'a n g s h e n g* 91.

*Ts 'a n g* 92 means both 'green', e. g. Ode 129, phr. 93 »The reeds and rushes are very green», and 'azure', e. g. Ode 65, phr. 94 *ts 'a n g t 'i e n* »the azure Heaven».

A. *PK'ung* carries the phr. to the preceding: 95 »Even to the green vegetation of the corners of the seas». This is very unlikely — why should the extreme borders by the seas be described as having a »green vegetation»? — B. *Li Shan* in comm. on *Wüan* asserts that *ts 'a n g s h e n g* is equal to the phr. *k 'i e n s h o u* 96 'black heads' = 'the

君德誠施皆清矣 62 侯 61 明 62 侯 以明之 63 時 64 是 65 在 璿璣 66 建 以記之 67 記 68 忌 69  
欲立生哉 70 生 71 養 72 進 73 工 以納言 時而風 74 之 格 則 承 之 庸 之 否 則 威 之 75 工 格 76  
道 之 以 德 齊 之 以 禮 有 恥 且 格 77 王 78 有 恥 且 格 79 惟 大 人 為 能 格 君 心 之 非 80 行 有 格 81  
納言 82 合 語 83 允 釐 百 工 84 風 85 揚 86 或 以 事 舉 或 以 言 揚 87 揚 側 陋 88 承 89 燕 90 否 91  
蒼 生 92 蒼 93 蒹 葭 蒼 蒼 94 蒼 天 95 至 于 海 隅 蒼 生 96 黔 首 97 黎 獻 98 獻 99 聖 100 賢 1 儀 2

people' known from Li: Tsi yi and from various texts of the 3rd c. B. C. Ts'ang 'green' would then be extended to mean 'dark, black' generally: »Even to the (dark living things =) black(-haired) people of the corners of the seas». There is no pre-Han support whatever for this speculation. — C. Another interpr. Ts'ang sheng should be carried to the following line: ts'ang sheng wan pang: »The (greenly-growing =) flourishing myriad states».

### 1327. Li hien 97.

For li = 'numerous, all', not 'black-haired', see Gl. 430. The general meaning of hien 98 is well established. Erya says = 99 'sage', and Yi Chou shu: Shī fa (posthumous names) says »the one who is intelligent and wise is called hien». But the true etymology has been variously explained. Cheng Hsian (comm. on Lun: Pa yi) says 98 (\**χiǎn* / *χiǎn* / hien) = 100 (\**g'ien* / *γien* / hien); but \**χiǎn* cannot very well be a loanword for \**g'ien*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Wang Yin-chi believe that 98 \**χiǎn* is loan char. for 1 \**ngia* / *ngjiq* / yi 'righteous' because Shu: Ta kao 2 is rendered 3 by Fu Sheng in Ta chuan, and because in Chouli: Sī tsun yi the comm. Cheng Chung quite arbitrarily says hien 98 is read like 4 \**χia* / *χjiq* / hi or like 1 \**ngia* (which is phonetically excluded). In fact, several Han-time inscriptions have the binome li yi 5 in the same sense as the li hien of our Shu passage, and it is possible that the Kin-wen version really had li yi 5 inst. of the li hien of the Ku-wen version. But in any case the latter (\**χiǎn*) cannot be a loan char. for the former (\**ngia*), the phonetic discrepancy being too great. Now hien, fundamental meaning 'to present, bring forward', is well attested in the sense of 'to exhibit, to display, to show', e. g. Ode 220, phr. 6 »Display your skill in shootings», and, taken passively, hien thus can mean 'displayed, exhibited, conspicuous'. Our phr. li hien thus: »The numerous (conspicuous =) eminent ones».

### 1328. Fu na yi yen, ming shu yi kung 7.

In Yao tien above we had correspondingly: 8 »Extensively they made reports by their words; they were clearly tested by their achievements». In Tso: Hi 27 a »Book of the Hia» is quoted, having 9. Tso 10 and na 11 being practically synonymous: »to make report», the discrepancy concerns fu and shi 8 shu.

As to fu 14, an imperial edict of 19 B. C. quotes 12, where 13 (\**p'iuo*) is simply a loan char. for 14 (\**p'iuo*), just as in Ode 304, phr. 15 »Extensively he applied his valour» is written 16 in the Ts'i school (Ta Tai li), with the same loan char. But the fu 17 in Tso is more complicated, since Tu Yü says 17 means 18 'to take', and fu na yi yen would then mean: »They are taken and introduced according to their speech». But in fact 17 (\**p'iuo*) likewise can serve as loan char. for 14 (\**p'iuo*) 'to spread out, extensively', for in Ode 260 we find 19 »He causes the bright decrees to be promulgated» (Mao comm. fu 17 = 20 'to spread out'). Thus, the fu na, whether written 7 or 12 or 9, means (the first being to correct reading): »Extensively they make reports». As to shu 21 inst. of shi 22 it is a poor expedient to say that shu is »erroneous» for shi (Kiang Sheng), there being neither similarity in sound nor in the graphs. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en tried to maintain the ordinary sense of shu 'many, a crowd', but then they had to make »the emperor» the subject of the second clause: »Extensively they make reports by their words, (the emperor) will ming distinguish shu (the crowd =) all the officers by their merits», which entirely misses the parallelism of the lines. Shu 21 certainly should have an analogous sense to that of shi 22, and it seems very probable, with Chang Ping-lin, that 21 simply stands for the graphically very similar 23 to 'to measure', thus: »They are clearly (measured =) tested by their achievements», which conciliates the two versions in a very natural way.

### 1329. Ti pu shi fu t'ung ji tsou wang kung 24.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 25. »If the emperor does not (act) like this, and if he

(extensively =) everywhere coequals (the good and the bad); then there will be no achievements». This shows that he punctuated and interpreted the Shu line thus: *Ti pu shī, fu t'ung... wang kung*, and simply skipped the two difficult words *jī tsou*. Kiang Sheng, who follows Sī-ma, supplies the missing phrase: »*Ti pu shī* if the emperor does not (act) like this, *fu t'ung* he (extensively =) everywhere coequals (the good and the bad), and *jī tsou* (even if) they daily make reports (about their work), *wang kung* there will be no achievements». — B. PK'ung explains *tsou 10* by *tsin 26* (after Shuowen), and interprets: »*Ti pu shī* if the emperor does not (act) like this, then he (extensively =) everywhere coequals (the distant and the near ones), *jī tsou wang kung* and he daily advances in having no achievements» (27). He thus takes *tsou* as an intransitive verb; but *tsou* is really equal to 26 as a transitive verb: »to bring forward», and K'ung Ying-ta therefore modifies the last line: *jī tsou wang kung* »he daily (advances =) promotes those who have no merits». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: »If the emperor does not (act) like this, *fu* (extensively =) everywhere *t'ung* and all together *jī tsou wang kung* they (the bad servants) will daily advance in having no achievements». — D. Sun Sing-yen: *fu 14* here means *fen 28* 'to cleave, to separate, distinguish': *ti pu shī fu* »If the emperor does not distinguish those (wicked men from the good ones), *t'ung jī tsou* they will in the same day (as the good ones) be (advanced =) promoted, and *wang kung* there will be no achievements». As support for his astonishing definition of *fu*, Sun adduces Shu: *Yü kung 29* »Yü (spread out, laid out, distributed =) disposed the lands», where Ma Jung says *fu 14 = 28* 'to distribute'. But Ma's *fen* here has a totally different sense from the 'to separate, to distinguish' proposed by Sun in our present phr.; *fu 14* has no such meaning, and his intep. is inadmissible. — E. Another interpretation. It is quite evident that the line refers to the phrase a few lines earlier: *fu na yi yen 7*, which was formulated slightly differently in Yao tien: *fu tsou yi yen 8* »extensively *tsou* make reports by their words». We have exactly the same *fu* 'extensively' here, combined with the same *tsou 10* 'to report'. This can hardly be a coincidence and it forces us to reject all the various interpr. above. Just as a few lines earlier in *Ti kuang t'ien chī hia 30*, the first word, *ti*, is a vocative: »Oh emperor, extensively (31 = 32) all under Heaven...», so it is here. The lines refer to all the servants (ministers, officials) of the emperor, of whom it was said above: *fu tsou yi yen* »they extensively make reports by their words»; here the same idea is further embroidered: »Oh emperor, *pu shī* if they do not thus *fu t'ung jī tsou* extensively and all together daily make reports, there will be no achievements».

1329 a. *Wu jo Tan Chu ao*. Both the Kin-wen and Ku-wen version had an introducing *Ti yüe* »the Emperor said», see Sun Sing-yen. PK'ung has tampered with this, cutting out *ti yüe* and making the following section be a continuation of Yü's speech. K'ung Kuang-sen has the ingenious idea that since the Yao tien says *Siang ao 33* »Siang was arrogant», our line here means »Do not be like Tan Chu and Ao ('the arrogant one')», which however is refuted by the next line, where *ao* reverts as an ordinary adjective — it is little likely that it would function first as a nickname and then immediately as an ordinary word in the same passage.

民獻 3. 民儀 4. 儀 5. 黎儀 6. 獻爾發功 7. 敷納以言明庶以功 8. 敷奏以言明試以功 9. 賦納以言明試以功 10. 奏 11. 納 12. 傳納 13. 傳 14. 敷 15. 敷奏其勇 16. 傳奏 17. 賦 18. 取 19. 明命使賦 20. 布 21. 庶 22. 試 23. 度 24. 帝不時敷同日奏罔功 25. 帝即不時布罔善惡則毋功 26. 進 27. 日進於無功 28. 分 29. 出敷土 30. 帝光天之下 31. 光 32. 枕 33. 蒙微 34. 罔盡夜頒頒 35. 罔水

## 1330. Wang chou yeng ngo 34.

A. Cheng Hūan carries this to the following wang shuei hing chou 35 »With no (difference between) day and night he ngo - ngo - wise without water went in boat» (sc. made men push the boat forward on land). This should be rejected, for in the line of five words ending by ngo (both rhythm and rime determine the line thus: wang chou yeng ngo ngo) this ngo can certainly not be an adverbial phrase defining the verb hing following in the next line. Cheng, besides, does not define the meaning of »ngo - ngo - wise». — B. PK'ung connects the line with the preceding a o nūe shī tso 36 »arrogance and oppression, those he practised», and that is correct, for the lines are tied into a pair by the rime. He paraphrases: 37 »Without (difference between) day and night he constantly ngo ngo and was licentious and bad (having no rest =) continuously». It is not at all clear what PK'ung thought ngo ngo meant; probably he took it (\*nglāk / ngvk / ngo) to be a loan char. for 39 (\*āk / āk / ngo) and expounds it by his si - ngo 40 'licentious and bad': »Without (difference between) day and night he was bad». — C. K'ung Ying-ta, foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en, thinks that PK'ung by his last words wu hui si expounded the enigmatic ngo ngo and believes that he follows PK'ung in interpreting: »Without (difference between) day and night, continuously». But it is evident that PK'ung by his wu hui si simply followed up and expounded more fully the initial »without (difference between) day and night» and that his wu hui si thus glossed wang chou ye and not ngo ngo. In any case, there are no text par. whatever in support of the meaning 'continuously' for ngo - ngo. — D. The char. ngo 38, in later times wr. 41, means 'forehead' (Ki tsiu p'ien, Fang yen, Shuowen, still so in modern Mandarin). It is evident that 38 is loan char. for some other char. of the series 42 (in other words: in the Han-time transcription of the ancient text, the rad. 43 was wrongly applied). The only other word of the series, occurring reduplicated, which can come into question, is the homophonous 44 (\*nglāk / ngvk / ngo), which *inter alia* means 'to dispute, to oppose by strong words', e. g. Mo: Ts'in shī: »(A prince must have criticizing ministers), 45 a ruler must have oppositional subordinates». The fundamental sense is really 'to be obstreperous, to oppose by noisy and sharp words'. That 38 serves for this 44 was already proposed by Wang Yün (comm. on Shuowen). In Ts'ien fu lun: Tuan sung our Shu line is quoted 46, and this 47 (\*ngāk / ngāk / ngo) was a phonetically similar word with an analogous sense, properly written 48 (\*ngāk) 'to speak sharply and frankly' (text. ex. in Lie, in Shi ki etc.). We have this same 47 for 48 e. g. in Ta Tai: Tseng tsī li shī: 49 »The sage pronounces himself in sharp words». Our Shu line thus means: »(Arrogance and oppression, those he practised), without (difference between) day and night he was obstreperous».

## 1331. P'eng yin yü kia 50.

Si-ma Ts'ien reads in the same way.

A. Cheng Hūan foll. by Kiang Sheng paraphrases: 51 »There was licentiousness (inside the gates =) in the house (family)», thus referring p'eng to the people belonging to the house (family) — when Chavannes translates *il se livra à une débauche incestueuse dans sa propre famille*» and believes this to be Kiang Sheng's opinion, he is wide of the mark. — B. PK'ung with greater precision says that p'eng 52 = 53 'the crowd, the herd' refers to the wife and concubines, thus: »The crowd (of women) were licentious in the house». For p'eng in this sense cf. Kyü: Wu yü 54 »in order to stimulate the forces of his crowd» (sc. officers and soldiers). — C. Ts'ai Ch'en takes p'eng 52 as a verb = 55: »He (associated =) formed a gang of cronies and was licentious in the house». For a Shu par. with p'eng as a verb like this see the Lo kao ex. below. — D. Couvreur takes p'eng as the ordinary noun 'friend, associate', but with an understood preposition: »(With) friends he was licentious in the house». This is grammatically weak, and

we should then rather have to take p'eng as the subject: »His associates (friends, cronies) were licentious in the house«. — E. Shuowen quotes the line peng yin yü kia 56. It has generally been admitted that the 57 (\*pang) of Hsi's version was simply a loan char. for p'eng 52 (\*b'eng), but that is not so sure; 57 or 58 was \*pang / pang / peng (falling tone) and means 'to sink (the coffin) in the ground' (ex. in Tso), and it fundamentally means simply 'to sink, to cause to sink', being a causative form of the same verb stem as 59 \*pang / pang / peng (even tone) 'to fall down, to collapse' (intransitive). Thus: »He was sunk in license in the house«. — F. Another school in an edict (ap. Hou Han shu: Lo ch'eng Tsing wang chuan) of emperor An (107—125 A. D.) read: feng yin yü kia 60. Feng means 'to run wild when on heat', said of horses and cattle (Tso: Hi 4,28). Thus: »He was riotously licentious in his house«. This version is quite independent of the A version, for 61 \*pium cannot be loan char. for 52 \*b'eng, nor vice versa. — F. is very tempting, since feng yin would be an excellent binome, and Sun Sing-yen favours this. But after all version A is attested 200 years earlier (Si-ma) and we should abide by it; for the same reason E has to be declined. C, which makes the criticized Tan Chu himself the subject of the clause, is certainly best, p'eng yin being a natural coördination of two verbs. — We compare:

Shu: Lo kao: J u t s i k ' i p ' e n g , j u t s i k ' i p ' e n g k ' i w a n g , w u j o  
h u o 62.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 63 »My young son should be careful about his associates, and take care about his (from now onwards =) future«. This introduces a verb *shen* 64 'to be careful about' which is not in the Shu text; *ju ts'ik'ip'eng* of course can never be construed to mean »my young son should be careful about his associates« still less can *k'iwang* be construed to mean »he should be careful about the future«.

— B. Sheng follows A in the first part, but carries *k'iwang* to the following line: »The young son should be careful about his associates, *k'iwang* (= *ts'ikinerwang*) from now onwards, he should not be like the fire . . .«. This is even worse than A, since it construes *k'ip'eng* and *k'iwang* (which are obviously parallel and analogous) in two different ways.

— C. Hou Han shu: Yüan Yen chuan explains *k'ip'eng* in the same way, but takes *k'iwang* = 66 »he should be careful about to whom he goes« as likewise referring to his choice of associates. Again, there is introduced here this notion of *shen* 'to be careful about' which is not reconcilable with the formulation in the Shu.

— D. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *p'eng* as a verb = 'to associate' in the sense of 'to be partial to, to favour', and takes the first *k'i* 67 as an interrogative, the second as a modal particle: »My young son, can he be partial? (If) my young son is partial, (from now and onwards =) in future (will it not be like fire =) it will be like fire . . .«. This grammatical inconsistency is unacceptable.

— E. Yü Yüe: Kuangya says *p'eng* 68 = 69 'not', and our *p'eng* 52 is a short form for this 68. Thus: »My young son, *k'ip'eng* may he not (do like that); *k'iwang* then means »may he go« sc. to the new city. For the Kuangya meaning of 68 there exists no text support whatever. Yü's attempt at interpr. is absurd.

— F. Chang Ping-lin: the for-

行有 26 叛虐是作 27 無 晝夜常 頌頌肆惡無休息 28 頌 29 惡 30 肆惡 31 頌 32 各 33 頁 34 語  
 35 以上有 詔詔之下 36 晝夜鄂鄂 37 鄂 38 諤 39 君子出言以鄂鄂 40 朋淫于家 41 淫門內 42  
 朋 43 羣 44 以畜其朋勢 45 比 46 朋淫于家 47 朋 48 朋 49 崩 50 風淫于家 51 風 52 孺子其朋  
 孺子其朋其往無咎火 53 小子慎其朋黨....戒其自今而往 54 慎 55 其往 56 慎其往 57 其

mulation is »stuttering», and k'i p'eng k'i wang is equal to a simple ju tsī k'i p'eng wang 70 »My young son, may he with the crowd go», i. e. follow the officers to the new capital. — G. Yü Sing-wu: p'eng 52 stands for feng 71, which means 72 'great': »My young son, may he grow great, may he grow great». Yü does not explain the following k'i wang. — H. Another interpr. It is quite obvious that k'i is the exhortative modal particle, on the analogy of the preceding ju k'i si tsī kiao kung 73 »you should in everything yourself instruct them to achievements» (see Gl. 1759), and the following ju k'i king 74 »You should be reverent; p'eng and wang are thus coördinated verbs, governed by the modal k'i and turned into exhortative phrases. It would be tempting to take them as contrasting: »Ju tsī k'i p'eng, k'i wang »the young son should associate (sc. with the good), or he should (go away from =) keep aloof (sc. from the bad)». But that is not admissible, for wang 'to go' regularly means 'to go to', not 'to go away, to leave'. Hence p'eng and wang are almost synonymous: »The young son should (associate =) find associates, the young son should find associates, he should (go to them =) frequent them; but he should not be like a fire (i. e. too fervent in his friendships): it first flames up, and where it blazes, by and by it cannot be extinguished». The theme in this clause: that the ruler should rely on associates, is but a further elaboration of the content in the preceding lines.

**1332.** Yü ch'u ang jo shī 75.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien makes this the last clause in Shun's speech and renders it by 76 »I cannot accord with this»; Sun Sing-yen expounds: ch'u ang 77 means 78 'to wound', and the line properly means »I (am wounded =) feel hurt by according with this», i. e. I do not accord with it. Very strained. — B. PK'ung (who takes Yü as the speaker all way through): ch'u ang 77 'to wound' means 79 'to chastise': »I have been chastised (had a painful warning) by its jo shī being like this», or, more literally, with Kiang Sheng: »I (am wounded =) suffer from its being like this». There are numerous ancient words meaning 'to suffer from = be sorry, grieve over', but I know of no par. text where ch'u ang is used with this extension of meaning. — C. Whereas Si-ma Ts'ien starts the next line by »Yü said» 80, Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Wen K'ung) places this before our present line, contracting the two lines of the PK'ung version 81 into one: Yü yüe, yü ts'ü jo shī 82. This very happily gives us the clue to the meaning of our embarrassing ch'u ang 77. Our line is not the last in Shun's speech, but the first in Yü's, and the words Yü yüe have to be moved, in accordance with Wang Ch'ung, in front of the line: Yü yüe: yü ch'u ang jo shī, ts'ü yü T'u shan »Yü said: »When I started work like that (as described earlier in the chapter), I married in T'u-shan». Ch'u ang 77 = 'to start, to initiate, to start work' is a well-attested meaning: Kyü: Chou yü 83 »to institute the rules of the empire»; Lun: Hien wen 84 »Pi Shen roughly (initiated =) drafted them (the orders)»; Meng: Liang Huei wang, hia 85 »The lord (initiates, begins, founds =) lays the foundation of the inheritance»; etc. (common).

**1333.** Ts'ü yü T'u shan sin jen kuei kia, K'i ku ku er k'i yü fu tsī 86.

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung interpret: »I married in T'u-shan (sc. the lady of the T'u-shan house), on the days sin, jen, kuei, kia (sc. I stayed with her for 4 days only); when (my son) K'i wailed and wept, I did not treat him as a son» (I had no leisure to go into the house and attend to him). — B. Hü Shen in Shuowen (under the variant 87) has a slightly different interpr., saying that »the people took wives on the days sin, jen, kuei, kia», and the phr. would then mean that Yü had followed the custom of the land, marrying the lady on those days (a 4-days feast?). The comm. on Shuei king tries to reconcile these views, quoting Lü shī ch'un ts'iu to the effect that since Yü stayed with his wife



these 4 days, it became the custom of the people in that region to marry on those days! (Lü shī ch'un ts'iu has no such passage — this is one of those spurious quotations so common in medieval commentaries). — C. Si-ma Ts'ien has inverted the word-sequence fatally, reading 88 »On the days sin and jen I married (the lady of) T'u-shan, on the days kwei and kia I begat K'i, I did not treat him as a son», which is obviously a corruption, the latter half being inane. It is, besides, quite clear that the 4 words sin jen kwei kia should be read together, since they form a sequence in the decimal cycle. — D. Liu Hsiang (Lie n'ü chuan: Mu yi) narrates: (Yü of Hsia took the lady of T'u-shan for wife), 89 »When she had born K'i, on the days sin, jen, kwei, kia K'i wailed and wept, but Yü went away and regulated the waters». This means that Liu in the Shu line carried sin jen kwei kia to the following phrase: »I married in T'u-shan (sc. the lady of the T'u-shan house); (for 4 days =) on the days sin, jen, kwei, kia, K'i wailed and wept, but I did not treat him as a son». — D. is quite plausible in itself, but A is certainly superior, showing how the busy Yü first had to neglect his wife and then his son.

Wei huan to t' u kung 90. For huan 91 = 'extensively' (with Erya and Cheng), not 'brought into order, cultivated' 92 (PK'ung) see Gl. 287 and 1077: »I extensively planned the land works».

1334. Pich'eng wu fu, ch' i yü wu ts'ien 93.

Si-ma Ts'ien (after Erya) renders pi 94 by fu 95 'to aid', the regular meaning of 94; Shuowen has the variant 96, same meaning.

A. Cheng Hsüan expounds pi by 97, thus: »I (aided =) supplemented and achieved the 5 dependencies, as far as to 5000 (li)», adding some elaborate computations of the various areas and distances, which do not deserve to be recapitulated here., cf Gl. 1384. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »I assisted in establishing the 5 dependencies, as far as 5000 (li)». I. e. Yü assisted the sovereign in the disposition of the realm that was properly the emperor's prerogative to decide. — We have pi 94 in this very sense of 'to assist' (the sovereign) in the beginning of the same Shu chapter (Kao Yao mo) and *passim* in the Shu, which speaks in favour of B.

1335. Chou shī yu er shī 98.

A. The oldest interpr. is that of Shang shu ta chuan: 8 families are a lin 99, (3 lin =) 24 families are a p'eng 100, (3 p'eng =) 72 families are a li 1, (5 li =) 360 families are a yi 2, (10 yi =) 3600 families are a tu 3, (10 tu =) 36000 families are a shī 4, and chou shī yu er shī (referring to our Shu passage above) 98 »In a chou province there are 12 shī districts (of 36000 families)» i. e. 430,000 families. This comes as a very natural sequel to the preceding. »I assisted in establishing the 5 dependencies, as far as to 5000 li», here describing the size of the various provinces, expressed in the figures of their population. — B. Cheng Hsüan: shī 4 = 5: »The provinces have 12 leaders (masters, tutors)», i. e. princes who were leaders over the other feudal lords within the provinces. There has been much speculation about these »12 shī leaders». Wu Ch'eng (Yüan dynasty) adduces Yao tien

68 朋 68 不 70 其 朋 往 71 逢 72 大 73 汝 其 悉 自 教 工 74 汝 其 敬 75 予 創 若 時 76 予 不 能 順 時  
77 創 78 備 79 愆 80 禹 曰 81 予 創 若 時 娶 于 塗 山 82 禹 曰 予 娶 若 時 83 以 創 制 天 下 84 神 謨  
草 創 之 85 予 子 創 業 86 娶 于 塗 山 辛 壬 笑 甲 啓 嗚 嗚 而 泣 于 房 子 87 88 予 辛 壬 娶 塗 山 笑  
甲 生 啓 89 子 89 既 生 啓 辛 壬 笑 甲 啓 嗚 嗚 泣 禹 去 而 治 水 90 惟 荒 度 土 功 91 荒 92 治 93 躬 成  
五 服 至 于 五 千 94 95 96 輔 97 比 98 廣 輔 99 州 十 有 二 師 99 鄰 100 朋 1 里 2 邑 3 都 4 師 5

(«Shun tien»), where it is said on the one hand that Shun 6 established 12 provinces, on the other hand that Shun says: 7 «Oh, you 12 Pastors» i. e. governors of the 12 provinces, and he insists that our *chou shi yu er shi* 98 «In the provinces there were 12 shi», refers to them, thus one shi to each province (so also Legge), a shi being but another term for the *mu* Pastor. But that is not tenable, for Yü instituted not 12 but 9 provinces, and in our chapter Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) above, it is Yü himself who gives an account of his works and in this account he speaks of the 12 shi. It is futile to speculate whether Shun first made 12 provinces and Yü then altered this into 9 provinces or *vice versa*. The two figures 12 and 9 are not reconcilable, they represent two different traditions about the early political geography of the realm. In any case Yü would not in referring to his own institutions speak of 12 shi in the sense of «12 Pastors» over 12 provinces, since he had made 9 provinces, not 12. Cheng Hsuan has realized this and concludes that in each province, under the *mu* 'Pastors' were 12 prominent feudal lords as his coadjutors. But then we are out in the field of pure guesses, for this theory lacks every text support. There are several texts referring to «leaders»: Li: K'ü li says that when the *ch'ang* leaders of the 9 provinces (8) came to the royal court, they were called *mu* 9 Pastors. Li: Wang ch'ü says that outside the Royal domain proper (forming 1 *chou* province) there were 8 *chou* provinces: 5 feudal states 10 formed a *shu* 11 led by a *chang* 5; 10 states (*kuo*) together formed a *lien* 12, led by a *shuai* 13; 30 states together formed a *tsu* 14, led by a *cheng* 15; 210 states together formed a *chou* 16 province, led by a *po* 17; there were thus 8 (in 9 provinces minus 1, the Royal domain) *fang po* 18 «regional leaders». These texts in the Rituals refer, not to primeval times but to the Chou era (and, moreover, are late theorizing speculations which have little to do with historical facts). A more ancient text, referring to early Chou time, is Tso: Hi 4, where Shao Kung of Ts'i is made to say: 19 «The 5 (kinds of) feudal lords, and the 9 leaders, you shall truly punish them». Here there are 9 *po* leaders (including the leader of the princes in the Royal domain, thus leaders of the princes in 9 provinces). But the important fact is that nowhere is there a term *shi* 4 in the sense of a «leader» over other princes. Thus Cheng's interpretation of the «12 shi» hangs entirely in the air. — C. PK'ung says: in each province he (Yü) used 30000 men's work (sc. in regulating the waters and establishing the provinces). This shows that PK'ung took *shi* 4 in the sense of 'army, regiment', i. e. conscription soldiers who did the work, basing himself on Chouli: Hia kuan, introduction: «2500 men made a *shi* regiment» (12 *shi* thus making 30000 men, PK'ung's figure). Thus our Shu line: 98 «In (each) province there were 12 regiments» (to my aid). — The oldest interpr. (A) certainly suits the context best. — We compare:

Shu: P'an Keng: *Pang po shi chang po chi shi chi jen* 20.

A. We have no gloss of Cheng Hsuan's on this passage, but since he above defined *shi* 4 as = *chang* 5 it seems reasonable to conclude that he took our phr. *shi chang* 21 here as = 'leaders (of provinces)'. — B. PK'ung takes *shi chang* simply as = 22: «You rulers of states, you leaders of the multitude, you hundred (kinds of) managers of affairs». For *shi* in this sense see Gl. 1305 above. — C. K'ung Ying-ta modifies B into 23 «The leaders of all (the officers)», a very unlikely construction. — D. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen refer to the Li: Wang ch'ü passage quoted above, and believe that our *chang* 5 refers to the *chang* leaders of a *shu* 11 group of 5 states and that our *shi* 4 corresponds to the *shuai* 13 leaders of a *lien* group of 10 states. Thus: «You *pang po* rulers of states, you *shi* leaders of 10-state groups, you *chang* leaders of 5-state groups and *po chi shi chi jen* you hundred (kinds of) managers of affairs». This is extremely unlikely. Quite apart from the fact that Wang ch'ü is a late Li chapter and very scholastic, being a theorizing speculation about Chou-

time institutions, it is quite arbitrary to identify *shī* 4 with *shuai* 13, and moreover the rhythm indicates that *shī-chang* is one thing, not two: *pang-po — shī-chang*. Thus B remains the most simple and plausible interpr.

1336. *Wai po si hai, hien kien wu chang* 24.

*Po* 25 means 'to press upon, to come close to', as often (Tso etc.).

A. Cheng Hūan foll. by PK'ung: »Outside (the provinces of China proper) I came all to the four seas, and hien in all those regions I established five-state leaders». Thus, in the border regions, those of the barbarians, for every 5 states he nominated a prince as their leader. Cheng is here evidently influenced by the Li: Wang chī passage quoted in Gl. 1335 above: 5 feudal states 10 formed a *shu* 11 led by a *chang* 5. There it refers to China proper, but Cheng here applies it to the barbarian regions, taking the *wu chang* 26 of the Shu text as = »the leader of 5 (states)». Cheng is also influenced by his own interpretation of *shī* 4 = 'leader' in the preceding line, taking the *cheng* here as a term balancing the *shī* there. But, as we have seen, his interpr. of *shī* cannot be sustained. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Outside (the provinces of China proper) I came all to the four seas, and hien (everywhere =) in each of those regions I established five leaders»; thus in the east selecting 5 princes as leaders for the rest, and likewise in the south, west and north. (Legge, skipping the *hien* 27, simplifies: »establishing, in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five Presidents»; thus only 5 inst. of Ts'ai's  $5 \times 4 = 20$ ). Even more far-fetched than A. — C. Wu Ch'eng (Yüan dynasty): *wu chang* »the five (classes of) chiefs» refers to the ordinary 5 classes of feudal lords (*kung, hou, po, tsī, nan*), and the last clause *hien kien wu chang* does not refer particularly to the preceding *wai po si hai* but to the whole passage: »I assisted in establishing the 5 dependencies; [in each province there were 12 *shī* districts of 36000 families, see Gl. 1335 above]; outside (the provinces of China proper) I came all to the four seas; hien everywhere (sc. in the whole realm) I established the 5 (classes of) chiefs (feudal lords)». Chavannes has accepted this, and it is obviously right.

1337. a. *Ko ti yu kung* 28;

b. *Ti chen tē* 29.

Sī-ma Ts'ien in both cases renders *ti* 30 by *tao* 31, which is just as ambiguous. In fact *ti* 30 can mean (intransitive) 'to advance', e. g. Ode 257, phr. 32 »He does not seek (office) he does not advance (i. e. push himself forward)», see Gl. 979. Or it can mean (transitive) 'to tread on, to walk in, to pursue the course of', e. g. Shu: Wu yi 33 »These four men (walked in wisdom =) pursued the course of wisdom»; the same with understood object: Shu: P'an keng 34 »If there are inauspicious ones and such who do not (walk it =) pursue the (proper) course». Or it can be transitive and causative: 'to cause to walk' = 'to lead', e. g. Shu: P'an Keng 35: »They lead on the high sovereign, grandly to . . .» etc. (see Gl. 1459). In our Shu lines above:

A. PK'ung paraphrases: a. 36 »Each one (walks in that which has merit =) pursues a course that is meritorious», thus taking *yu kung* as object of *ti*, according to type 33 above; b. 37 »Pursuing the course of my virtue». Sī-ma may very well have meant this by his 38, for *tao* 31 can have such a sense, e. g. Lie: Huang ti 39 »Just now I saw

長六十有二州又啓十有二牧九州之長少牧也國屬連師卒正州長伯侯伯侯五侯九伯女實征之20邦伯師長百執事之人21師長22衆長23衆官之長24外薄四海咸建五長25薄五長咸各迪有功29迪朕德30迪31道32弗求弗迪33茲四人迪哲34乃有不吉不迪35迪高后丕乃....36各蹈厥有功37踐行我德38各道

you walking it». When Erya has an entry: *t i 30 = 40* 'to make, to enact (to practise)', this is only a freer way of expressing the same (to walk in = to practise). — **B.** K'ung Ying-ta in *a.* takes *t i* as having an understood object (as in phr. 34 above) and makes *y u k u n g* an independent finite clause: »Each one pursues the (proper) course and has merits» (Chavannes turns this in yet another way: »chacun de ceux qui se conduisaient bien vit son mérite reconnu»). In *b.*, on the contrary, K'ung Ying-ta has to construe *w u t ê* as object of *t i*: »pursuing the course of my virtue». — **C.** Kiang Sheng takes *t i* as the transitive 'to lead' (as in the phr. 35); Si-ma's 41 would then be meant as = 42. Thus: »Each one leads on (his subordinate princes) to have merit». But then *b. t i c h e n t ê = 43* would make no sense. — **A.**, which consistently takes *t i* as = 'to walk in, to practise' with a following object (*y u k u n g* and *c h e n t ê* respectively) is certainly best, and tallies with a similar phr. in the beginning of Kao Yao mo: 44 »If he sincerely pursues the course of his virtue».

**1338.** *Miao wan fu tsi kung 45.*

**A.** Si-ma Ts'ien reads 46, thus: »But (the prince of) Miao is foolish and has not attained to merit». — **B.** PK'ung read as 45 above, explaining *k u n g 47* as = 48 'officer, official' (common), thus: »But (the prince of) Miao is foolish and has not attained to (becoming an) officer». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en, reading like **B.**: »and has not gone to his work» (has not done his duty). — **A.** is obviously right since the *k u n g 49* here balances the 49 of the preceding line.

*Kao Yao fang ch'i küe sü* see Gl. 1234. *Fang shi siang hing* see Gl. 1266.

**1339.** *K'uei yüe kia ki etc. 50.*

**A.** Si-ma Ts'ien does not render this as a speech of K'uei, but says: K'uei then made music..., and Sun Sing-yen therefore takes *y üe 52* as equal to *y üan 53*, the particle (common): »K'uei then struck...». — **B.** Cheng Hsüan: »K'uei said...» etc. **B.** is evidently right, since a few lines later we again have: *K'uei yüe* »K'uei said». (For this second *K'uei yüe* see Gl. 1347 below.) It would be strange indeed if in two consecutive passages *K'uei yüe* would have two totally different meanings.

**1340.** *Kia ki ming k'iu po fu k'in sê yi yung 54.*

*Kia ki 55* was \**ket-kiek*. Yang Hiung (ap. Han Shu: Yang Hiung chuan) quotes the line *ki ko 56* \**kjët-klëk*. (Li Shan in comm. on Wsüan says 57 should here be read like 58, but this does not tally with the phonetic of the graph). The same binome occurs in Li (see below) wr. 59 \**ket-kiek*.

**A.** Cheng Hsüan takes *kia ki 55* as a verb (this after Ma Jung: 58 = 60) 'to strike', but *po-fu 61* as the name of a musical instrument; Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan had already defined the *po-fu* as a small leathern drum, and Cheng adds that it was filled with chaff. Thus: »When one strikes the singing *k'iu*-stone, the small leathern drum, the guitar and the lute and with them sings». For *kia 58* in the sense of 'to strike' there are no early text par. — **B.** PK'ung takes *kia ki 55* to be nouns: names of musical instruments, identifying the *kia 58* with the *chu 62* the music-starting sounding-box and the *ki 63* with the *yü 64* music-stopping sounding-box (acc. to Han scholars: Cheng Chung, Hü Shen, Cheng Hsüan and others, the former was a square wooden box with an upright, the latter tiger-shaped, with a row of dents on the back — not confirmed by any pre-Han texts). Thus: »The sounding-boxes, the singing *k'iu*-stone, the small leathern drum, the guitar and the lute, when with them one sings». For this PK'ung bases himself on Li: Ming t'ang wei: 65 »The *fu-po* small leathern drum, the musical stone of jade, the *kia ki* sounding-boxes, the great guitar, the great lute, the middle guitar and the small lute, those were the musical instruments of the four dynasties». There can be no doubt that in this text the *fu-po 66* is the same as the

p o - f u 61 in our Shu line and is, sure enough, a musical instrument (it recurs wr. 66 in Ta Tai: Li san pen, there again clearly an instrument); and that the y ü k'ing musical stone of jade corresponds to our ming k'iu, and that the kia ki 59 corresponds to our kia ki 55 (and to Yang Hiung's 56) and is the name of instruments — the enumeration being essentially the same. In his comm. on this Li passage the same Cheng Hün, who in A above took kia ki 55 to be a verb 'to strike', here in Li correctly realizes that kia ki were musical instruments (which is conclusively shown by the context) and he identifies them with the ch u 62 and y ü 64. PK'ung thus has simply followed Cheng Hün's Li ki gloss, against his Shu king gloss. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en not only takes kia ki 55 as = 'to strike' (with A; unsupported by texts, as far as kia is concerned), but even p o f u 61 he takes as verbs. P o he defines as = 67 'to reach to', and f u 68 as = 'to go along, to stroke'. The former is based on Shuowen (p o 69 = 'to grasp, seize', 70 »one meaning being ch i 'to reach to'). Thus: »If one strikes the singing k'iu-stone, if one (reaches =) touches and strokes the guitar and the lute and with them sings». Legge and Couvreur curiously have construed a distinction that the first word kia means to tap lightly and the second ki to strike strongly; but that on the contrary the first verb p o means 'to strike strongly' and the second fu 'to strike lightly'. For all this there is no foundation. — Since p o - f u is well attested to be the name of an instrument in several texts and in unambiguous contexts, C (p o f u = verbs) should be rejected. In the choice between A and B, the Li: Ming t'ang wei parallel clearly decides in favour of B.

1341. Y ü pin tsai wei 71.

A. Fu Sheng (Shang shu ta chuan): »(Yü 72 =) Shun is guest in the high position», i. e. Shun is ceding the regency to Yü 73 and hence at the sacrifice described takes the place of an honoured guest, whereas Yü 73 is 74 host. — B. From a passage in Ch'un ts'iu fan lu: Wang tao it would seem that Tung Chung-shu understood: »The guests of Yü 72 (Shun) are in the fine positions», in the sense that the feudal lords assist at the sacrifice. — C. Pan Ku (Po hu t'ung: Wang ch'ê pu ch'en), followed by Cheng Hün, PK'ung and most later comm.: »Shun's guest (i. e. Tan Chu) is in the high position». Yao's son Tan Chu (Chu of Tan), who did not receive the empire, is treated by Shun not as a subject but as a »guest». — D. Another interpr. In the oracle-bone inscriptions we constantly meet with the formula 75 »to inquiry from the king's guest So-and-so (a dead king)», and it has long been recognized (Lo Chen-yü, Wang Kuo-wei and others) that wang pin »the king's guest» was a technical term for the spirits of the royal ancestors used in sacrifice and divination. Our Shu passage precisely describes such a sacrifice, and the context here is: tsu k'ao lai ko 76 »The dead ancestors arrive, Yü pin tsai wei »Shun's guests (sc. the spirits) are in their high positions» (sc. at the sacrifice). Yü pin »Shun's guests», the spirits of the ancestors, is a phrase quite analogous to the wang pin »the king's guest» of the oracle bones. — We compare:

Shu: Lo kao: Wang pin sha yin hien ko 77.

有功 39 向見吾子道之 40 作 41 各道 42 各導 43 導吾德 44 允迪厥德 45 苗頑弗即工 46 即  
功 47 工 48 官 49 功 50 曠日曷擊 51 於是 52 日 53 爰 54 曷擊鳴球搏拊琴瑟以詠 55 曷擊 56  
拊 57 拊 58 曷 59 拊擊 60 操 61 搏拊 62 祝 63 擊 64 歌 65 拊搏玉磬 66 拊擊大琴大瑟中琴小  
瑟四代之樂器 67 拊搏 68 至 69 拊 70 搏 71 一曰至 72 虞賓在位 73 虞 74 禹 75 主人 76 貞王  
賓 77 祖考來格 78 王賓穀便咸格 79 杞 79 宋 80 穀 81 東 82 格 83 假 84 報 85 賓 86 饋 87 羣后

A. PK'ung punctuates thus: wang pin, sha yin, hien ko and interprets: »The king treated (him, sc. the Chou Kung just mentioned) as a guest (sc. not as a subject); he killed (victims) and made a pure sacrifice; to all (sc. to both Wen's and Wu's temples) he went». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »The king's guests because of his killing (victims) and sacrifice all came»; the king's guests referring to such feudal lords who were representatives of earlier dynasties (the prince of K'i 78 representing the Hia, the prince of Sung 79 repr. Shang-Yin). This is in keeping with interpr. C in our Kao Yao mo line above. — C. Chuang Shu-tsu has an eccentric idea that sha 80 is a graphical corruption of ping 81 and that ko 82 stands for 83 which again stands for 84: »The king's guests (descendants of earlier dynasties) ping yin holding sceptres (?) all are blessed». — D. Sun Yi-jang: pin 85 is a short-form for 86: »The king pin brought forward as guests (Chou Kung and his son), and (then) killed (victims) and sacrificed» (Sun does not tell how the remaining hien ko will then make sense). — E. Lo Chen-yü: wang pin must here be the same term so well known from the oracle inscriptions (75) and refer to the dead kings: »The king's guests (i. e. the royal Spirits) at the killing and sacrifice all came». — Since we have here in Wang pin .... hien ko the same verb ko 82 'to arrive, to come', which in Kao Yao mo is said of the ancestral Spirits »coming» to partake of the sacrifice: tsu k'ao lai ko 76, it is quite obvious that E here is right and that the wang pin »king's guests» who ko »came» were the Royal Spirits. But then, since such Spirits are called pin 'guests' in the Shu language as well as in the Yin oracle language, this confirms that the Yü pin »Shun's guests» of the Kao Yao mo refer to the 'ancestors' mentioned immediately before. Lo Chen-yü's explanation being correct for the Lo kao, it must be applied likewise to the Kao Yao mo.

1342. K'ün hou tê jang 87.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders this: 88 »All the princes (mutually yield =) are modest towards each other». This shows that he took tê simply as an averbial attribute to jang, thus: »All the princes (virtuously yield =) are virtuously modest». — B. PK'ung: »All the princes (with reference to virtue yield =) modestly yield to the most virtuous»; very scholastic. — C. Sun Sing-yen: Shuowen defines tê 89 as = 90 'to rise, to ascend, to raise'. This is supported by no single safe text ex., but Sun adduces that tê 89 (\*tək) was phonetically close to chī 9 (\*tīək) and to tēng 92 (\*təng), which both have that meaning, and 89 \*tək would then be a variation of the same stem. Thus: »All the princes ascend and (yield =) are modestly polite». This speculation of Sun's is much too weakly founded.

1343. Ho chī chu yü 93.

A. The oldest interpr. is revealed by Erya: Shī yüe, which says: »that with which one strikes the chu sounding-box is called chī 94». This can only mean that chī is a noun, denoting some kind of hammer, and the line should then be taken together with the preceding: »(Below, there are the flutes and hand-drums and drums), ho jointly (with them) chī there are the hammer, and the chu and yü sounding-boxes». There is no other text ex. of chī in this sense, but since chī fundamentally means 'foot', there is nothing unnatural in a hammer for striking a sounding-box being called 'a stamper'; moreover, it is quite possible that the shape of the hammer in question was such that it invited to its being called ('a foot' =) 'a stamper'. There is no reason whatever for doubting this Erya entry about the striking instrument for the sounding-box being called a chī. — B. Cheng Hsüan, PK'ung and following commentators take ho and chī as verbs governing an understood yüe music: ho yüe 'to bring together (the instruments in) the music' = 'to start the music', and chī yüe 'to stop the music'. The former, ho, would refer to the chu, the latter to yü. Thus: »The (collecting =) starting and the stopping chu sounding-box and yü -sounding-box (respectively) =

»the starting *ch u*-sounding-box and the stopping *y ü*-sounding-box». (For their pretended shapes: a square and a tiger-shaped box respectively, there are likewise only Han-time *points d'appui*, cf. gl. 1340). It is easily realized how strained this explanation is, that *h o c h i c h u y ü* would be equal to *h o c h u c h i y ü*. It is entirely built up on the word *ch i* 94, which commonly means 'to stop'. If we could be sure that the *ch u* really started the music and the *y ü* stopped it, we could still be tempted to accept this violent metathesis. But there are no pre-Han texts stating anything of the sort; the theory of the »starting» *ch u* and the »stopping» *y ü* is earliest championed by a row of Han time commentators. It is quite possible that this theory, in its turn, is based precisely on our Shu phrase above, such as it was understood by many Han scholars, and thus we move in a circle. — Interpr. A, which is the oldest, does best justice to the parallelism between the lines. In the preceding we have *h i a — k u a n*, *t ' a o*, *k u* (first an adverb »below», and then 3 instruments: flutes, hand-drums and drums); in our present line we have: *h o — c h i*, *ch u*, *y ü* (first the adverb »jointly», and then 3 instruments: hammer, *ch u*-box and *y ü*-box). This is simple and logical and saves us from the unnatural metathesis of interpr. B.

1344. *Niao shout s'iang ts'iang* 95.

A. *Sī-ma Ts'ien* interprets: »Birds and beasts dance». *Cheng Hsüan*, while writing 96, still defines this as = 'to dance'. For ex. of *ts'iang* 97 'to move rhythmically' see Gl. 266. — B. *Shuowen* quotes *niao shout s'iang ts'iang* 98, like *Cheng* above, but explains this *ts'iang* as = »the sound of the animals coming to eat». Thus: »The animals (make an eating sound) *ts'iang-ts'iang*». This making no sense in the context, *Sun Sing-yen* is possibly right in supposing that *Hü* only means a metaphor: »(the music sounds like) animals' (crunching sounds) *ts'iang-ts'iang*». For *ts'iang ts'iang* as onomatopoeia for sounds cf. C. next. But for the »sound made by eating animals» there is no text par. — C. *Ma Jung*: birds and beasts, that means *sün kü* 99 the crossbeams and vertical posts of the frames for the musical instruments. We know from various texts that these were either shaped as or decorated with animals' figures (*Chouli*: *K'ao kung ki*, *Ts'i jen*; *Li*: *Ming t'ang wei*) and *Ma* evidently meant that *ts'iang ts'iang* depicts the resounding of the frames: »The birds and beasts (of the frames) resound *ts'iang ts'iang*». In *Shuo yüan*: *Pien wu* our line is quoted 100 (*ts'iang*), and this *ts'iang* means 'to resound' e. g. in Ode 302, phr. 1 »The eight bells (resound =) tinkle». — C is very ingenious and tempting, but after all the line must be understood in relation to the following: »*K'uei* said: when I strike the stone, when I knock on the stone, all the animals follow (it) and dance» (a repetition of a line which already occurred in the *Yao tien*), which confirms A. The theme of the music-master playing so as to make the animals dance reverts in *Lü*: *Ku yüe* (there the music-master is *Chi Ia* under *Yao* — possibly but another name for *K'uei*?). And in *Chouli*: *Ta s'i yüe* this phenomenon is fitted into the general magical and ritual system: »By one change (section) of the music one brings forward the feathered animals and comes in contact with the Spirits of rivers and marshes; by a second change one brings forward the naked animals and comes into contact with the Spirits of the hills and forests» etc.

1345. *Siao shao kiuch'eng* 3.

That *siao shao* (so also wr. by *Sī-ma Ts'ien*) was the name of *Shun's* music is

德讓 琴右相讓 德 卅 9. 所 登 21 合止 祝 歌 24 止 35 鳥 歌 踏 踏 28 踏 踏 27 踏 28 鳥  
歌 踏 踏 29 笛 簫 30 鳥 歌 鶴 鶴 1 八 鸞 鶴 鶴 2 質 2 蕭 韶 3 成 3. 蕭 韶 4. 蕭 韶 5. 韶 蕭 6. 蕭 2

generally admitted. In this reading it has been explained (Sung Yün, Eastern Han time) as equal to 3 »The respectful continuation» (sc. of Yao's work), a typical scholastic speculation. PK'ung takes *siao* in its ordinary sense of Pan-flute: »The *shao*-music of the Pan-flutes». However, Shuowen has the variant 4, and Tso: Siang 29 the inverted form 5, and it is uncertain whether this 6 should be read \**siôg* / *sieu* / *siao* like 7 'Pan-flute', then being a mere variant for that word, or \**sük* / *säk* / *shuo* which Shuowen defines as a word meaning 'to strike a man with a pole'; If so, 4 might mean »the *shao* music with spears» (sc. in the hands of the dancers). Finally this music in 9 sections (*kiu ch'eng* as above) is called, besides 8 \**diog* / *ziäu* / *shao* (Chouli var. 9, same reading), also 招 (\**tiog* / *tsiäu* / *chao*): 10 (Lü: Ku yüe; Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki), which makes it very doubtful whether the name has anything to do with 11 (\**diog*) 'to continue'. Ts'ai Ch'en therefore says that *siao-shao* has to be taken as a whole simply as the name of Shun's music. But the context favours PK'ung's idea that *siao* really meant the Pan-flute, *shao* being the name, and that 6 is merely a variant graph for the former.

1346. Feng huan lai yi 12.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien (in Wu ti pen ki) renders this by *lai siang* 13 »The male and female phoenixes come flying». So also Shuo yüan: Siu wen. But *yi* 14 has no such sense. — B. PK'ung takes *yi* 14 in its normal sense of 15 'proper deportment, fine demeanour, fine attitude', thus: »The male and female phoenixes come and (are fine-demeanoured =) strike fine attitudes». This being very hair-drawn, Ts'ai Ch'en has felt compelled to improve it: »they come and dance and have a fine bearing». But *yi* has no sense 'to dance'. — C. Just as Ma Jung in the preceding line thought that »the birds and beasts» referred to the décor of the bell-frames, so here Ying Shao (Feng su t'ung yi: Yin sheng) believes that »the phoenixes» are only a metaphor for the Pan-flutes: »In the Pan-flute *shao* music of 9 sections) the phoenixes come and figure» would mean that the Pan-flutes, with their 10 pipes of different lengths, look like the wings of a phoenix. This might seem tempting, but we have very early testimony that real phoenixes are intended. Sün: Kie pi quotes a now lost ode 16: »The male and female phoenixes ... (meaning of *ts'iu* uncertain), their wings are like shields, their voices are like Pan-flutes, there is one male and one female, they rejoice the emperor's heart». This ode nicely explains why our Shu line says that the phoenixes come after »the Pan-flute *shao*-music in 9 sections» — their voices resemble the Pan-flute, the Pan-flute music draws them. — D. Cheng Hün: *yi* 14 = 16a 'a mate', as in Ode 45, phr. 17 »He is my mate»; Kyü: Chou yü »Tan Chu ... *yi chi* 18 mated with her (copulated with her)». Thus: »The male and female phoenixes come and mate» — that the phoenixes build their nest and mate in the court is a happy omen. That the *feng huan* are auspicious birds is told in Li: Li yü (the four divine animals being unicorn, phoenix, turtle and dragon). — E. Fu Sheng (Shang shu ta chuan as quoted in Lun heng: Kiang juei) paraphrases the line 19: »The male and female phoenixes are on their several trees», which shows that he took *yi* in the sense of 'well-mannered, orderly', thus: »The male and female phoenixes come and (are orderly =) arrange themselves in their proper places». — F. Another interpr. In all the preceding (A-E), the interpr. of *yi* 14 is more or less strained. In Fang yen, k. 2, we find 20 »*yi* and *ko* mean *lai* to come». *yi* being the word used in the districts of Ch'en and Ying. Thus we have proof that in middle Han time *yi* 14 (\**ngia*) was colloquially current in the sense of 'to come'. Possibly the word in archaic times was more general, and survived only as a dialect word in Ch'en. We could not, however, dare to assume that \**ngia* = 'to come' existed in Shu times, merely on the strength of the much later Fang-yen, since there are no good pre-Han text examples. But the fact that it is here combined with *lai* into a binome



makes the supposition plausible: *lai yi* 21 'to come and arrive' is then quite analogous to the *lai ko* 22 'to come and arrive' which we had a few lines earlier in our chapter (76) and which occurs in Shī and Li. Thus: »The male and female phoenixes come and (arrive) put in an appearance» (as a happy auspice).

1347. K'uei yüe, wu, yü ki shī fu shī, po shou shuai wu 23.

»K'uei said: Oh, when I strike the stone, when I knock on the stone, all the animals follow (it) and dance». This is a verbal repetition of a line at the end of Yao tien. Si-ma Ts'ien, who took all the preceding not as a speech of K'uei's but as a narrative (see Gl. 1339 above) here again has no line corresponding to the first 8 characters (K'uei said: when I strike the stone, when I knock on the stone), and takes the *po shou shuai wu* as a narrative following directly upon *feng huang lai yi* (the male and female phoenixes came, all the animals followed and danced). That this was general in the Kin-wen school follows from quotations in edicts in Sūan ti's and Ming-ti's reigns. On the other hand, the Ku-wen school certainly had the whole passage, so it was not wrongly introduced (after Yao tien) by PK'ung; Cheng Hūan (ap. comm. on Chouli: Ta si yüe) quotes: »K'uei again said . . .». And in a text just as old as Shī ki, sc. Lie: Huang ti, we find: »Yao (not Shun!) ordered K'uei to rule the music, *ki shī fu shī, po shou shuai wu, feng huang lai yi, siao chao kiu ch'eng*. Here, it is true, this is given narratively (without any K'uei yüe), but all the lines in our Shu passage are rendered (though inverted) and it shows that together with *siao shao kiu ch'eng, feng huang lai yi . . . po shou shuai wu*, there should go (acc. to the text which Lie-tsi had) a phr. *ki shī fu shī*, in accordance with the Ku-wen, as against the Kin-wen. And there is a fact which quite definitely decides in favour of the Ku-wen version: the whole of the chapter Kao Yao mo consists of speeches, there are really no narratives at all. It is therefore clear that the version which starts both these passages with K'uei yüe »K'uei said» are more consistent and in agreement with the rest of the chapter.

1348. Ch'it'ien chī ming 24.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien (Hia pen ki) renders this: 25 »Ascending to the mandate of Heaven» and possibly this was the Kin-wen version. But Si-ma certainly also knew of the (Ku-wen) version with *ch'i* 26, cf. B below. — B. PK'ung paraphrases: 27 »receiving and (regulating =) disposing the mandate of Heaven». One of the well-established meanings of *ch'i* 26 is 28 'to regulate, to arrange, to dispose, to order' (ex. in Ode 209 and Yi: Kua 21, see Gl. 670). To PK'ung's *feng* 29 'to receive' there is no corresponding phr. in the Shu line, which will simply be: »Rightly disposing the mandate of Heaven». Apparently a different sense, but in fact merely an extension of meaning is *ch'i* 26 = 31 (Shuowen) 'to be careful', for it properly means: 'carefully to dispose, meticulously to arrange, regulate, carefully to attend to', as in our phr. (beginning of Kao Yao mo) 21 »We carefully regulate our five rules». An exact par. to our phr. 24 here is Shu: To shī 32 »We have rightly disposed the mandate of Yin»; here PK'ung says *ch'i* = 33 'to depose, eliminate' (»We have eliminated the mandate of Yin»), but that is only a free paraphrase, for with K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en *ch'i* here again simply means

篇 8 韶 9 啓 10 九 招 11 紹 12 鳳凰來儀 13 來翔 14 儀 15 咨儀 16 鳳凰秋秋其翼若干其聲若  
篇 有鳳有凰樂帝之心 17 匹 18 賓惟我儀 19 儀之 20 鳳凰在列樹 21 儀格來也 22 來儀 23 來  
格 24 變曰於予擊石拊石百獸率舞 25 勅敷天之命 26 陟天之命 27 敷 28 奉天之命 29 正  
29 奉 30 誠 31 敷我五典 32 勅殷命 33 黜 34 君臣相敷 35 正天之命 36 敷正殷命 37 陟 38 賜言

28 'to regulate, to dispose properly'. In Shī ki: Yüe shu (first lines), Si-ma Ts'ien referring to our Shu passage says: k'ün ch'en siang ch'i 34 'The sovereign (sc. Shun) and the subject (sc. Kao Yao), (correct =) admonish each other'; though this does not directly paraphrase our Shu line, it still shows that Si-ma had before his eyes a version (Ku-wen) with the char. ch'i 26. — Kiang Sheng very strongly advocates Si-ma's reading (A) as the proper one, and says that the orthodox version ch'i t'ien chī ming 24 does not make sense, and that its B paraphrase: 35 likewise is impossible. But in Shu: To shī, this same Kiang Sheng calmly glosses ch'i Yin ming 32 by 36 (in full accordance with the B reading and interpretation of our phr. above). Since we know that Si-ma very often replaced the difficult words of the Shu text with other words of his own, we dare not accept his chī 32 'to ascend' in preference to the transmitted ch'i 26, all the more as Si-ma evidently has seen a text with this ch'i 26. And our ch'i t'ien chī ming here is strongly supported by the To shī par. ch'i Yin ming.

Weishī weiki see Gl. 1320. Po kung hitsai see Gl. 1229.

#### 1349. Yang yen yüe 38.

Si-ma Ts'ien writes 39. The two forms of yang are interchangeable.

A. PK'ung: 'Raising the voice he spoke and said'. Cf. Ode 299, phr. 40 'They do not shout, they do not raise their voices'. — B. Erya (Shī ku) has an entry: 41 keng and yang mean 'to continue', and since a few lines later we have this very keng 42 in that sense, the gloss evidently has our Shu passage in view. Thus: 'Continuing he spoke and said'. There are no safe text par. Ho Yi-hang believes that in Shu: Li cheng 43 'to extol the brilliant deeds of Wu wang', yang should really mean 'to continue the brilliant' etc. But that is quite inadmissible, yang 'to lift' being common in the sense of 'to extol' in similar phr., e. g. Ode 262, phr. 44 'In response he extolled the king's grace'.

#### 1350. Shuai tso hing shī shen nai hien 45.

A. PK'ung: 'Lead on (your officials) to do and (raise) initiate the works; you should be careful about your laws'. — B. Couvreur, rightly dissatisfied with a construction with first a shuai with an understood object and then two verbs tso hing with an object shī, divides the line thus: shuai tso, hing shī 'Dirigis inceptia, excitas opera (freely paraphrased: 'vous êtes chargé de diriger les entreprises, de promouvoir les œuvres)'. — C. Another interpr. Shuai is well attested in the sense of 'all' (see Gl. 642): Shuai tso In all actions and hing shī works initiated, carefully attend to your laws'.

#### 1351. Nai keng tsai ko yüe 46.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders this: 47 'And then (continuing =) in his turn he made a song, saying', thus taking tsai 48 = 49 'to make'. Erya has an entry tsai 48 = 50, and this wei 50 ('to concoct') is etym. the same stem as wei 49 'to make' (for full documentation on this point, see Ho Yi-hang comm. on Erya). The fundamental sense of tsai is here really 51 'to start' (cf. Gl. 311), by an extension of meaning secondarily 'to initiate, to create' (common see Gl. 1233), thus: 'He created a song' = 'he made a song'. That the sense tsai 48 'to create' is sometimes faded so as to be equal simply to 'to make' is exemplified by Chouli: Ta tsung po: 52 'At the great reunion of guests he vicariously makes the libation' (53), on which Cheng Hsuan says tsai 48 = 49. — B. Cheng Hsuan says: tsai 48 = 51 'to start' (common, see Gl. 311). Cheng's idea has been differently expounded. Either: 'He keng continued tsai ko the (starting =) first song' (sc. that of the emperor, sung earlier); or: 'He continued and (first sung =) sung his first song' (the second following later). — C. PK'ung: tsai 48 = 54 'to achieve': 'He continued and achieved (completed, followed up) the song' (of the emperor). This is based on Po hu t'ung: Si shī, which gives an etymology of

tsai 48 in the sense of 'a year': tsai that means ch'eng 54 the achievement (the result). But this speculation of Pan Ku's is hardly corroborated by pre-Han texts. There are 3 cases in Kyü on which Kao Yu says tsai 48 = 54 'to achieve', but his interpr. is not convincing: Kyü: Chou yü 55 »For (ample =) many generations they have (Kao Yu: achieved, completed their virtue, but rather:) (loaded up =) accumulated virtue». Kyü: Tsin yü 4, phr. 56 »The prince of Tsin daily (Kao Yu: completes his hatred», but rather:) (loads up =) accumulates his hatred»; Kyü: Tsin yü 2, phr. 57 »If you, my lord, want to establish the prince of Tsin and (Kao Yu: achieve him, make him complete, but rather:) start him» (cf. Gl. 311). Thus there are no safe text par. — D. Sun Sing-yen mentions a theory that tsai 48 (\*tsag) is loan char. for 58 (\*tsag): »He continued and in the second place (sc. after the emperor as the first) sung». — A, the earliest interpr., is strongly supported by the par. a couple of lines earlier: 59; to the tso 60 'to make' there corresponds the tsai 48 'to create, to make' here.

## Yü kung.

Suei shan k'an mu see Gl. 1314.

1352. Ki chou ki tsai Hu k'ou ch'i Liang ki K'i 61.

A. The oldest interpreters punctuate Ki chou ki tsai, Hu k'ou ch'i Liang ki K'i; and then there are several possibilities. —  $\alpha$ . Si-ma Ts'ien has 62: »When Yü made his tour, he started from Ki-chou...» It seems that he first paraphrases the first four words, taking tsai 63 in its common meaning of 'to start', and then repeats the Shu line verbally, taking it to mean: »Ki-chou was begun». —  $\beta$ . Ma Jung: tsai 63 = 'to record' (common): »Ki-chou was recorded (in the books)». —  $\gamma$ . Cheng Hsüan: tsai 63 = 64 'action, work', cf. Gl. 767 (with text ex.); in this sense tsai is really an extension of meaning from 'to start': 'initiative, undertaking, action'. Thus: »Ki-chou was (undertaken =) brought under work». In all these cases (A  $\alpha$ — $\gamma$ ) the remainder of the line: Hu k'ou ch'i Liang ki K'i will be awkward, since Hu-k'ou seems to hang in the air; it should have to be taken as an adverbial phr.: »... (at) Hu-k'ou, he regulated Liang and K'i». The reason for this cutting of the line: Ki chou ki tsai, is the parallelism with several later passages in the Yü kung: 65, 66, 67 etc. But with this cutting of the line, the rhythm in the sequel is entirely spoiled (Hu k'ou ch'i Liang ki K'i). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: Ki-chou, ki tsai Hu-k'ou, ch'i Liang ki K'i. This corresponds, in construction, to the following sections, e. g. 68: »(Between) Tsi and Ho is Yen-chou; the nine rivers were conducted...», with the sole exception that: »Ki-chou» is briefer than the corresponding »Tsi Ho wei Yen-chou», having no confines defined. And the rhythm is excellent (4-word groups). Moreover it is confirmed by the very next line Ki siu T'ai yüan 69, which forms an exact par. to Ki tsai Hu-k'ou. There can thus be no doubt about the correctness of Ts'ai's interpunctuation (accepted by Chavannes, even for Si-ma's text). Ts'ai expounds tsai 63 by 70 'to lay out and regulate', which, I suppose, is a free

曰 揚言 40. 不突不揚 41. 廣揚 續也 42. 廣 43. 以揚武王之大烈 44. 對揚王休 45. 率作興事  
慎乃憲 46. 乃廣載歌曰 47. 乃更為歌曰 48. 載 49. 為 50. 偽 51. 始 52. 大賓客則攝而載 53. 裸  
54. 成 55. 奕世載德 56. 晉侯日載其德 57. 若求置晉君而載之 58. 再 59. 帝廟作歌 60. 作 61.  
冀州既載 62. 口泊梁及岐 63. 禹行自冀州始 64. 冀州既載 65. 載 66. 事 67. 九河既道 68. 鳴君  
既略 69. 勤 70. 既 71. 濟河推交州 72. 九河既道 73. 既修太原 74. 經始治 75. 成 76. 始 77. 假載而

elaboration of the *shī* 64 'action, to work' of A  $\gamma$  above, thus: »He (worked on =) regulated Hu-k'ou...». Yü Yüe prefers the interpr. *tsai* 63 = 71 (see Gl. 1351 C): »He completed Hu-k'ou», but that interpr. is weakly substantiated (see the said gloss). The best is certainly to take *tsai* 63 with its common meaning of 71 'to start, to begin': »In Ki-chou, he started work on Hu-k'ou, he regulated Liang and K'i». Cf. Ode 21, phr. 73 »We start work on the southern acres».

Tao yi p'i fu 74; for another and more correct version of the name: Niao yi 75 in Ta Tai: Wu ti tê and Shī ki, cf. Chavannes, MH I, pp. 90 and 120.

**1353. K'ue t'u hei fen 76.**

A. Ma Jung: *fen* 77 = 78, thus: »Its soil in black and fat». 77 (\**b'iwən* / *b'iuən* / *fen*) is then a variation of the same word stem as 79 (\**b'iwər* / *b'wəgi* / *fei*) 'fat, rich'; a stem alternation -*n* ↔ -*r* is very common, e. g. 80 both \**siən* / *sien* / *sien* and \**sīər* / *siei* / *si*; 81 \**g'ien* 'famine': 82 \**k'ier* 'famine', scores of ex., see Karlgren, BMFEA 5. Except a Chouli ex. (see below) there are no pre-Han text par., but the word would be id. w. 83 'juicy' (earliest text ex. in Kia Yi's Sin shu: Hiung nu, 2nd c. B. C., but recorded in San ts'ang, pre-Han); and the char. 83 is read alt. \**b'iwən* / *b'iuən* / *fen* and \**b'iwər* / *b'wəgi* / *fei* in Ts'ie yü. — B. PK'ung (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en): *fen* 77 = 84 'to rise', here meaning 'to bulge', to rise in small mounds, thus: »Its soil is black and bulging». *Fen* is common in the sense of 'mound', and here 'to form mounds, to bulge' is a quite well-attested sense, cf. Tso: Hi 4 »(He dropped the poison on the earth), 85 the earth rose (swelled up, bulged)». — Before deciding, we have to examine:

Chouli: Ts'ao jen: *fen jang* 86. *Jang* means 'mellow earth, mold', and Cheng Hsüan considers *fen jang* as a binome = 87 'moist and loose (earth)', thus taking *fen* in the same sense as A above ('moist, fat, rich'). But Cheng Chung has the B interpr. above: *fen* = 'bulging' (forming small raised mounds), but with yet another etymological idea: 77 (\**b'iwən*) would stand for 88 (\**b'iwən*) 'mole', and *fen jang* thus would mean 'mole(-hill) mold'. — It is quite evident that in the Chouli ex. interpr. A is preferable, giving a natural binome. Though the B meaning is better attested in unambiguous texts, the early existence in accord with the A interpr. of a var. \**b'iwən* of the common word-stem 79 \**b'iwər* 'fat, rich' may be taken as fairly well established, and interpr. A adopted (with Legge), which certainly gives a more plausible sense.

**1354. K'ue fu cheng tso shī san tsai nai t'ung 89.**

This follows upon 90 »Its fields are of the lower 2nd class».

A. Cheng Hsüan reads *cheng tso* together. He says *cheng* 91 = 92: »Its revenues, (after) (correcting =) improving work of 13 years, agreed with (those of the 8 other provinces)». 91 (\**i'ǝng*) was certainly closely cognate to 92 (\**i'ǝng*) and had a similar meaning. Cheng adds that the category of revenues must have been 93 »the lower 3rd class» (Cheng so quoted in Shī ki: Hia pen ki, gloss, Po na edition), i. e. the 9th class, just as this Yen chou was the 9th of the provinces: it was the last to be made ready (after 13 years), hence it was the 9th! Cheng means that Yü himself worked for 13 years, in this basing himself upon a »Hia shu» Book of the Hia (some now lost Shu chapter) quoted by Si-ma in Shī ki: Ho k'ü shu, which says that Yü »lived outside (away from home) for 13 years». (Ma Jung had another computation: Yü's father Kun worked on the floods for 9 years, Yü followed it up for 3 years, after these 12 years 8 provinces were ready, Yen-chou followed only in the next, i. e. 13th year). Let us add that Yü Yüe would emendate Cheng's gloss in a totally arbitrary way which does not deserve to be discussed. — B. PK'ung punctuates after *k'ue fu cheng*: *cheng* = 94 'correctly corresponding': »Its revenues were exactly corresponding (i. e. of the 9th class, just as the province was the 9th); after work of 13 years, (only then) they were (exactd) in the same way (as in other provinces)». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *cheng* 91 = 92 means

'correct', in the sense of 'barely what could be exacted': »Its revenues were barely what could be exacted; (after) work of 13 years (only then) they were (exacted) in the same way (as in other provinces)». This interpr. of *ch'eng* is very curious. — D. Another interpr.: *t'ung* 95 'to agree' means simply 'to tally', with reference to the preceding; and for the rest, the oldest interpr. (A) is best: »(Its fields are of the lower 2nd class), its revenues, after (correcting =) improving work of 13 years, tallied with that (sc. the quality of the fields)».

1355. Yü yi ki lue 96.

A. Ma Jung and PK'ung: *lue* 97 = 'summarily' (common: Meng, Kung-yang etc.): »Yü-yi was summarily treated». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *lue* 97 = 'to trace out, draw the boundaries for' (common: Tso etc.): »Yü-yi was defined». — C. Yü Yüe: *lue* 97 (\**gljak* / *liak* / *lue*) is a loan char. for 98 *ho* (\**gläk* / *ɣvk* / *ho*) 'water drying off land' thus: »Yü-yi was drained» (no pre-Han text ex.). An arbitrary loan speculation. — Since it is a question of laying out and regulating provinces, B is certainly most natural.

1356. Lai yi tso mu 99.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders *tso* by 100: »The Lai-yi barbarians are herdsmen». — B. Wu Ch'eng coordinates *tso* and *mu* as verbs: »The Lai-yi barbarians till and pasture». — B is unlikely, since the sequel says their tribute was silk from the wild mountain mulberry. — PK'ung says Lai-yi was a place-name, but essentially it must, of course, refer to a tribe.

1357. Ta ye ki chu 1.

A. All from Ma Jung, the comm. take 2 as a short-form for 3 (\**tjo* / *tjwo* / *chu*) 'stagnant water, pool', e. g. Chouli: Tao jen 4 »By a pool (pond, reservoir) he accumulates water», thus: »The Ta-ye (marsh) was (pooled =) drained into a lake» (Legge renders this very freely: »The (lake of) Ta ye was confined within its proper limits», and likewise Chavannes: »Le lac Ta ye fut enfermé dans des limites fixes»; Couvreur quite wrongly: »A Ta ye il y eut un lac»). Cf. Li: T'an Kung 5 »They swamped his palace and made a stagnant pool there», with the same short-form: 2 for 3. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien renders the line 6, and this *tu* 7 (\**to* / *tu* / *tu*) Cheng Hüan (in gloss on Li: T'an Kung) says means the same: »pool», the 2 \**tjo* being a »southern» pronunciation corresponding to the \**to* 7 of the north. Of course Cheng's linguistic speculations (a millennium later than the Shu text) have no value. But it would seem that *tu* 7 really could have a sense of 'accumulation', here then »an accumulation of water», a concentration of the marsh waters into a pool; Ku liang: Hi 16 says 8 »Where the people assemble is called *tu* (capital)»; Kuan: Shuei ti 9 »The low place . . . the water uses that for its assembling and dwelling» (thus both \**to* 7 and \**tjo* 3 are variations of the same stem as in 10 \**d'jo* 'to accumulate'). Further on in our Shu chapter there is the marsh called Meng-chu 11 (Han shu: Ti li chi 12) which is rendered Ming-tu 13 in Shiki: Hia pen ki and Meng-chu 14 in Tso: Wen 10. In Erya: Shi k'iu there is an entry: 15 »When in a marsh there is a hill, (it is called) a *tu* k'iu». In these examples it would seem that *tu* 7 *chu* serve more in the sense of 'marsh' (diffused water) than of 'pool' (accumulated, concentrated water), but of course the »marsh» in question may have had the name the »Meng-pool»

畝<sup>24</sup>島夷皮服<sup>25</sup>鳥夷<sup>26</sup>厥土黑墳<sup>27</sup>墳<sup>28</sup>膏肥<sup>29</sup>肥<sup>30</sup>洗<sup>31</sup>饁<sup>32</sup>飢<sup>33</sup>饋<sup>34</sup>起<sup>35</sup>地墳<sup>36</sup>  
墳<sup>37</sup>壤<sup>38</sup>潤解<sup>39</sup>蚡<sup>40</sup>厥賦貞作十三載乃同<sup>41</sup>厥田惟中下<sup>42</sup>貞<sup>43</sup>正<sup>44</sup>下下<sup>45</sup>當<sup>46</sup>  
同<sup>47</sup>嶠<sup>48</sup>既略<sup>49</sup>略<sup>50</sup>塔<sup>51</sup>萊夷作牧<sup>52</sup>為<sup>53</sup>大野既豬<sup>54</sup>豬<sup>55</sup>3豬<sup>56</sup>4以豬蓄水<sup>57</sup>濟其  
呂而豬焉<sup>58</sup>大野既都<sup>59</sup>都<sup>60</sup>民所聚曰都<sup>61</sup>卑者...水以為都居<sup>62</sup>儲<sup>63</sup>孟豬<sup>64</sup>盟豬

after some central pool, and a «hill in a marsh» might be called a «pool-hill» for a similar reason.

1358. K ü e t ' u c h ' i s h i f e n 16.

For the last word: f e n = 'fat, rich' see Gl. 1353 above.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien has this reading 17, adopted also by PK'ung, who here follows the Kin-wen as against the Ku-wen. PK'ung explains 17 (\**d̥iək / ʒiək / shī*) as meaning 'sticky, clayey' (the same does Liu Hi in Shī ming). In the sense of '(potter's) clay' the word is common (Lao, Chuang, Sün, Chouli). Thus: «Its soil is red, clayey and fat». — B. The Ku-wen version ap. Cheng Hūan had 18 inst. of 17, and Cheng and Wang Su considered this as a short-form for 19 \**ṭiæg / ts'i / ch'ī* 'blazing, fiery red', thus: «Its soil is red, fiery in colour and fat». The version with 18 is indirectly attested as early as the Han shu; this has now 17, but that is probably a correction after Shī ki, for Wei Chao in a sound gloss on Han shu says 18 should be read \**ṣiæg / ṣi / shī*. Cheng's interpr. is, of course, due to the context, the word following upon 20 'red'. But in Chouli: Kung jen 21 «the various kinds of glue» there is an «ancient version» (acc. to Cheng Chung) which read 22, the 23 thus meaning 'glue, sticky matter', and it is evident that the 18 of the Shu: Ku-wen version is a short-form for this 23, which makes the meaning id. with that of the Kin-wen (A): «Its soil is red, (sticky =) clayey and rich». — C. Yü Yüe, accepting the B text version, says shī 18 means 24 'parti-coloured': «Its soil is red or parti-coloured and fat». For this he has a very slender support. In Yi: Kua 16, we find 25. In this line, the last word ts'an is defined by Wang Pi as = 26 'quickly': «You will have great attainments; do not doubt, and the friends will h o assemble round you ts'an rapidly». But for the last word there is a whole series of early variants: 27. The last one, that of Yü Fan (Eastern Han), is certainly best, since it makes rime: 28 \**tək : \*ngiæg : \*d̥iək*, and Yü Yüe believes that it forms a binome with h o : h o - s h i = 29: «the friends will assemble» (hence shī in our Shu line will mean 'assembled colours' i. e. 'vari-coloured'). But, as Tsiao Sün (Yi chang kü) points out, it probably means 'to glue, to be adhesive, to stick to' (just as in B above), thus: «The friends will assemble and fasten themselves on to you, stick to you», just as the line in Wang Pi's version 30 means: «The friends will assemble and (pin themselves on to =) stick to you». Thus the Yi example, if it has any value at all (which the rime seems to corroborate), will rather support B than C.

Ts'ao mutsien pao see Gl. 365.

1359. Y ü k ü a n h i a t i 31.

A. Cheng Hūan in comm. on Chouli: Jan jen defines hia 32 as = 'five-coloured', i. e. variegated, as gloss on the phr. 33 «In the autumn he dyes in 5 colours». But he adds that hia has got this sense from the word hia ti of our Shu phrase, this being the ame of a kind of pheasant, so that the Chouli phr. would be an abbreviation of ts'iu jan hia-ti and fundamentally mean: «In the autumn he dyes in pheasant(-colouring)». This has caused K'ung Ying-ta to insist that the hia in our Shu line should not be taken separately but hia-ti as a whole denoting the pheasant: «Pheasants of the Yü valley» (Chavannes follows this). But it is easily seen that Cheng's etymological expl. of the Chouli line 33 is very forced. — B. Chu Tsün-sheng therefore attributes the sense of 'variegated' to the word hia itself, thus: «Variegated pheasants of the Yü valley», and he says it is «loan char. for 34 'flowery', which frequently means 'variegated' (e. g. 35, see Gl. 1321 above). It is better to say that 32 \**g'd* is a variation of the same stem as 34 \**g'wǎ*. An alternation inside a stem of forms with and without medial *w* is very common, e. g. 36 \**g'ǎng* 'crosswise': 37 \**g'wǎng* 'crosswise'; 38 \**k'ân* 'to see': 39 \**kwán* 'to see', etc. — B is obviously right.

1360. H u a i y i p ' i n (p ' i e n) c h u 40.

## Huai yi:

A. Ma Jung (foll. by PK'ung): Huai and Yi were two rivers. — B. Cheng Hün: Huai yi is the tribe name: 'The Huai yi barbarians'. In this sense Huai yi is attested in scores of ex. in the Odes and other Chou texts, and also in early bronze inscriptions. B is evidently right.

## P'in chu:

41 was \*b'jēn / b'jēn / p'in and \*b'ien / b'ien / p'ien. Variant 42 (earliest ap. Wei Chao's comm. on Han shu); this is read like the preceding in Ts'ie yün (\*b'jēn and \*b'ien), but Wei Chao read \*b'iar / b'iei / p'i. — A. Wei Chao: it means 43 'oyster', thus: 'The oyster pearls of the Huai yi barbarians'. Cf. Chuang: Chī lo 44 'frogs and oysters'. — B. Shuowen: it means 45 'pearl'. P'in-chu would then be a binome of synonyms. Thus: 'The pearls of the Huai yi barbarians'. PK'ung followed this. (When Cheng Hün says \*p'in chu is the name of a chu pearl, it is not clear whether he meant A or B.) — The Chuang par. decides in favour of A.

## 1361. K'ue fei hūan sien kao 46.

A. Cheng Hün and PK'ung define sien 47 as = 48 'small, fine-textured', and PK'ung adds that hūan means 'black silk', kao 'white silk'. But then PK'ung, troubled by the incongruence of the second word with the first and third: 'black silk — fine-textured — white silk', concludes that since sien 'stands in the middle' it refers to both stuffs: 'black silk (that is) fine-textured and fine-textured white silk', a grammatically impossible construction. By his gloss sien = 'fine-textured' Cheng Hün may have meant this word to be analogous with the rest, thus: 'In its baskets are black silk, fine-textured silk, white silk' (so Chavannes). Sien is well attested in the sense of 'small, fine, slender' (Chouli: Lun jen; Ts'ê: Ts'i ts'ê; Kuan: Ch'en Sheng ma). But since Sī-ma Piao, in gloss on Ts'i hū fu, says kao 49 = 50 'fine-textured silk', Kiang Sheng believes that in the Shu line sien (= si) is an attribute to kao, thus: 'In its baskets there are black silk and fine-textured white silk', which nicely disposes of the incongruence in a tripartite series hūan — sien — kao. In middle-Han colloquial (Fang yen) 'fine-textured white silk' was still called sien 47. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en wants the three words to be coördinated and analogous (all three referring to colours) and he therefore seizes upon a gloss of Cheng Hün's on Li: Kien chuan: sien 47 = 'silk with black warp and white woof', thus: 'In its baskets there are white silk, black-warped and white-woofed silk, and white silk'. But this definition of Cheng's in the Li is quite arbitrary and lacks every support; sien in the Kien chuan may very well have its ordinary well-attested sense of 'small, fine' and mean 'fine-textured silk'.

## 1362. Yang niao yu kü 51.

A. Cheng Hün: yang niao 'the sunlight-birds' means wild geese who followed the sun (the seasons) as migratory birds. Thus: 'Where the sunlight-birds settle'. There is no text par. to confirm this bold guess that the migratory birds were called yang niao 'the sunlight-birds'; it is much more natural to take yang as = 'south' (as opp. to yin 'north') here functioning as a verb: 'Where the (»southing« birds =) birds going south (sc. for the winter) dwell'. — B. Lin Chī-k'ī argues that parallelism with

13 明部 14 孟諸 15 澤中有丘 都丘 16 厥土赤埴墳 17 埴 18 部 19 穢 20 赤 21 晷之類 22 穢之類 23 穢 24 雜色 25 大有得勿疑朋盍簪 26 疾 27 摺 貸城 宗敵 28 得疑敵 29 聚會 30 簪 31 羽 32 更 33 更 34 秋夏更 35 華 36 華 37 衡 38 橫 39 香 40 觀 41 淮 42 墳 43 珠 44 墳 45 玳 46 蚌 47 龜 48 珠 49 厥 50 簪 51 織 52 結 53 細 54 結 55 陽 56 鳥攸居 57 鳥 58 鳥 59 鳥 60 鳥

the descriptions of the other provinces demands that Yang niao was a place name. Yü Yüe elaborates this further. Nia o 52 is equal to ta o 53 'island' (just as earlier under prov. Ki-chou the orthodox Shu text has Ta o yi 54 whereas Shī ki (basing itself on Ta Tai: Wu ti tê) has Nia o yi 55. He suggests that this Yang ta o 56 may be the same as Lü: Shī kün Yang ta o 57, a people of the Yi 58 barbarians. Now Yang niao has kü 'to dwell' for verb, which means that the place name should have to be taken as name of its people, as often (cf. Ode 263, phr. 59 »The [people of] the Sü country came to court«), thus: »Where (the people of) Yang-niao (or: Yang-tao) dwell«. — B may seem quite tempting, but once it is a people and not a place that is recorded, the desired parallelism with the other paragraphs is again lost. Moreover our line is not (with Legge and Chavannes) an independent clause but closely connected with the preceding (60 = 61 'there where, quo'), and describes the marsh lands: **The P'eng-li marsh was (pooled =) drained into a lake, (that is) where the (southing birds =) birds that go south (for the winter) dwell.**

**1363. K ü e t s ' a o w e i y a o 62.**

Mao Heng in comm. on Ode 6 had defined y a o 63 as = 64 'young and vigorous', and Ma Jung here says it means 65 'long, tall'; PK'ung tries to reconcile these definitions and says 66 'young and long' (!). The word really means 'delicate', hence also 'slender'; thus: **»Its grass is delicately slender**», see. Gl. 23.

**1364. K ü e k u n g w e i k i n s a n p ' i n 67.**

**A.** Cheng Hün: kin san p'in means 68 **»bronze of three (colours =) qualities**». — **B.** Wang Su and PK'ung: **»metal of three colours»** means gold, silver and copper» (Legge follows this). — Whereas K'ung Ying-ta in gloss on our Shu line accepts B (referring to Erya which calls gold h u a n g k i n »yellow metal» and silver p o k i n »white metal»), in his gloss on Ode 299 the same K'ung Ying-ta advocates Cheng's view (A): since further on in Yü kung gold and silver as articles of tribute have their special terms (69 and 70), it is evident that kin here does not mean any of them but 'bronze', its most common meaning in the classics. Cheng is here obviously right.

**1365. K ü e f e i c h i p e i 71.**

**A.** Cheng Hün: chī pei is the name of a kind of fabric, the same that is called p e i k i n 72 in Ode 200: 'shell brocade', the pattern reminding of the veins in cowries. Thus: **»In its baskets (there are) (»woven cowries» =) woven stuffs in cowrie pattern**». — **B.** PK'ung: chī means 73 'fine-textured hemp' and pei has its ordinary meaning, thus: **»In its baskets (there are) fine hemp-fabrics and cowries**». — There is no reason whatever why chī, which simply means **»woven stuff**», should be precisely hemp; and parallelism with other paragraphs shows that the **»baskets»** only contained fabrics, so chī pei is sure to be a binome, with A.

**1366. K ü e p a o k ü y u s i k u n g 74.**

**A.** Cheng Hün punctuates after y u : **»In the bundles there are oranges and pummeloos; (if there is) tin, it is sent in tribute**». This strange interpr. of the two words s i k u n g is due to the fact that in each section the text first describes the k u n g 75 tribute, and then the content of 76 **»the baskets»**. Here, after these two regular entries, there comes the line above, and Cheng thinks that it refers to a not regular but occasional tribute, depending upon whether the province could supply it or not. This has been accepted both by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen. — **B.** PK'ung: S i k u n g means 77 **»when there was given order, then they were (tributed =) sent as tribute**», thus: **»In the bundles there are oranges and pummeloos, which si (on order) given k u n g are sent in tribute**». The idea that si 'to give' alone is equal to s i m i n g 'to give order' is, of course, quite ridiculous. And yet, when further on, under the prov. Yü chou, we find s i k u n g k ' i n g t s ' o 78, even Kiang sheng and Sun Sing-yen,



realizing that the A interpr. is inapplicable here, quite inconsistently turn round and follow PK'ung (B): »The k u n g tribute (sent in) s i (on order) given, is musical stones and whetstones». Ts'ai Ch'en, Legge, Chavannes, Couvreur all accept this impossible construction in both cases. — C. Chang Ping-lin: s i 79 should be 80 = 'to transmit', see Gl. 1244. This theory is too weakly substantiated. — D. Another interpr. Si 79 is common meaning 'to give, to present'. After the regular and obligatory k u n g, and after the contributions in »baskets», there come, in these instances, tribute that was given, presented of free will, not as an obligation. Thus 74: »In the bundles (there are) oranges and pummeloos, (which are) presented (i. e. voluntary) tribute». In the same way 78: »The presented (i. e. voluntary) tribute is musical stones and whetstones». Similarly under King-chou 81: »The (region of) the Nine Kiang brings in the voluntarily presented great tortoises».

Ch'ao tsung yü hai see Gl. 483.

1367. Kiu Kiang k'ung yin 82.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders this by 83. Yin 84 = 85 is based on Erya, and ch u n g here has the sense of 'to hit the centre, hit the mark', hence 'to define, determine' as in Yao tien 86 »Thereby he determined midsprings». Thus: »The Nine Kiang (rivers) were greatly (determined =) regulated». PK'ung turns it differently: ch u n g 'to hit the mark' here means 87: »The Nine Rivers greatly suited themselves to the physical features of the earth». Kiang Sheng, on the other hand, takes ch u n g 'middle' in its fundamental sense: »The Nine Rivers greatly (hit the centre =) kept to the centre (of the land)». For this he has no lesser authority than Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia, which in describing Yü's works says: 88 »The waters passed through the middle of the lands» (not spreading out over the whole surface), and it is quite possible that Mencius in writing this had our Shu line in mind. But our phr. is parallel to earlier phrases like 89 »The Nine Streams were directed (conducted)»; 90 »Yü yi was defined», etc. (like these, our phr. stands at the very beginning of the description of the province); and it is followed immediately by: 91. It should therefore refer to the regulating works of Yü, which decides in favour of the first interpr. above. — B. Cheng Hüan takes k'ung 92 in its primary sense of 'hole' and yin 84 = 'ample, many' (common), thus: »Of the Nine Rivers the (holes =) gully mouths (from which they came) were numerous» (i. e. they were difficult to regulate). A hopeless speculation.

Ch'un kan kuai po — 4 kinds of trees, with Cheng Hüan and PK'ung, not 3 (kan = 'bow stem', Ts'ai Ch'en), see notes by Legge and Chavannes.

1368. Küe ming pao kuei tsing mao 93.

Küe ming: A. Ma Jung and PK'ung carry these two words to the preceding: kün lu hu san pang ch'i kung 94: »The kün and lu bamboos and the hu trees, three countries furnish them as tribute; küe ming their fame (is good)». Since the last phrase is interpreted in a grammatically unsatisfactory way, Ts'ai Ch'en has improved it: »The kün and lu bamboos and the hu trees, three countries furnish as tribute küe ming the most famous of them», which at least is grammatically

56陽島 57揚島 58君 59徐方來庭 60依 61所 62厥澤惟夫 63天 64少壯 65長 66少長 67厥  
貢惟金三品 68銅三色 69錫 70銀 71厥篚織貝 72貝 73錦 74紕紕 75厥包橘柚錫貢 76貢 76.  
篚 77錫命乃貢 78錫貢磬錯 79錫 80易 81九江納錫大廟 82九江孔殷 83九江甚中 84殷  
85中 86以殷仲春 87得地勢之中 88水由地中行 89九河既道(導) 90嶠夷既略 91沱潛既  
道 92孔 93厥名包匭菁茅 94菌路棗三邦底貢厥名 95厥包橘柚 96菁 97菁道 98爾貢包

impeccable. — B. Cheng Hün carries *kü e ming* to the following phr., as above; since *tsing mao* were objects used for the ancestral temple, they were highly esteemed, which is expressed by *kü e ming* 'The most renowned (thing) is the *pao kuei tsing mao*'. This seems quite convincing, and is followed by Kiang Sheng. (Yü Yüe has the bizarre idea that *kü e ming* means 'inscribed'.)

*Pao kuei tsing mao*: A. PK'ung takes *pao* separately, referring to the phr. 95 'In the bundles (there are) oranges and pummeloess' in an earlier line; he distinguishes between *tsing* 96 'rape turnip', as in Chouli: Hai jen 97 'salted turnips', and *mao* = the *mao* grass used for straining wine as described in Tso: Hi 4, phr. 98: 'Your tribute of wrapped *mao*-grass is not delivered, the king's sacrifices are not supplied, there is nothing wherewith to strain the wines'. Finally he defines *kuei* 99 as = 100 'box'. But such a sense of the char. is only attested from T'ang-time and onwards and is a secondary phenomenon, probably directly based on this very PK'ung gloss. Thus: 'pao the bundled things (sc. oranges and pummeloess), *kuei tsing mao* the (boxed =) box-packed rape turnips and *mao*-grass'. This is rhythmically bad, and moreover the par. in Tso: Hi 4 clearly shows that *pao* should connect with *mao*. — B. Cheng Hün had already correctly seen that *tsing-mao* is a binome, being the name of a kind of rush, mentioned in Kuan: K'ing chung: 2 'Between the Kiang and the Huai, there is a *mao*-grass with three (spines =) ridges, it is called *tsing mao*'. This text support is conclusive. As to *pao kuei* 3 (quoted 4 in certain glosses; the two *pao* are etym. the same word), Cheng proposes that 99 (\**kjwag* / *kjwi* / *kuei*) means 'to tie' (which probably means that he took it to be a loan char. for 5 \**kjög* / *kjzu* / *kju* 'to twist, to plait'), thus: 'The wrapped and tied-up *tsing-mao* grass'. — C. It is not really necessary to accept this rather improbable loan speculation. Shuowen says 99 (\**kjwag* / *kjwi* / *kuei*) was a variant for 6 (\**kjwag* / *kjwi* / *kuei*), and though the bronze inscriptions do not confirm this, we have in Yi: Kua 41, phr. 7 'two *Kuei* vessels' written 8 in several early versions of the Yi text; similarly in Yili: Kung shi ta fu li 9 was wr. 10 in the Ku-wen version; 11 is merely an elucidating enlargement (radical) of the char. (what Si-ma Ts'ien in T'ai shi kung tsi sü writes 6, he writes 99 in Li Si chuan). Now the *kuei*, as a specialized ritual vase, was a low and broad bowl with lid, for containing grain at the sacrifices. But of course the various names of vessels were not necessarily limited to the ritual vessels; thus hu 12 was at the same time a ritual vessel and a very common lay word = 'flask'. In the same way *kuei* certainly merely means '(low) bowl, tureen', and there is no reason why the word in our line should not have its simple and ordinary sense. Thus: 'The most renowned (tribute) is the three-ridged *mao*-grass that is wrapped and (bowed) = presented in bowls'.

1369. *Kü e fei hün hün ki tsu* 13.

A. Ma Jung has (ap. Shüwen) the short and enigmatic gloss 14, which probably refers to the words *ki tsu* (Sun Sing-yen even believes that Ma's gloss is corrupted and should be *ki tsu wen ye*) and means: *ki* is the (ornament =) pattern of the silk-strings. Thus: 'In its baskets (there are) dark and purple stuffs and pearl-patterned silk-strings'. — B. PK'ung and Ts'ai-Ch'en: 'In its baskets (there are) dark and purple stuffs, pearls and silk-strings'. This is very unlikely, as shown by the parallels of 'basket' contents, which were always textiles. — C. Wang Yin-chi: 15 (\**kjær* / *kjgi* / *ki*) is a loan char. for 16 (\**g'jed* / *g'ji* / *ki*) 'and', thus: '..... dark and purple stuffs and silk strings'. Phonetically quite excluded. — D. Kiang Sheng: 'In its baskets (there are) dark and purple stuffs and (pearl-strings =) silk-strings (for threading) pearls'. D is certainly most simple and plausible.

*Kiu Kiang na si ta kuei* see Gl. 1366.

1370. *Kü e t'u wei jang, hia t'u fen lu* 17.

For *f en* 'fat, rich', not 'bulging, forming mounds' see Gl. 1353 above.

**A. Ma Jung:** the soil had 3 classes (j a n g, f e n, l u); the latter (l u 18) meaning 19 'bluish', i. e. 'black'. Thus: »Its soil is mouldy; (but) the low-lying soil is (either) fat or black«. Shuowen defines 18 (\*l o / l u o / l u, even tone) as = 20 »black and hard soil«. For a sense 'hard' there is no support. On the other hand the sense 'black' is well confirmed. Shu: Wen hou chí ming 21 »a black bow« (22 \*l o / l u o / l u, even tone). The w. was often wr. 23 in Han time (e. g. in Yang Hiung: Fa yen). It is cognate to 24 (\*g l o / l u o / l u) 'black', e. g. Tso: Hi 28, phr. 25 »a black bow«. — **B. Cheng Hsüan:** l u = 26 'poor', (cf. Han shu: Kou hū chí: 27 »the soil is poor and bad«). The more precise idea of Cheng's s u 26 is hard to determine, since it is a char. with many meanings; either 'sparse' = 'thin' (not deep and rich); or 'loose' (not dense). — **C. Ts'ai Ch'en** tries to evade the difficulty by combining A and B: l u means 28 'dark and poor', a comical trick. — The sense of 'black' for l u is the only one that really can be corroborated (with A). The line is best translated: »Its soil is mouldy; the low-lying soil is fat and black«.

Si kung k'ing ts'o see Gl. 1366.

1871. Ts'ai Meng lü p'ing 29.

Whereas Cheng Hūan takes Ts'ai-meng as one mountain, PK'ung takes Ts'ai and Meng as two.

A. PK'ung: lü 30 means a sacrifice to a mountain (common, e. g. Lun: Pa yi 31 »The chief of the Ki family made lü sacrifice to the T'ai-shan«); thus: »(At) Ts'ai and Meng he made lü sacrifice (to =) on the occasion of their regulation« (Chavannes: »A Ts'ai et Mong il célébra par des sacrifices le rétablissement de l'ordre«; Couvreur turns it differently: »Ts'ai et Meng ad sacrificandum compositi sunt«, i. e. »were put in order for sacrificings«). But it has been rightly objected that the Yü kung does not register sacrifices, and that many mountains more famous than these two pass in review without notice of any cult. — B. Kiang Sheng: Wei Chao (ap. Shīwen) says that 30 (\*gliō / līwo / lü) here should be read like 22 (\*lo), but he must mean that it should be read as 32 (\*liō / līwo / lü) 'to display, set out' (as in Kyü: Tsin yü 33 »set forth words [i. e. spread rumours] in the market place«). Be this as it may, lü 30 is common in the sense of 'to set out, arrange, display', e. g. Ode 220, phr. 34 »The viands and kernel(-fruits) are displayed«; Tso: Chuang 22, phr. 35 »The court is full of the (set out =) displayed hundreds (of gifts)«. Kiang takes lü as a transitive verb governing the following p'ing 36 as object: »(At) Ts'ai-meng he displayed his regulating (work)«. But Su Yü (37) much better takes lü-p'ing as a binome of analogous words: »Ts'ai-meng was (laid out =) arranged and regulated«. — C. Wang Nien-sun: Erya: Shi kung has an entry lü 30 = 38 'road', and this is the meaning here: »The Ts'ai-meng was (roaded =) purveyed with roads and regulated«. But this sense is poorly documented by texts; there is one single instance: Li: Kiao t'ê sheng 39, where Cheng Hün defines lü as = 40: »Towered gateway and (road screen =) screen towards the road«. But there Cheng's expl. (of course based on Erya) is very uncertain; lü may very well have its common meaning (see B above) of 41: »a screen (duly) set-out, disposed«. — B in its formulation by Su Yü gives

茅不入王祭不共無以縮酒 99 匱 100 匱 1 背 2 菁茅 3 包匱 4 苞匱 5 糾 6 簋 7 二簋 8  
二軌 9 六簋 10 六軌 11 匱 12 壺 13 厥篚 14 纁璣組 15 璣 16 簠 17 厥土惟穠下土  
墳 18 墟 19 青 20 黑剛土 21 盧弓 22 盧 23 駟 24 效 25 旅弓 26 疏 27 土疏惡 28 玄而疏 29 蔡  
蒙旅平 30 旅 31 季氏旅於泰山 32 臆 33 臆吉於市 34 省棧惟旅 35 庭實旅百 36 平 37 蕪興

a natural binome and has good text corroboration. This meaning recurs in two more Yü kung passages: King K'i ki lü 42 »The King and K'i mountains were (laid out =) arranged»; 43 »The nine mountains had their trees cut and were (laid out =) arranged». 1372. K'ue t'u ts'ing li 44.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien inst. of 45 (\*liar / liei / li) has 46 (\*lieg / liei / li) — both words well attested in the sense of 'black'. Thus: »Its soil is bluish black». — B. Ma Jung, evidently because in parallel paragraphs the text has first a colour and then a quality of the soil, would have li 45 to mean some quality, saying: li = 47, whatever that may mean, cf. Gl. 1370 (s u 'sparse'? or 'loose?'); Tuan Yü-ts'ai does not elucidate the obscure gloss by asserting that 45 (\*liar) is equal to 48 (\*lia). Legge renders it by »light». No text support. — C. PK'ung: li 45 = 49 'moist and mellow'. No text support. — A alone is corroborated by par. texts.

1373. K'ue fu hia chung san ts'o 50.

»Its revenues are of the middle 3rd class with 3 admixtures». — A. PK'ung believes that this means 3 classes, the regular one inclusive, thus: »with some instance of the upper and lower 3rd». Cheng Hūan, on the other hand, means that the »3 admixtures» were outside the regular class, thus: »with some instances of the upper and lower 3rd, and lower 2nd classes». Cf. prov. Yang-chou: K'ue fu hia shang, shang ts'o 50a »Its revenue is of the upper 3rd class, with admixture upwards (some instances of the next higher class)». This principle applied to our case here will mean that »mixings» with the classes next above (upper 3rd) and next below (lower 3rd) (i. e. shang ts'o and hia ts'o) will make only »two mixings»; hence the »three mixings» of the text must mean one class more, i. e. the lower 2nd. That is logically inevitable.

K'ue kung kiu (liu) t'ie — for this see Chavannes' note, vol. I, p. 129.

1374. Hiung p'i hu li ch'i p'i si k'ing 51.

A. Cheng Hūan punctuates after li: »Its tribute is black bears, brown-and-white bears, foxes and wild-cats». After this he starts a new paragraph, saying 52. This does not mean, as Wang Ming-sheng has imagined, that Cheng took Ch'i p'i as the name of a »Western Jung country», for later on, under Yung-chou, in the phr. Ch'i p'i K'un lun Si ch'i K'ü sou, si Jung tsi sü 53, he says: 54 »The peoples who wear skins live here», thus defining Ch'i p'i not as a place name but as »the ch'i-p'i(-wearing) K'un-lun, Si-ch'i, K'ü-sou, (these) western Jung...». His gloss 52 on our line above thus means: »Ch'i-p'i, that refers to the countries of the Western Jung, i. e. those who are »ch'i-p'i(-wearing)». Ch'i p'i, acc. to PK'ung (see B below), means 55 'felt' (stuff made of woven hair), and Cheng evidently had the same idea; thus: Ch'i p'i si k'ing »The felt(-wearing) peoples of Si-k'ing» (the Western Slopes, name of a mountain range), just as in the later passage 53 he interprets: »The felt(-wearing) (peoples of) K'un-lun, Si-ch'i, K'ü sou, (these) western Jung...». — B. PK'ung carries ch'i p'i to the preceding, saying: 56 (so quoted in Sh'i ki tsi kie; in the Sh'i san king chu su his gloss is corrupted) »ch'i p'i (»woven skins», i. e. »woven hairs») is the present ki felt». But then some later comm. have insisted that p'i 57 'skin' belonged to both phrases: hiung p'i hu li (p'i), and ch'i (p'i), and Ts'ai Ch'en explains that »of the skins as such one could make furs, of their finest down one could weave felt», which has caused Legge to translate »the skins of bears . . . . and articles woven with their hair» (likewise Couvreur and Chavannes). But this is very unreasonable. The ki 55 we know was made of sheep's hair and sometimes camel's hair, but certainly not from (selected tiny) hairs of bears, foxes and wildcats(!). Thus the line in the B interpr. should be: »(Its tribute was . . .) black bears, brown-and-white bears, foxes, wildcats and felt». — A and B both have strong advocates. B might seem to be supported by a passage in Yi Chou shu: Wang Huei, where Yi Yin on T'ang's order determines the tributes to be sent in:

»In K'un-lun 58 etc. (9 countries) in 59 the straight west, they are ordered to tribute . . . 60 felt . . . » Very likely the Yi Chou shu author has understood our Shu passage in B fashion, and this has decided Sun Sing-yen in favour of B. But it is easily seen that interpr. A is inevitable in the Yung-chou passage 53. »The felt(-wearing) K'un-lun . . . » etc. Chavannes has realized this (»Les Koen loen qui ont des tissus faits de peaux«). If we accept B in our present Liang-chou passage, the phr. *chī p'i* would indicate tribute in the first, the dress of the peoples in the second paragraph, which is quite inconsistent. (Legge realizing this has translated the 2nd: »Hair-cloth and skins [were brought from] Kwän-lun . . . », which is quite impossible; the tribute in that paragraph was disposed of in an earlier line). Thus we are brought back to interpr. A as the only one applicable in both lines, with Kiang Sheng.

1375. *Chī p'i Si k'ing yin Huan shī lai* 61.

A. Ma Jung, who evidently like PK'ung carries *chī p'i* to a preceding line (see Gl. 1374) and starts the paragr. with *si k'ing*, explains: »In (regulating) the Si k'ing (mountain), following the Huan (river) thus he came«. — B. Cheng Hūan takes *Huan shī* 62 as the name of a mountain: »The felt(-wearing) Si-k'ing (peoples) come along the Huan-shī (mountain)«. He further explains that *shī* 63 (*\*d'jēg / zīg / shī*) was a popular word for 64 'a slope, a rising height', hence entering into the name Huan-shī. Shuowen says the char. 65 (*\*d'jēg / zīg / shī*) originally meant »a mountain in Pa Shu« (i. e. Si-ch'uan), and the Ts'ing scholars believe that Cheng took 63 as a loan char. for the homophonous 65 (both *\*d'jēg*). But that is not correct, for 65 in the sense of 'height' is but a short-form for 66 which was *\*d'jēg / d'iz / ch'i*, so Cheng's idea comes to 63 *\*d'jēg* being a loan char. for 66 *\*d'jēg*. — C. K'ung Ying-ta: Since Huan was a well-known river-name in Han time (Han shu: *Ti li chī*), Ma (A) is right in taking it as a river name here, not a hill name (B). The line refers to the peoples of Si K'ing. Thus (carrying the words *chī p'i* to this line, in acc. w. Gloss 1374), we obtain: »The felt(-wearing) (peoples of) Si-k'ing (»the Western Slopes«), following the Huan (river) (thus =) this way come«.

Luan yü ho: for luan see Gl. 906. King shu Wei juei see Gl. 910. King K'i ki lü see Gl. 1371.

1376. *San wei ki tsê* 67.

Sī-ma Ts'ien writes: 68. We have a sure case in which 69 *\*d'āk* serves as loan char. for 70 *d'āk*: Ode 244, where (Mao version) 71 »He took his residence in the Hao capital« is rendered 72 in Li: Fang ki (Ts'i version); cf Gl. 794.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en take 70 as the proper graph (and presumably Sī-ma's 69 is a loan for it, as in Ode 244), and interpret: »The (country of) San-wei was already habitable«. But all the phrases with *ki* 73 in the Yü kung refer to the works achieved (k i) by Yü, e. g. (under Ki-chou) 74 »Ta-lu was brought under cultivation«, and so the A interpr. has to be modified into: »The (country of) San-wei was made inhabited« (Legge's »was made habitable« is not quite to the point). — B. Kiang Sheng takes the *Shī ki* reading 69 as the proper one (70 consequently being loan char.: just as 70 *\*d'āk* can serve as loan for *\*d'āk* in Ode 244, so the opposite is quite admissible here); thus: »The (country of) San-wei was (measured out =) regulated« (Chavannes follows this). — B forms a better par. to the next line: 75.

35 途 39 臺門而旅樹 40 道 41 陳 42 荆岐既旅 43 九山刊旅 44 厥土膏黎 45 黎 46 驪 47 小疏 48 離 49 沃壤 50 厥賦下上 51 錯 52 熊羆狐狸織皮 53 西傾 54 織皮謂 55 西戎之國 56 織皮昆侖 57 析支渠搜 58 西戎即敘 59 衣皮之民居此 60 蜀 61 織皮今蜀也 62 皮 63 昆侖 64 正西 65 紕 66 紕 67 織皮西傾 68 因桓是來 69 桓是 70 是 71 阪 72 氏 73 阪 74 三危既宅 75 三危既度 76 度 77 宅

1377. Tung huei tsê wei P'eng li 76.

A. Cheng Hsuan: 77 (\*g'wər / yuqi / huei) is = 78 (same sound) 'to turn round', and similarly PK'ung = 79. Thus: »In the east it (sc. the Han river) whirls (forming) a tsê lake, that is P'eng-li«. This is grammatically faulty: huei tsê cannot be construed like that. We should therefore have to modify the interpr. into: »In the east it (sc. the Han river) whirled in the marsh and formed (the lake) P'eng-li«. — B. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, while retaining Cheng's expl. 77 = 78, construes without the Han river as subject and with 78 meaning 'to surround' (= 80): »In the east, rounding up (and receiving) (all the) marshes, there is the P'eng-li (lake)»; a very forced expl. — C. Si-ma Cheng (T'ang Time; comm. on Shī ki: Wu ti pen ki): h u e i 77 is the name of a marsh: »In the east, the Huei marsh forms the (lake) P'eng-li«. This is confirmed a few lines later: p e i h u e i y ü H u e i 81 »In the north it joined with the Huei»; to construe here a h u e i 77 = 'to whirl': »In the north it joins with the whirling (sc. Han)« is much too unnatural. The phr. is par. to several others with a place name corresp. to our Huei, e. g. (some lines below) 82 »To the North-east it joins with the Wen« etc.

1378. Tung yi 83.

A. Ma Jung defines yi as = 84, which is quite obscure. — B. PK'ung: yi = 85 'to overflow'; no text par. — C. Shuo-wen: yi = 'to go slantingly, to deflect' (text par. in Chouli: Kung jen), cf. also Gl. 49.

1379. Yi wei Jung 86.

Both the Kin-wen version (ap. Si-ma Ts'ien) and the Ku-wen version (ap. comm. on Chouli: Chī fang shī) read 87 »It rushes out and forms the Jung (marsh)«. The form 85 (Legge: »it flowed out«) is probably a correction made by Wei Pao 88 (9th c.).

K i u c h o u y u t ' u n g »The nine provinces were made uniform« — for y u as a mere mark of the passive see Gl. 679.

1380. Sī yü ki tsê 89.

Si-ma Ts'ien, Shang shu ta chuan and Pan Ku (Han shu: Ti li chī) write 90. PK'ung (as above) writes 89, and that this is not a later correction in his text (Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that Wei Pao introduced it) but original is proved by Kyü: Chou yü 91 (probably wrong for 89, as shown by Yü Yüe), clearly alluding to our Shu text, which testifies to the early existence of a version with 92. Ts'ie Yün and Yü p'ien read 93. The words of this series have to a large extent double readings: \*ôg / ·au / a o and ·îôk / ·îu / y ü, and there is much uncertainty among the glossists whether in a certain sense of the word the reading is \*ôg or \*îôk or both. The characters frequently serve as loan char. for one another.

A. Cheng Hsuan (in comm. on Ta chuan) says 94 means 95 'the interior, inside', and Wei Chao (comm. on Chou yü) says 92 means 95. Thus: »The (four inside areas =) areas inside the four quarters were made inhabited«. In fact, the fundamental sense of the whole word stem (written with one or other of the char. above) was really 'inside, interior', be it 'inside of a house', i. e. the most protected southwestern corner, or 'inside of a river bend', i. e. a cove, or 'hidden, secret', etc. Cf. particularly Tso: Chao 13, phr 96, which K'ung Ying-ta explains: 97 »The country has an (interior lord =) leader inside (the state)«. — B. PK'ung expounds 98 as = 99 »the houses of the four quarters«, taking 92 = 94 = 'the S. W. corner, the interior of a house' = 'house'; thus properly: »The four [quarters] (interiors =) houses were made inhabited«. — C. Shuowen has an entry 100 = 1 »a habitable place within the four quarters« (a word unknown from other texts), and since Yü p'ien quotes our Shu line with 93, Ku Ye-wang evidently attributed this sense to the passage, later expressly followed by Yen Shi-ku (comm. on Han shu). Thus: »The four (quarters) habitable places were made inhabited«. — D. Shuowen says 92 means 2 »the bank of a river cove« (the »interior« of the bend), and though there are no

text ex. of this, the simple 94 has this sense in Ode 55. Ts'ai Ch'en seizes upon this 98: 3 »the cove banks of the four (seas)«, thus: »The banks along the four (seas') coves were made inhabited«, which is so strained that Legge has had to paraphrase it: »The grounds along the waters(!) were everywhere made habitable« (Couvreur: »Quattuor [marium] littora fuerunt habitabilia«). — E. Chavannes translates: »Dans les quatre directions, les terrains bas furent inhabités«. How y ŭ could have the sense of »low-land« he does not tell. — F. Yü Yüe proposes that 98 refers to the four extreme points to which Yao sent his astronomers (Yü-yi in the East, Nan-kiao in the south etc.), but does not explain how it can have that sense. — C would certainly be best, if such a word really existed; but it is evidently fabricated *ad hoc* to suit this very Shu passage (the char. specifyingly enlarged by rad. 'earth'), and its meaning is deduced from the context. This being so, the oldest interpr. (A) is certainly the only acceptable.

Kiu shan k' an lü see Gl. 1371.

**1381. Sī hai huei t'ung 4.**

A. PK'ung explains: 5. Legge in a curious way has misunderstood this gloss, translating: »Access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas«. Legge understood PK'ung thus: »(all within) the four seas made huei t'ung meets at the capitals, and he believes that this refers to Lun: Sien Tsin: 6, which he translates: »At the services of the ancestral temple, and at the audiences of the princes with the emperor«. This is, indeed, Ho Yen's interpr., who says that occasional visits to court were called huei 7 and regular unions in grand style were called t'ung 8. This Lun passage would thus seem to support the idea that our Shu line referred to such huei t'ung meets. But unfortunately, as Liu Pao-nan has proved, Ho Yen is at fault: huei t'ung is a general term for meetings between feudal lords (not with the king in the capital), as is clearly stated in Tso: Ting 4 (the princes met 7 for a covenant, and an orator said: 9 »meetings are a difficult affair«). This robs Legge's interpr. of its foundation. And in fact PK'ung's idea was quite different, for he adds 10, his whole gloss thus meaning: »(all within) the four seas were made uniform with the capital, the 9 provinces had the same customs, the myriad states had the same usages«. Briefly, the Shu line 4 would mean: »(All within) the four seas were made uniform, i. e. the culture, customs and standards of the royal court were spread everywhere in the great realm. In fact, PK'ung simply builds on Kyü: Chou yü hia which, describing Yü's work, paraphrases the whole of our Shu passage here and renders our line by 11 »he made uniform (all within) the four seas« (on which Wei Chao: 12 »he caused them to have the same gauge«, a common expression for uniformity of customs). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »The four seas (were joined =) got their affluents«, i. e. all rivers were conducted to the seas. He bases himself on a phr. in the Ki-chou paragraph: 13 »Lei-hia was formed into a marsh, and (the rivers) Yung and Tsü joined it«, where we have precisely the binome huei t'ung in the technical sense of a river flowing out into a greater water. This par. is a very strong confirmation. — C. Kiang Sheng: »(All within) the four seas were brought into communication with each other«, sc. after Yü's great regulating works had made contacts possible (Chavannes

71. 宅是鎬東 72. 度是鎬東 73. 既 74. 大陸既作 75. 三苗丕敘 76. 東匯澤為彭蠡 77. 匯 78. 回 79. 迴 80. 圍 81. 北會于匯 82. 又北會于沃 83. 東池(池) 84. 靡 85. 溢 86. 溢為榮 87. 沃為榮 88. 衛包 89. 四隄既宅 90. 四隄 91. 宅為九隄 92. 隄 93. 四隄 94. 隄 95. 內 96. 國有隄主 97. 有國內之主 98. 四隄 99. 四方之宅 100. 隄 1. 四方之土可定居者 2. 水隈厓也 3. 四海之隄 4. 四海會同 5. 四

translates: »dans l'intérieur des quatre mers tout fut uni et harmonieux», believing this to be Kiang Sheng's idea, which is not correct). — The oldest interpr. (A, that of Kyü) would be most appealing, if we had not already had a few lines earlier: 14 »The nine provinces were harmonized (made uniform)»; a tautological: »(All within) the four seas were made uniform» would be meaningless. The Yü kung par. for h u e i t ' u n g is decisive in favour of B, all the more since the context favours it: the mountains had their trees thinned and regulated, the rivers had their springs cleaned, the marshes were banked, the seas got their affluents.

**1382. Chung pang 15.**

A. Cheng Hüan reads this together with the following: 16 »In the central kingdom he conferred lands and clan-names». — B. K'ung-Ying-ta and Yen Shi-ku (both T'ang time) and Ts'ai Ch'en read it together with the preceding: 17 »One established the revenues for the central kingdom». — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

**1383. Ch'ī yi tē sien pu kü chen hing 18.**

A. Cheng Hüan believes that 19 is a short-form for 20 and paraphrases: 21 »Their respecting and rejoicing in the king's virtue was (primary =) the chief matter and further they did not go counter to the king's course of government». Thus the Shu line: »(Their) respecting and rejoicing in the virtue was (primary =) the chief matter, they did not go counter to our (king's) course». That *chen hing* should mean »our (king's) course» is, of course, excluded. — B. PK'ung: since *chen* 22 is the pronoun, *yi* 19 should likewise be the common pronoun »I, we». He gives this paraphrase: 23 »When the ruler always himself considers the respecting of my virtue as the chief matter, then in the world there will be none who go counter to my course». This curious mixing of *oratio recta* and *obliqua* of course will not do; we should either have to interpret the Shu line thus: »When his respectful attendance to (my virtue =) his own virtue is the chief matter, they will not go counter to (my course =) his course», which is to force the text too badly; or take it as a direct quotation: »(the king said:) When my respectful attendance to my virtue is the chief matter, they will not go counter to my course». But the whole Yü kung is a dry and matter-of-fact narrative, and such a sudden insertion of a speech of the king's is highly improbable. — C. Yen Shi-ku: *yi* 19 = 24 (this after Fang yen, Western Han colloquial), paraphrasing 25; thus the Shu line: »Ch'ī yi (among) the respectfully (nourished =) cultivated things, tē sien the virtue is the first, (therefore one will not go counter to my (our?) course»; which is rather nonsensical. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en again takes the line as an *oratio recta*: »(The king said:) respectfully attending to my virtue I go before (i. e. lead on the people), and (then) they will not go counter to my course». — E. Liu Feng-lu: *chen* 22 should be 25*b*, which Shuowen says is a variant for 26; thus 27 means »the (instructed =) assigned course». Very little convincing. — F. Chang Ping-lin: 19 \**djag* / *i* / *yi* is loan char. for 28 \**dziag* / *zi* / *sī*, thus: »(He conferred land and clan names [on the feudal lords]) respectfully to succeed to the virtuous ancestors . . .» — G. Yü Sing-wu: in several late Chou bronze inscriptions the char. 19 stands for *yi* 29, and 30 is simply equal to 31. Ch'ī is common in the sense of »only». So far Yü is undoubtedly right. But when he paraphrases 32: »I only make the virtuous influence the first matter», he is less convincing. The line should be understood in direct

海之内會同于京師 6 宗廟之事如會同 7 會同 8 同 9 會同 10 九州同風萬國共貫 11  
 合通四海 12 使之同軌 13 雷夏既澤 14 沮會同 15 九州攸同 16 中邦 17 中邦錫土姓 18 成賦  
 中邦 19 祗台德先 20 不距朕行 21 台 22 怡 23 其敬悅天子之德 24 既先 25 不距 26 達我天子政教



connection with the preceding: »He conferred lands and clan-names (on the feudal lords), only according to their virtue they (advanced =) were promoted, (such who) did not go counter to our course».

1384. Wu po li tien fu, po li fu na tsung, er po li na chī... wu po li hou fu... wu po li suei fu... yao fu... huang fu 33.

Sī-ma Ts'ien introduces this passage with 7 words of his own: ling t'ien tsī chī kuo yi wai (wu po li etc.) 34; they have given occasion for much speculation, which can only be briefly mentioned here (Chavannes' translation: »il établit pour le royaume du fils du ciel et pour ceux qui lui sont extérieurs» differs from all the commentators and can hardly be sustained):

A. PK'ung maintains that wu po li tien fu means: »500 li (in every direction from the capital) is the tien-fu = royal domain proper», i. e. from the capital to the north 500 li, to the south 500 li, together 1000 li. That tien fu really means »the royal domain» is in accordance with Li: Wang chī 35 »The tien domain of the Son of Heaven is a square (with a side of) 1000 li» (i. e. what in Ode 303 is called 36), and when Kyü: Chou yü, shang says 37 »Inside of the (royal) state is tien fu, outside the state is hou fu» etc. it is quite evident that the orator means the same. It is still more fully and clearly expressed in Kyü: Chou yü, chung: »Anciently, when my ancestors possessed the realm, a square (with a side of) 1000 li was the tien fu 38 royal domain to supply the sacrifices to Shang ti, the mountains and rivers and the hundred Spirits». Those commentators who believe that Sī-ma meant the same, interpret his introductory words thus: »He ordered that outside the kuo capital city of the Son of Heaven 500 li [in every direction] were the tien fu». And on the basis of this, PK'ung obtains a scheme of the type in Fig. 1 (only the left half drawn here). The side of the square representing the total realm was thus 5000 li. — B. Kia K'uei and Ma Jung believe that the tien

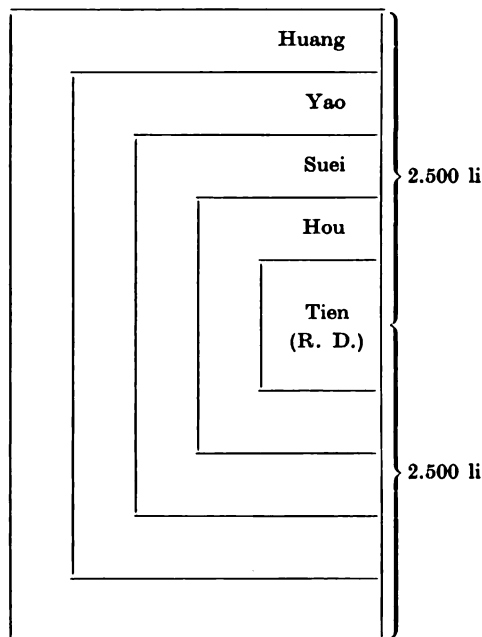


Fig. 1.

f u in our Shu chapter means the first zone outside the royal domain. This is because they interpret Sī-ma's introductory line thus: »He ordered that outside the k u o state (domain proper) of the Son of Heaven, 500 li were the t i e n f u etc. Thus they obtain the scheme in fig. 2 a. The distance from the capital in each direction being 3000 li, the side of the total square is 6000 li. For this interpr. there is (besides Sīma's line, if so understood) another argument. Chouli: Ta sī ma and and Chī fang shī have another scheme, describing the Chou realm, with 9 zones outside the royal domain: 39, arranged as in Fig. 2 b. The total square will then have a side of 10000 li. This scheme can, in part at least, boast a high age, for in Shu: K'ang kao we find: »officers from the h o u, t i e n and n a n states, and (the zones of) t s ' a i and w e i», which confirms the inner five of the »zones» outside the royal domain. Kia and Ma conclude that since t i e n f u is here outside the w a n g k ' i 40 'royal domain proper', it should be so also in our Yü kung passage; but they cannot avoid (such as the wording of Yü kung is) to make a contrary sequel; in Yü kung: royal domain — t i e n — h o u etc. in K'ang kao (and Chouli): royal domain — h o u — t i e n etc. Thus the (theoretical) scheme made up about Yü's realm in the Yü kung cannot be made to agree entirely with the (equally theoretical) scheme of the early Chou realm in the K'ang kao. Yet another scheme, taking an intermediary position, is given in Kyü: Chou yü, which says: 41 »Inside the (royal) state is the t i e n f u; outside the (royal) state is the h o u f u; h o u and w e i are the p i n f u (sc. »guest» zone — the lords coming as »guests» to court); y i and m a n are the y a o f u; j u n g and t i are the h u a n g f u». This gives the scheme in Fig. 2 c. In this scheme there are no figures. If we take Kyü's four outer

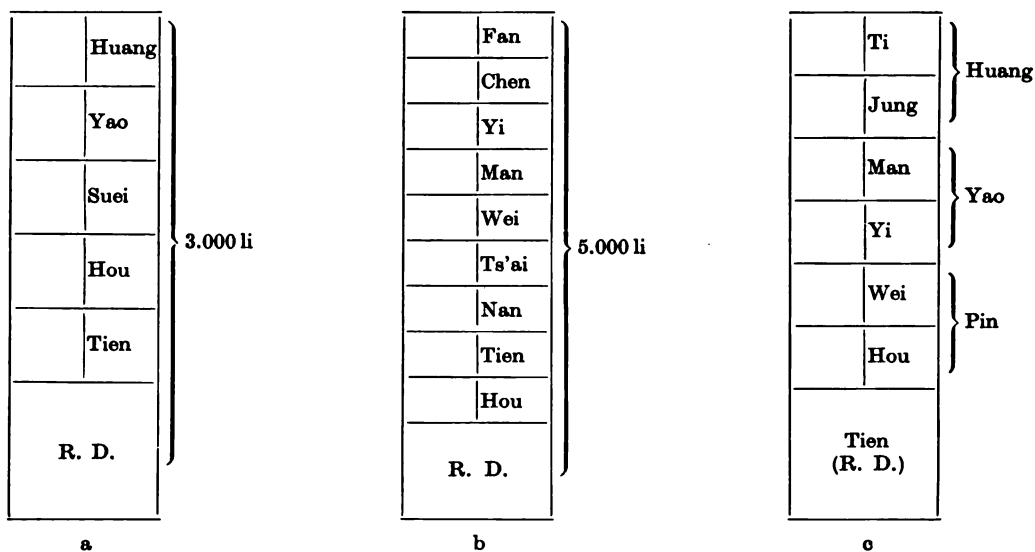


Fig. 2.

zones (y i — m a n — j u n g — t i) to correspond to Chouli's four outer zones (m a n — y i — c h e n — f a n), it still does not correspond to our Yü kung, for later in our text, whereas the y i are sure enough placed in the y a o f u, the m a n are placed in the h u a n g f u. Moreover, corresponding to K'ang-kao's and Chouli's five zones h o u - t i e n - n a n - t s ' a i - w e i we here have only two h o u - w e i, together = p i n f u (it will not do to say, with Wei Chao, that h o u w e i means »from

hou to wei [inclusive] = »hou-tien-nan-ts'ai-wei», for in the Kyü scheme tien is not in this group but is = the royal domain. On the other hand, the Kyü text continues by enumerating 5 kinds of offerings corresponding to tien, hou, pin, yao and huang respectively, which seems to indicate a 5-zone division similar to that of Yü kung. We would then have, not (as in fig. 2 c) four principal zones (tien, pin, yao, huang) but 5: tien, hou, pin, yao, huang, the 3rd (pin) subdivided in 3 a hou and 3 b wei. This, however, would entail that there were two consecutive zones (2 and 3 a) both called hou (the same character) but strictly distinguished, which is absurd, unless the second hou is a mistake for something else, for which we have no support. Thus the Kyü passage is, after all, very enigmatical. — Several other schemes crop up in the early literature, Shu: Tsiu kao: »Outside (the royal domain), the princes of the states of the hou, tien, nan, wei» — here four zones instead of K'ang-kao's five (likewise in K'ang wang ch'i kao). Tso: Siang 15: »The king and the princes, and the dignitaries of the tien, ts'ai, wei» — only 3 out of the 5 of K'ang kao. Again, Yi Chou shu: Wang huei: »Inside a square (with a side of) 1000 li is pi fu 42; inside one of 2000 li (i. e. from 1000—2000 li) is yao fu; inside one of 3000 li (i. e. from 2000—3000) is huang-fu».

In the choice between A and B there seems to be a strong support for B in the fact that the texts speak of wu fu 43 »the 5 dependencies» (e. g. in Kao Yao mo above), just as Chouli speaks of kiu fu »the 9 dependencies»; in Chouli the 9 are all outside the royal domain (not including the latter in the figure), and on this analogy wu fu »the 5 dependencies» should be 5 outside the royal domain, with B. On the other hand, when Kao Yao mo says: »I assisted in establishing the 5 dependencies, all to 5000 (li)», this agrees well with the A scheme (5000 li from the extreme north to the extreme south) but can only be reconciled with the B scheme in counting first 2500 li from the extreme north down to the northern line of the royal domain, then skipping the 1000 li of the latter and again counting 2500 to the south of it, which is certainly very far-fetched. In fact, it is impossible to reconcile all the various schemes above, each text must be taken by itself and not forced to agree with the speculations of other theorizing schools. Viewed by itself, the Yü kung passage is certainly best suited to the A scheme. Since there were feudal lords also inside the royal domain of 1000 li square, and since the whole passage refers to the creation of feudal lords and their duties in regard to tribute, it is inconceivable that the royal domain should be left out of the description, this latter starting only with the first zone outside the royal domain. Thus we should translate: »500 li (in each direction from the capital city) is the tien fu royal domain» (with Legge and Chavannes). 1385. (Wu po li tien fu) po li fu na tsung, er po li na chi 33.

Tsung 44 fundamentally means 'to tie together, to bundle', here 'bundled grain', i. e. grain with the straw, in sheaves.

A. PK'ung: (500 li [in every direction from the capital] were the tien fu royal domain), (the first) 100 li (from the capital) bring as revenue bundled grain with the straw,

所行<sup>22</sup>朕<sup>23</sup>王者常自以敬我德為先則天下無距違我行者<sup>24</sup>養<sup>25</sup>所敬養者惟德為  
先故無距我之行者<sup>25</sup>侯<sup>26</sup>甸<sup>27</sup>侯行<sup>28</sup>嗣<sup>29</sup>以<sup>30</sup>台德<sup>31</sup>以<sup>32</sup>德化<sup>33</sup>為先<sup>33</sup>五百  
里甸服百里賦納總二百里納鉅...五百里侯服...五百里綏服...要服...荒服<sup>34</sup>今天子  
之國以外<sup>35</sup>天子之甸方千里<sup>36</sup>邦畿千里<sup>37</sup>邦內甸服邦外侯服<sup>38</sup>甸服<sup>39</sup>侯甸男采  
衛蠻夷鎮藩<sup>40</sup>王畿<sup>41</sup>邦內甸服邦外侯服侯衛蠻夷服君蠻要服成狄荒服<sup>42</sup>比服<sup>43</sup>五

he 2nd 100 li bring the ears», etc. PK'ung thus considers these 5 distances: from 1—100 li, from 100—200 li, from 200—300 li, from 300—400 li, from 400—500 li as subdivisions of the tien fu. — B. Cheng Hüan has a curious speculation. In Yao's time, the wu fu five dependencies were still only of 500 li (i. e. from the capital to the outer limit of tien fu 500 li, from this limit to the outer limit of hou fu 500 li etc.) in accordance with scheme A, Fig. 1. But Yü enlarged these by additional districts: to the 500 li (from the capital) of the tien fu were laid 100 li which presented bundled grain, outside those again 100 li which presented the ears etc., up to 500, so that the enlarged tien fu had 1000 li from the capital to the northern (eastern, southern and western) confines, thus corresponding to the wang k'i + hou fu of the Chouli scheme, Fig. 2 b. The original hou fu, of 500 li from its inner to its outer confines, likewise was enlarged so as to attain 1000 li from its inner to its outer confines, thus corresponding to Chouli's tien and nan fu; similarly the original suei fu by doubling came to correspond to Chouli's ts'ai and wei fu; the original yao fu to correspond to Chouli's man fu and yi fu; and the original huang fu to correspond to Chouli's chen fu and fan fu. This comical speculation is due exclusively to Cheng's desire to bring the Yü kung scheme into accordance with the Chouli scheme; but a slight support for it might be adduced: Yü kung says that hou fu contains the 45 nan states and the chu hou — the nan 45 is a Chouli zone which acc. to Cheng's computation would come into the enlarged hou fu; and it says that suei fu contains a district which is energetic in war wu and defence wei 46 — wei 47 is a Chouli zone which acc. to Cheng's computation would come into the enlarged suei fu; but, again, it says that the huang fu contains a district with man 48, and here Cheng's theory breaks down, for Chouli's man fu falls into Cheng's enlarged yao fu category, not his enlarged huang fu. — B, of course, is typical scholastics.

**1386. San polina kia fu 49.**

For 50 \*kat / kat / kia there are the variants 51 (Ma Jung and Cheng in gloss on Li, same sound), 52 (Shiwen, same sound), 53 (Han shu: Ti li chi, same sound) — four ways of writing the same word.

A. PK'ung says simply that 50 is = 54 'stalk of grain, straw', and so does Yen Shī-ku on the 53 of Han shu. Shuowen defines 52 as = 55 'peeled stalks of grain' (used for weaving certain mats). PK'ung defines fu 56 as = 57 'the service of (presenting) the straw' (fu = 'service-work' is common) (for another but erroneous interpr. of PK'ung's gloss see Gl. 871). Ts'ai Ch'en believes that all the 3 first districts (from 0—300 li) had to fu 56 do transport service. But there is nothing to define the fu as = service of transport; rather the 3 nearest districts (0—300 from the capital) had to do fu labour service for public works, when required — those further away could not be called in. Thus: «The 3rd 100 li bring the straw; (these three zones) do labour duty». For the meaning of kia two passages in Li: Kiao t'ê sheng and Li: Li k'i, in both of which we have the binome 58 'straw' used for making mats, are quite decisive: it means 'straw', and quite possibly, with Shuowen, 'peeled straw'. — B. Cheng Hüan is curiously inconsistent. In his Shu comm., having defined the preceding chi 59 as = 60 'one cuts off and removes the straw', i. e. 'the ears, freed from the straw', he here says: 61 «kia on the other hand (means that) one removes the ears', i. e. the 'straw freed from the ears'. But in Li: Li k'i he says (quoting our Yü kung) 62 «the ear of grain, with the (fruit =) kernels removed is called kia», thus: 'emptied ears'. Since these could not very well serve for making mats, he must, in this latter case, have meant 'straw with emptied ear still on' (Tuan Yü-ts'ai has made an elaborate attempt to explain Cheng's views differently: by ying 63 he did not mean 'ear of grain' but the upper part («neck») of the stalk; but even with this strained expl. he cannot successfully reconcile Cheng's different glosses). —

C. Ch'en Huan: fu 56 belongs together with kia 50: kia = 64 'the fruit' i. e. »the kernels, the grain», fu = 'the covering, the pellicle' (56 \*b'ük being »phonetically similar» to 65 \*p'üg 'pellicle'). There is no text support for this. — A alone tallies with the text parallels in Li.

1387. Wu po li hou fu, po li ts'ai, er po li nan pang, san po li chu hou 66.

A. Since the 500 li (next outside the tien fu) are called the hou fu zone, and the 2nd subdivision inside this is called nan pang, whereas the 3rd subdivision is called chu hou »the feudal princes», Si-ma Ts'ien concludes that nan 45 cannot here be equal to the fifth category of chu hou (kung, hou, po, ts'i, nan), and so he paraphrases nan pang, by jen kuo 67 »the states entrusted with some charge», taking 45 \*nəm to stand for 68 \*ñəm (in this etymological speculation he bases himself on Ta Tai: Pen ming). PK'ung follows up this idea by concluding that the hou in hou fu can just as little mean 'prince', and for the same reason (the 3rd subdivision only of the hou fu belonging to the chu hou), and so he speculates that hou 69 (\*g'u, even tone) in hou fu stands for 70 (\*g'u, falling tone), and means 'to scout, to keep lookout', sc. for the enemies from without, protecting the inner zones (an idea already propounded in Po hu t'ung: Tsüe p'ien). On the analogy of this, the ts'ai 71 of the first subdivision means 72 'business, work, task' (common), thus: »those who have tasks» (expl. made by Ma Jung). These are typical scholastic speculations. When Cheng Hün (in comm. on Li: Wang ch'i) proposes that ts'ai 71 means 'to cull, to select' and refers to the valuable objects 'selected' to be sent as tribute from this sub-zone (instead of grain), he is wide of the mark: the whole of this paragraph has no references to tribute. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en soberly maintains that hou and nan have their ordinary meanings, ant that ts'ai 71 means 'cullable land' = 'appanage' for ministers and dignitaries'. Cf. Li: Li yün 73 »The chu hou feudal princes have kuo states for placing their sons and grandsons, ta fu dignitaries have ts'ai appanages for placing their sons and grandsons». The scheme thus becomes quite clear: in the nearest sub-zone (100 li) there were only dignitaries with appanages ts'ai; in the 2nd sub-zone (the 2nd 100 li) were only feudal princes of the lowest grade, nan; in the 3rd sub-zone (from 200—500 li) were chu hou 'feudal princes' of all categories (kung hou, po, ts'i, nan); the big zone as a whole was called, with a summary name, hou fu »the princes' zone». Thus: »(The next) 500 li are the hou fu 'princes' zone'; (within that), (the 1st) 100 li are the ts'ai appanages, (the 2nd) 100 li are the states of the nan princes, the (remaining) 300 li are the (lands of) chu hou the feudal princes (generally)». (So also Legge).

1388. Wu po li yao fu 74.

A. PK'ung: yao 75 means 76 'to force, to restrain' (common), referring to the cultural influence mentioned in the preceding zone (77), thus: »The zone of coercion». — B. Wei Chao (comm. on Kyü: Chou yü): yao 75 means 78 'to make a compact' (common, ex. see Couvreur's Dict.), thus: »The zone of compacts». Cf. Lun: Hien wen 79 »An old agreement not being forgotten»; Tso: Ai 14, phr. 80 »Send Ki Lu to make a

服 44 總 45 男 46 武衛 47 衛 48 蠻 49 三百納結服 50 結 51 韜 52 韜 53 韜 54 韜 55 韜去其皮 56  
服 57 韜役 58 韜結 59 鉅 60 斷去韜也 61 結又去韜也 62 總去實曰韜 63 韜 64 實 65 韜 66 五  
百里侯服百里采二百里男邦三百里諸侯 67 任國 68 任 69 侯 70 侯 71 侯 72 侯 73 侯 74 侯 75 侯 76 侯 77 侯 78 侯 79 侯 80 侯  
國以處其子孫大夫有采以處其子孫 74 五百里要服 75 要 76 要 77 要 78 要 79 要 80 要 81 要 82 要 83 要 84 要 85 要 86 要 87 要 88 要 89 要 90 要 91 要 92 要 93 要 94 要 95 要 96 要 97 要 98 要 99 要 100 要

compact with me». — B is certainly more plausible. After the *hou fu* »zone of the princes«, regular part of the empire proper, follows the *suei fu* 81 »tranquillized zone«, the peoples of which were brought to peaceful submission without having directly feudal lords, after that again the *yao fu* »zone of compacts«, the chieftains of which simply were tied to the king by treaties, and finally *huan fu* 82 »the wild zone«.

**1389. San po li yi 83.**

These 300 li were the first inside the *yao fu*, see the preceding.

A. Though *Yi* 84 here corresponds to *Man* 85 in the next line and though these *Yi* and *Man* are the well-known terms for the barbarian tribes, the early commentators would read some deeper significance into the terms here. A. Ma Jung: *Yi* 84 = 86. Yao tien's phrase 87 »The people are at ease« is rendered by 86 in *Shi ki* (see Gl. 1224), which has caused Ma's gloss. Thus: »The (first) 300 li are (at ease =) quiet and peaceful«. (Wang Sien-k'ien believes that Ma by his 86 meant »changeable«, i. e. possible to reform in regard to customs, which is little likely). — B. PK'ung: *Yi* 84 = 88 »even« in the sense of 89 »ordinary«. »The first 300 li are ordinary« (i. e. receive the ordinary directions from the king). — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *Yi* 84 is the ordinary tribe name: »The first 300 li are the *Yi* barbarians«. — C is obviously right.

**1390. Er po li ts'ai 90.**

A. Ma Jung: *ts'ai* 91 (*\*ts'ad / ts'ai / ts'ai*) = 92, expounding: 93 »They only had to submit to the king's penal laws«. Thus: »(The next) 200 li are (the people under) penal laws«. *ts'ai* 91 has no such sense, and the gloss shows that Ma took 91 *\*ts'ad* as loan char. for 94 *\*sat / sat / sha* »to kill, to execute«. In fact, in the bronze inscriptions the state *Ts'ai* 91 is written 95, which is certainly the phonetic in 94. Thus the Shu text probably originally had this 95, and it could have been a short-form for 94. — B. Cheng Huan: 91 = 94 (cf. A above) in the reading *\*sād / s'ai / sha* »diminished, reduced« (common), thus: »(The next) 200 li are (those with) reduced (revenues)«. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *ts'ai* 91 means 96 »to banish«. Thus: »(The next) 200 li are (those of) the banished ones«. In support of this he adduces Tso: Chao 1, phr. 97, which Tu Yü interprets as: »He killed Kuan Shu and banished (91 = 96) *Ts'ai* Shu«. But, as expounded in Gl. 1272 above, the 91 in that Tso passage has a quite different meaning and thus *Ts'ai* Ch'en has no safe corroboration for his interpr. Moreover it is quite unreasonable that a whole principal zone in the world-conception of the early Chinese should have its name after the few culprits condemned to live there as a punishment. — D. Another interpr. The char. 91 is defined in Shuowen as = 98 »grass«. This meaning is earliest attested in the Kiu Huai by Wang Pao (dead 61 B. C.), but the word (*\*ts'ad / ts'ai / ts'ai*) is probably closely cognate to 99 (*\*ts'iwad / ts'iwai / ts'uei*) »down, fine hair« — it is quite common that the grass covering the soil is called *mao* 100 »hair« (e. g. Tso: Chao 17, phr. 1 »Those who eat the herbs of the soil«). An alternation of forms with and without the medial vowels *i, w* inside a word stem is quite common (see BMFEA 5, p. 107—109); cf. also 2 *\*ts'wad / ts'wai / ts'uei*, Shuowen = 98 »grass« (of which, however, there are no early text ex.). Thus: »(The next) 200 li are the (grass-land =) *steppe* (people)«. This balances the *liu* 3 in the next line.

**1391. San po li Man 4.**

A. Just as in the case of *Yi* 84 above (Gl. 1389), the early comm. would give *Man* a more pregnant meaning than simply the name of the barbarians. Ma Jung: *man* 85 (*\*mlwan*) = 5 (*\*man*) »the careless ones«, i. e. those with imperfect rites. Cheng Huan: *man* 85 = 6 (*\*mjan*) »a cord«: »Those who are (led by a string, a halter =) conducted«. Yen Shi-ku: *man* means to 7 cover them by civilization (evidently taking *man* as = 8 *\*mwân*). (From PK'ung's formulation it is not clear whether he followed Cheng or

he already had Yen's idea). All such speculations are pure scholastics. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «The first) 300 li are the Man barbarians».

1392. Er po li liu 9.

A. Ma Jung: liu 3 'flowing' means «ambulating», without fixed residences. Thus: «The next) 200 li are the nomads». — B. PK'ung: liu 3 «flowing» means 'of unstable, changeable customs'. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: liu 3 means 'to banish' (common), thus: «The next) 200 li are (the zone of) the banished ones». This is just as unlikely as a name for a principal zone in the world scheme of the archaic Chinese, as the ts'ai = 'banished' proposed in Gl. 1390 B. With Chavannes, A should be followed.

1393. Tung tsien yü hai, si pei yü Liu sha 10.

The commentators do not indicate what they think is the subject. PK'ung simply says tsien 11 = 12 'to enter', and pei 13 = 14 'to reach to'.

A. Legge thinks that the subject is the sheng kiao 15 which follows afterwards: «On the east reaching to the sea, on the west extending to the moving sands . . . . (his fame and influence . . . .)». Such a construction is entirely un-Chinese. — B. Chavannes takes Yü as understood subject: «A l'est (Yü) s'avance jusqu'à la mer, à l'ouest il alla jusqu'aux sables mouvantes». This is not acceptable. Tsien means fundamentally 'to drip, to soak'. It is true that it is sometimes defined as = 16 'to advance', but it has then always the sense of 'dropwise, little by little, gradually, advancing step by step' (common). We should then have to interpret: «In the east he (Yü) (dropwise =) gradually advanced to the sea», which is far-fetched. — C. Couvreur understands «the realm» as the subject, and he construes yü hai and yü liu sha as agents: «In the east it (the realm) is soaked by the sea, in the west it is (covered =) limited by the floating sands» (Couvreur in his Dict. Classique interprets quite differently: «il se déverse dans la mer»). That the realm is the understood subject is correct, as confirmed by the context; the preceding lines have precisely described the zones of the great realm, and here its farthest confines are described. But Couvreur's passive construction is much too modern to suit an early Shu passage. — D. Forke (Lun Heng II, p. 255) takes tung and si as subjects, and accepts Couvreur's passive construction: «The east is washed by the ocean, and the west covered with flying sand». This is very unlikely, for all through the Yü kung, the phrases tung, si, tung pei etc. are invariably adverbial phrases: «in the east, in the west, in the north-east» etc. — E. Ts'ai Ch'en defines tsien by its fundamental sense 17 'to soak', and evidently understands 'the realm' as subject (followed on this point by Couvreur, C above). We should accept this and construe the phrases with yü 18 as meaning «in . . . .»: In the east it (the realm) (soaks in =) dips down into the sea, in the west it extends to the floating sands». This is probably also PK'ung's opinion, when he briefly says that tsien 11 = 12 'to enter': it (the land) (soaks in =) enters the sea.

1394. Shuo nan ki sheng kiao ki yü si hai 19.

Han shu: Ti li chī reads 20 inst. of 21 (both \*g'jed / g'ji / ki); these char. are inter-

信 久要不忘 使季路要我 經服 荒服 三百里 夷 蠻 易 厥民 若 平 平 常 二百里 蔡 蔡 法 受王者刑法而已 殺 放 殺 盜 叔而蔡 叔 44 龜 毛 食土之毛 藪 流 三百里 蠻 慢 縹 幕 慢 二百里 流 東漸于海 西被于流沙 漸 入 被 及 聲教 進 潰 于 朔南 蠻 聲教 訖 于四海 東 蠻 罪 義 蠻 和 訖 迄 與 聲教 及 塗 不 蠻 於 棺 上 求 不 蠻

changeable. 20 means 'to be together with, together with, along with, and' (common in bronze inscriptions: wr. 22), and 21 is frequently loan char for this (Yao tien 23 etc., very common). Inst. of 24 Han shu: Kia Kūan-chī chuan reads 25.

A. The Han scholars punctuated after *kiao*: Shuo nan ki sheng kiao. Oldest ex. in Han shu (*loc. cit.*), a memorial by Kia Kūan-chī (middle of 1st c. B. C.) who interprets *ki sheng kiao* as equal to 26. Thus »The North and the South (were together with, associated with =) participated in the famous instructions» (sc. of the king); 20 would then be the fundamental word and 21 a loan char. for it, as often. PK'ung has followed this. But since »to be together with the famous instructions» is certainly strained, Yen Shī-ku prefers to take 20 as a loan char. for 21 in the sense of 27 'to reach to, to attain to'; thus: »The North and the South attained to the famous instructions» (of the king). Cf. Li: Sang ta ki 28 »The plastering did not reach to the coffin» (Cheng Hūan: ki 21 = 27); Kyū: Chou yū 29 »Though the superiors demand them, they do not come» (Wei chao: ki 21 = 30); Chuang: Lie Yū-k'ou 31 »He reached him at the door». (Sheng kiao has mostly been interpreted as two coördinated words: »The fame and the instructions»: I think it better to take it as a whole). The same interpunctuation: shuo nan ki sheng kiao is upheld by Sūn Yüe in Han ki (2nd c. A. D.) and by Tu Tu 32 (ap. Hou Han shu: Tu Tu chuan) (early 1st c. A. D.). It was evidently generally accepted in Han time. — B. Kiang Sheng: Shuowen defines the char. 21 as = 33 'the sun only partially visible', and this is the meaning here: »Shuo nan in the north and south, ki (where there is any sun at all =) wherever the sun shines, sheng kiao (there are) the famous instructions (of the king)». There is, however, no text ex. whatever of Shuowen's definition, and Kiang's speculation is quite hopeless (Chavannes has understood Kiang's interpr. differently and moreover attributed it to Cheng Hūan). — C. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after *ki* saying *ki 21 = 27* (cf A above): Shuo nan ki, sheng kiao ki yū si hai: »In the north and south it reached (to the utmost points), the famous instructions reached to the four seas». *Ki 21* 'to reach' would then stand by itself and mean 'to reach the utmost point'. This is not impossible, cf. Tso: Hi 15, phr. 34 »How dare I (reach =) go to the extreme?», where *chī 30* 'to reach, to come to', synonymous with our *ki 21*, is used in the same absolute way (acc. to the Sung comm. Lin Yao-sou). — D. It is not necessary, nor even desirable, to abandon the oldest way (Han time) of dividing the line. There should be a rhythmical correspondence between the lines concerning the east, the west and the north and south: tung tsien yū hai—si pei yū liu sha—shuo nan ki sheng kiao. But just as in the preceding lines *tung* and *si* are adverbial phrases »in the east», »in the west», so *shuo nan* should here (with C) mean »in the north and in the south». *Ki 21* (for which 20 is a loan char.) 'to reach, to come' is here a transitive (causative) verb: 'to cause to reach, cause to come, *faire parvenir*': »In the east it (the realm) dips down into the sea; in the west it extends to the floating sands; in the north and the south it (causes to come =) brings the famous (royal) instructions (i. e. the Chinese civilization); it reaches all to the four seas». The difference between east and west on the one hand, and north and south on the other was that whereas the definite limits in the former directions (the sea and the desert respectively) were known to the Chinese, no such limits were known in north and south, where never-ending zones of foreign peoples lived, and to them the Chinese realm extended its civilization. For *ki 24* 'to reach, to come' taken as a transitive verb 'to cause to come, to bring' cf. the synonymous *chī 30*: Tso: Chao 20: »Feng Yang ordered the people of Ch'eng-fu 35 to seize himself and (cause him to come =) bring him (to the king)».

1395. *Ki yū si hai 36*.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien writes 37 \**kjət* / *kjət* / *k i*. PK'ung defines this as = 38, expounding:



Yü's work was 39 (exhaustively =) everywhere applied to the (land between) the four seas». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen (after Shuowen): *ki* 37 = 40, without further comment. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: *ki* 37 (\**kjät*) is loan char. for 41 (\**ngjät*), which Shuowen says means 42, thus: »going straight to the four seas». But of this dictionary word there are no text ex. — **D.** In the memorial of Kia Kün-chi (see Gl. 1394 A above), less than a century later than Si-ma's quotation, Kia reads 43 »it reached all to the four seas». 44 \**χjät* / *χjät* / *hi* 'to reach, to come to' is common. This gives obviously the best meaning. Probably the Shu text originally had only 45 without radical (Chou fashion), and the Han scholars have supplied rad. 46 or 47, according as they interpreted the line. — Erya says that *si hai* 48 »the [land between] the four seas» means the Yi, Ti, Jung and Man barbarians, i. e. the peoples outside China proper, and Sun Yen expounds that *hai* 49 (\**χmag* / *χai* / *hai*) here does not mean 'sea' but stands for 50 (\**χmwag* / *χuäi* / *huei*) 'darkened' i. e. unenlightened in regard to rites and justice, thus *Si-hai* »the four unenlightened ones» (the barbarians). Scholastics that are quite amusing.

1396. Yü si huan kuei kao kue ch'eng kung 51.

**A.** Si-ma Ts'ien (foll. by PK'ung) understands thus: »Yü was given (sc. by the emperor) a black kuei sceptre, announcing that he had achieved his work». As pointed out by Yü Sing-wu, this formula *X si* »X was presented with . . .» occurs in Chou bronze inscriptions. — **B.** Another Han-time school understood: Yü was given (by Heaven, as a good omen) a black kuei sceptre». On the steles at the tomb of pseudo-Wu Liang (1st c. A. D.), among the miraculously appearing objects of good auspice there is the *huan kuei* »black kuei», and the inscription says: »When the rivers and springs follow their course, and the four seas get their affluents, then the *huan kuei* appears» (Chavannes: Mission archéol. fig. 93). — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Yü presented a black kuei sceptre» (to the emperor). — No reason for abandoning the oldest interpr. (A).

### Kan shi.

For the question whether this chapter refers to Yü or to his son K'i see BMFEA 18, p. 304.

1397. Wang yüe tsüeh liu shi chi jen 52.

**A.** Cheng Hün: when it was said before *liu k'ing* 53 »Six ministers-generals» (of the armies) and here it is said *liu shi* 54, this change of expression indicates that *shi* 'business(-holders)' refers to all those who *shi* 55 do service, officers and simple soldiers, in the armies; thus: »Oh, all you men of service (in the army)». — **B.** PK'ung: *liu shi* »six functionaries» = six ministers refers precisely to the *liu k'ing* above. Thus: »Oh, you six (functionaries =) ministers». This is evidently right; cf. Ode 193, phr. 56 »He selected three (functionaries =) ministers»; Ode 263, phr. 57 »You three (functionaries =) ministers, go to your work» (see Gl. 1047). *Shi* or *yu shi* is thus a technical term for the highest office-holders, the ministers, who here, at the same time, are generals of the army.

1398. Wei wu wu hing 58.

**A.** Wei wu is explained as meaning 59 'to violate and go counter to' by Cheng Hün, as = 60 'to maltreat (violate) and despise' by PK'ung, which comes to the same. Thus: »He violates and despises the 5 elements». — **B.** Wang Yin-chi: *wei* 61 is a corruption

30至31 暨乎門 22杜篇 33日頗見 34豈敢以至 35孰己以至 36訖于四海 37訖 38盡 39最  
加于四海 40止 41越 42直行 43迄于四海 44迄 45乞 46言 47是 48四海 49海 50晦 51黃錫  
玄圭告厥成功 52王曰嗟大事之人 53六卿 54大事 55事 56擇三有事 57三事就緒 58威

of 62, which again stands for 63, the latter meaning 64 'to despise'. Thus: »He despises the 5 elements«. Since 62 both in Ts'ie yün and King tien shī wen is read \**χm̥wat* / *χwāt* / *h ü e* (only the Tsī lin reads it \**m̥iat*, confounding it with 65), we should then rather have to say that 61 is wrong for 62 as a short-form for 65 \**m̥iat*; and then either this has its proper meaning (»He destroys and despises the 5 elements«) or, with Wang Yin-chī, it is loan char. for 63 (\**m̥iat*). (This 63 can, with Wang, mean 'to despise', but it need not: it can also mean 'to destroy', cognate to and synonymous with 65). The only real reason for all this speculation is that in Yi Chou shu: K'o Yin we find 66: »He despises and destroys the Spirits«, and that this in Shī ki: Chou pen ki is rendered 67. — The text tradition of the Yi Chou shu is little known and often unreliable (to witness, the variant for its *m̥ie* appearing in the Shī ki); on the other hand the reading *wei w u* 68 occurs not only in the orthodox PK'ung version but already in Sī-ma Ts'ien and in Mo: Ming kuei. The latter is particularly important, since its text transmission is very independent of that of the Shu. An »error« of *wei* 61 for (62 short for:) 65 in all these three versions is exceedingly unlikely. No reason to abandon A.

**1399. Tai k' i san cheng 69.**

This follows upon: »The lord of Hu violates and despises the 5 elements«, see the preceding gloss.

A. Fu Sheng (Shang shu ta chuan): *san cheng* 70 means the three different months which successively served as new-year months. Ma Jung adopts this (»the *tsī*, *ch'ou* and *yin* months«). Thus: »He neglects and discards the 3 year-regulating (months)«, i. e. he opposes the calendaric decrees which the king alone has the prerogative of promulgating (= he is a rebel). This would mean that the rotation in respect to the new-year months (a new dynasty choosing another new-year month than the preceding) had already obtained before the Hia house and that the king here referred to these successive changes — an impossibly forced idea. In Han time the term *san cheng* 70 sure enough had this sense of »the three (successively used) new-year months« (see Pan ku: Po hu t'ung, which has a whole chapter on the subject), but evidently cannot apply to our Shu passage, composed in early Chou time. — B. In a quite analogous text in the T'ai Shī (the authentic T'ai shī, the passage in question only known through a quotation in Shī ki: Chou pen ki and gloss by Ma) which runs 71, the same Ma Jung has this quite different interpr.: *san cheng* »the three governing forces« are those of 72 »Heaven, Earth and Man«, thus: »Now the king of Yin, Chou, . . . has cut himself off from Heaven and ruined and corrupted the 3 governing forces (of Heaven, Earth and Man)«. In our passage above, Cheng Hūan has adopted this: »(The lord of Hu violates and despises the 5 elements), he neglects and discards the 3 governing forces (of Heaven, Earth and Man)«. This interpr. seems in fact to be based on another passage in Fu Sheng's Shang shu ta chuan, which says that *ts' i cheng* 73 (see Gl. 1255 above) »the 7 directors, the 7 governing forces« were the 4 seasons, the configurations of Heaven, the formations on Earth, and the *jen tao* principles of Man (an interpr. that, as we saw there, is not plausible); since, acc. to Cheng, the *wu hing* 74 »5 elements« in our line above are equal to the 4 seasons (in accordance with the exposé in Li: Yüe ling), there remain, out of the *ts' i cheng* 73, after subtraction of 4, precisely 3, i. e. those referring to Heaven, Earth and Man (75 = our 70)! This is all very speculative and scholastic; but in fact the theme of the triad Heaven, Earth and Man as governing forces is quite early and general in the early literature. Cf. Yi: Shuo kua: »Anciently when the sages made the Yi (king) . . . they exhibited 76 the norm of Heaven, this being *yin* and *yang*, 77 the norm of Earth, this being the soft and the hard, 78 the norm of Man, this being goodness and rightenousness; they combined these *san ts'ai* 79 three capacities (forces) . . .»; Tso: Ch'eng 15, phr. 80 »The good Man is the norm of Heaven

and Earth» (the human counterpart of the forces of Heaven and Earth). The theme is treated in several places in the Hiao king. — C. Yü Yüe: in Tso: Siang 25 it is said 81 »The men of Ts'i bribed the six generals of Ts'in»; here *ch'eng* 82 (common in the sense of 'governor, leading official') means 'army general'. According to Chouli, the king had 6 armies, and a great feudal lord had 3 armies. Our *san-ch'eng* thus means »the three generals» (of the lord's of Hu). Now, since the generals had the high rank of *k'ing* 83, they were appointed by the king, not by the lord of Hu himself, and our *phr.* 69 means: »(The lord of Hu outrages the 5 elements) and neglects and discards the 3 generals» (appointed for him by the king, and appoints his own men); a comical idea, which in any case is not applicable to the *par. text* in T'ai shi 71. — D. Yü Sing-wu therefore modifies Yü Yüe's theory: *san ch'eng* »the 3 governors» means the same as *san kung* 84, the three highest officials of the king's. In fact, it is common that the highest functionaries were called *ch'eng*, e. g. Ode 258: »Reduced to extremities are the *shu ch'eng* 85 heads of departments» (high officials). Thus: »He neglects and discards the 3 highest dignitaries». The *par. text* of the T'ai shi would then mean: 71 *huei huai k'i san ch'eng* »He ruins and corrupts the 3 highest dignitaries». — D is not impossible, but it misses the parallelism with the preceding *wei wu wu hing* »He violates and despises the 5 elements»; it is quite evident that the second half of the line should describe some analogous violation of cosmogonic forces, which decides in favour of B. It is quite plausible to consider our *san ch'eng* as synonymous with the *san ts'ai* 79 of the Yi king.

1400. After the *phr.* T'ien yung tsiao tsüe k'i ming »Heaven therefore has cut off his mandate», there is a clause which has been lost in the orthodox Shu version but which is preserved in a quotation in Mo: Ming kuei: 86. (In this 87 is = 88, 89 = 90). Forke, after Tosaki, believes that the first words refer to a saying of the rebel lord: »And further he says: The sun culminates» (i. e. I am at the height of power). This seems much too bold, when a sufficiently good sense can be made in a more ordinary fashion. — Early editions had *shi* 91 inst. of *t'u* 92, an obvious graphical error. Sun Yi-jang thinks that 89 = 90 means *pao* 93 »a fort, a small walled town' (90 in this sense common, e. g. Li: T'an kung); but only a few lines earlier in Mo's text we find 94 »the guarding of the earth here below» (as in Ode 259, *phr.* 95: »protect the land of the South»), and evidently *pao* 89 here has the same verbal function in the *phr.* *pao t'u* 96. We thus obtain: (The king) further said: during the day, now with the lord of Hu I shall fight about (one day's fate =) the fate to be decided in one day; and you, ministers, dignitaries and commoners, I do not covet your fields or your guarded lands». There exists in the early literature a considerable number of quotations from the Shu king, sometimes with indications of chapters, giving passages which are not to be found in the present Shu, or only inserted in the spurious chapters by the faker in the 3rd c. A. D. In most cases it is not possible to place such passages exactly in the proper chapters, and then I never insert them here (I hope to revert to them later on); only such cases

傷五行 59 暴逆 60 威虐侮慢 61 威 62 威 63 黃 64 輕 65 滅 66 侮滅神祇 67 侮黃 68 威侮 69 怠  
棄三正 70 三正 71 今殷王紂...自絕于天毀壞其三正 72 天地人 73 七政 74 五行 75 三政  
76 天道 77 地道 78 人道 79 三才 80 善人天地之紀 81 齊人賂晉 大正 82 正 83 卿 84 三公 85  
庶正 86 有曰日中今予與有扈氏爭一日之命且爾卿大夫庶人于非爾田野葆土之欲  
87 有 88 又 89 葆 90 保 91 士 92 土 93 望 94 下土之保 95 南土是保 96 葆土 97 今予惟恭行天

are incorporated — like the present one — in which the quotation is such that a part of the present Shu text is adjoined, thus making an exact placing of the additional passage feasible.

1401. a. Kin yü wei kung hing t'ien chī fa 97;

b. Ju pu kung ming 98.

Si-ma Ts'ien in both cases writes 99 and 100; Mo: Ming kuei, hia does the same; in the same way in Tso: Ai 3 we find: 1. On the other hand Pan Ku both in Han shu: Sü chuan and in Tung tu fu writes 2, and the same does Kao Yu in comm. on Lü: Sien ki. The earliest attested quotation with 3 is Po hu t'ung: San kün (but this may be a later correction, since Pan Ku in the other places had 4). Now in the series 5, character loans are very common. 5 often serves both for 6 and for 3, and the question is for which of them it stands here, and likewise whether 4 means the same as 6 or as 3.

A. The meaning is 6 = 7 'to furnish, deliver', thus: a. »Now I (furnish and practise =) execute Heaven's punishment»; b. »You do not (furnish =) execute my orders». This is PK'ung's opinion, since he defines kung as = 8. It therefore seems likely that his text really, like Si-ma's, had simply 5, and that the now orthodox form 3, carried through in his version, is a correction made by Wei Pao (as Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes). Hü Shen, who defines 4 by 7, may already have had our Shu passages in mind and meant that 4 is equal to 6. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: 3 = 9: a. »Now I respectfully practise Heaven's punishment»; b. »You do not show respect for my orders». This must have been the opinion of those scholars (all from T'ang time) who wrote 10 and 11, and, since they must have known of Si-ma's and Pan Ku's readings 5 and 4 respectively, they must have considered these graphs as loan characters for 3. When Lu Tê-ming in gloss on the Tso passage 1 says »5 has the sound 4», he evidently held this opinion. — Both A and B are quite plausible. But there is a very significant par. in Tso: Siang 30, phr. 12 »We fear that we do not (furnish =) execute the orders (given us)». This ki ming 13 is obviously quite synonymous with our phr. kung ming 100 above and kung 5 consequently stands for 6. This decides in favour of A. There are many cases of this same alternative. In Shu: P'an Keng we have, in the orthodox version: 14 »Each one of you respectfully (attend to) your work», but the stone classics of 175 A. D. have 15, where again 5 is equal to 6 »Each one of you, (furnish =) execute your work». — On the other hand, it is not always, even in Shu, that 5 stands for 6, it can also serve for 3, see Gl. 1468.

1402. Yü fei k'ima chī cheng 16...

A. Mo: Ming kuei and Si-ma Ts'ien both read cheng 17 inst. of 18, and so did Cheng Hüan (in gloss on Ode 168): »If the charioteers do not (govern =) correctly manage their horses». In order to emphasize that cheng is a verb, with the pronoun chī as anteposed object resuming the preceding: »The horses — them — govern», 17 was altered into 18, probably by Wei Pao. — B. Yü Yü would alter cheng 17 into kung 19, considering it to be a scribe's error, thus: »If the charioteers do not do their work on their horses», this in order to obtain a par. to the preceding tso pu kung yü tso 20 etc. »If those on the left do not do their work on the left» etc. But this emendation is too bold, as the form 17 is so well confirmed in all the earliest versions.

1403. Yü tsê nu lu ju 21.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien writes 22 inst. of 23; they are interchangeable. PK'ung says nu 23 means 'child, children'. Cf. Ode 164, phr. 24 »Give joy to your wife and children». Here this sense is unambiguous: nu here means 'children' exclusively. But in other contexts it certainly means 'wife and children', i. e. family. Cf. Kyü: Tsin yü 25 »With his wife and children he went to the Western mountains»; Tso: Wen 6 »Süan tsai let Yü P'ien 26 escort his wife and children» — in these (and many more ex.: Kyü: Cheng yü, Ch'u

yü, Tso: Wen 7, 13, 18, Siang 25, Chao 18 etc.) the comm. rightly define *nu* as = 'wife and children' (it is obvious that it cannot always be a question of the children only). Therefore, whereas PK'ung in our Shu passage interprets *nu* as children only: «Then I will with the children kill you», Chao K'i, in comm. on the analogous phr. in Meng: Liang Huei wang, hia 27 says *nu* = 'wife and children', and our phr. will thus mean «Then I will kill you with your wives and children». Yü Yüe objects to this that the word sequence is then wrong; it should be *yü tsê lu ju nu* «I then will kill *ju* you and *nu* your wives and children»; a *nu* placed before, adverb-fashion = 'with your children' will not do. This is to misunderstand the construction: *nu* and *lu* are both verbs. Just as *tsu* 28 'clan' occurs as verb: *tsu chî* «he clanned him» = «he killed him with his whole clan», so *nu* means 'to wife-and-children' = «to kill the wife and children of» (somebody). Thus: «Then I will (wife-and-children-ing kill you =) kill you along with you wives and children». That *nu* is really a verb and alone means 'to kill the wife and children' follows from the Meng ex. 27 above: «The culprits were not (wife-and-children'ed =) punished with their wives and children». — B. Han shu: Wang Mang chuan, and Cheng Chung's comm. on Chouli: Sî li quote 29 and Yen Shî-ku says *tha nu* 30 'slave' has its ordinary meaning (here verb): «Then I will enslave and kill you». — C. Yü Yüe while accepting the 30 of B as the original graph, points out, that since in the preceding line *lu* 31 clearly means 'to kill' («those who do not obey my orders, I will kill at the altar of the Soil»), this *nu* 30 \**no / nuo / nu* cannot with B mean 'slave, to make slaves' (this would indeed be a curious anticlimax after the categorical «killing» of the preceding line) but is a short-form for 32 (\**nd / ña / na*) 'to seize': «I will seize and kill you». This *na*, registered in Ts'ang kie p'ien, is not known from any pre-Han text, but its variant 33 (\**nd / ña / na*) occurs in Chuang: Yü fu. This C interpr. is very tempting, but the difficulty is the Meng par. adduced: *tsuei jen pu nu* 27. Here *nu* 23 cannot stand for 32 'to seize', which would make no sense, but must either be interpreted as A above: «The culprits were not killed with wives and children», or, with 23, as an erroneous enlargement of 30: «The culprits were not made slaves». We would thus have two entirely different interpretations in our Shu and Meng passages; and yet they are so obviously analogous, the *nu* (whether wr. 30 or 23) referring to some punishment of culprits in both cases. Since it cannot mean 'to enslave' in the Shu ex., it should not mean that in Meng either. And since it cannot mean 32 in Meng, it should not mean that in Shu either. There remains only A in Chao K'i's interpr., the generally admitted one (Ts'ai Ch'en, Legge etc.), which satisfies both texts.

## T'ang shi.

1404. *Wo hou pu sü wo chung, shê wo sê shî er ko cheng Hia* 34.

A. Neither Si-ma Ts'ien nor the original PK'ung version had any *Hia* 35 at the end (as pointed out by Tuan Yü-ts'ai, it has been wrongly added as a consequence of a gloss of K'ung Ying-ta). Moreover Si-ma inst. of 36 has 37. PK'ung refers *hou* to Kie, the last *Hia* king: «Our ruler (King Kie) has no compassionate care for our multitude, he sets aside our husbandry works and (cuttingly governs =) has an injurious government»

之罰 8. 汝不恭命 9. 共行 10. 共命 1. 命不共有常刑 2. 襲行天之罰 3. 恭 4. 襲 5. 共 6. 供  
7. 給 8. 奉 9. 敬 10. 恭行 11. 恭命 12. 懼不給命 13. 給命 14. 各恭爾事 15. 各共爾事 16. 御非其馬  
之正 17. 政 18. 正 19. 政 20. 左不政于左 21. 予則擊戮汝 22. 帑 23. 擊 24. 樂爾妻帑 25. 以其擊適  
西山 26. 送其帑 27. 罪人不擊 28. 族 29. 予則奴戮女 30. 奴 31. 戮 32. 擊 33. 擊 34. 我后不恤我民

(PK'ung thus takes 36 as = the 37 of Sī-ma's). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en has accepted the falsely added Hia at the end, and refers h o u to T'ang: »Our ruler (sc. T'ang) has no compassionate care for our multitude, he sets aside our husbandry work and (goes to) cut off and (correct =) punish the Hia». K'ung Kuang-sen, troubled by this disrespectful utterance about the sage T'ang, says that the phr. »he sets aside our husbandry work» is merely a metaphor: he postpones the important government work (metaphorically called »husbandry work») for this important expedition (!). — C. Yü Yüe, while admitting that B is unacceptable since it adopts a faulty text version, still believes that it is right in referring to T'ang. He takes k o 38 (\*kât) as equal to h a i 39 (\*g'ád) — indeed the two char. are sometimes confused (cf. Gl. 1234): in Shu: Ta kao we have 40 »Heaven sends down harm on my house», and here k o 38 obviously stands for h a i 39 (Ma Jung's version indeed had h a i). (In bronze inscriptions both 38 and 39 are used as loan char. for 41 \*kád 'to beg'). Now this 39 (\*g'ád) is often used as an interrogative pronoun (for 42 \*g'ât) = 43, e. g. Ode 2, phr. 44 »Which shall I wash, which not?» Acc. to Yü then 45 = 46 = 47 »whom punish?» (a similar thesis of Chu Pin is that 38 \*kât directly is a loan char. for 42 \*g'ât). Thus: »Our ruler (T'ang) has no . . . , he sets aside our husbandry works, whom will he (correct =) punish?», Answer in the next line: »I have heard the words of your multitude: the lord of Hia has guilt, I fear God on High, I dare not but punish him» 48. The advantage of this interpr. is that cheng 36 is taken in the same sense in both lines: »to correct, to punish», which it is not in PK'ung's interpr. This would seem to decide in favour of C, in spite of the loan char. theories that this C necessitates, if it were not that the oldest version attested, Sī-ma Ts'ien's, had 37 in the first line, 36 in the second, and thus does not at all demand the same sense in both. That obviates this obstacle to the A interpr., which is simple and satisfactory without all loan char. speculations. — D. Chang Ping-lin likewise refers the line to T'ang, and says k o 38 means 49, the phr. k o cheng thus being a binome meaning »to regulate, to arrange», referring to the troops: »Our ruler . . . has no . . . , he sets aside . . . , and arranges (his troops)». He adduces Sün: Kie pi 50 »to fashion the great principles». That 'to regulate, arrange' should mean to arrange the troops is very unconvincing.

**1405.** Kin ju k'i yüe Hia tsuei k' i ju yi 51.

The same phr. k' i ju yi 52 recurs in P'an Keng, Kao tsung yung jī and Si po k'an li, but in no other ancient text.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases it by 53, thus: »The guilt of Hia, what about it (what can we do about it)?»; the phr. would then correspond to the common 54 (Tso *passim*), and ju yi 55 would be equal to ju h o 56. Wang Yin-chī and Tuan Yü-ts'ai adduce examples in which Yang Hiung (Fa yen: Wen tao) and Pan Ku (Tien yin) use ju y i 55 in the sense of ju h o 56, thus accepting Sī-ma's idea and alluding to the phrase of the Shu. There is, however, no other example in which y i 57 has this interrogative meaning 58 'what, how'. Sun Sing-yen desperately tries to explain it by a »sound similarity» of 57 (\*dīæg / i / y i) with 59 (\*g'ieg / yiei / h i), which is obviously impossible. It might be tempting to say that h o 58, written with 60 as a short-form (without radical, Chou fashion), has been corrupted into 57, and that ju y i 55 is merely a graphical corruption of ju h o 56; but after all the Chou-time graphs of the two characters are not very similar (61 and 62 respectively). Finally — and most fatal — this interpr. is hardly applicable in the chapter P'an Keng. There the king describes how the people suffers from poverty and continues: p u k i y ü e k' i ju yi 63. In order to make this tally with interpr. A, Kiang Sheng has to explain: »I have taken tortoise oracle and enquired, saying: what about it?» (what shall we do?). This is unreasonable, for as already realized by PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en, the words k' i ju yi must be the answer of the oracle; the following lines contain no such answer, and it would be ridiculous of the king

in his grand speech to relate his own question (what about it?) but not the answer of the Spirits, which latter is precisely the salient point: the Spirits side with the king in his measures. There are thus double reasons to reject interpr. A. — B. PK'ung soberly attributes to y i 57 the same meaning 64 »I, we» as it had a few lines earlier (55 »I, the little child») and interprets: »Now you will surely say that Hia's guilt is (in accordance with me =) such as I say». In the P'an Keng phr.: »I have taken tortoise oracle and enquired, and (the Spirits) say that it is (in accordance with me =) as I say». Kao tsung yung jī 66 »And thus I (say =) tell you: it is (in accordance with me =) as I say». Si po K'an li 67 »Now may the king (accord =) agree with me». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en likewise takes y i 57 = 64 »I, we», but says: k' i j u y i is equal to k' i j u w o h o 68 »what has it to do with us?» This is very arbitrary and grammatically unsatisfactory. Ts'ai adds precisely that word: the interrogative h o, missing in k' i j u y i, which is necessary to construe such a meaning; a phrase 69 k' i j u y i h o could not throw off its essential word h o without becoming meaningless. If Ts'ai in a general way were right in his conception, we should have to lay the interrogative in the word k' i 70. This frequently introduces interrogative phrases; it is then mostly combined with an interrogative particle at the end, e. g. Tso: Huan 2, phr. 71 »Can it endure long?», but occasionally it alone marks the question: Tso: Ai 16, phr. 72 »Even if you regret it, can you undo it?» Our k' i j u y i 52 could, on this analogy, be construed to mean: »Can it concern us?», can it have anything to do with us? But here again P'an Keng vetoes this interpr., for in that chapter Ts'ai must resort to quite another interpr.: »I have taken tortoise oracle and enquired, and it said: »can [this place] suit us?» (paraphrase: 73), an obviously impossible interpretation; the Spirits answer by an oratorical question (!). — B alone satisfies all the text examples.

1406. Hia wang shuai ngo chung li, shuai ko Hia yi, yu chung shuai taifu hie 74.

Legge and Couvreur translate Hia yi in the plural: »The Hia cities»; but Si-ma renders it Hia kuo 'the state of Hia' in the singular, and there is no sufficient reason for abandoning this.

A. Ma Jung explains the last of the three shuai 75 as = 76 'to lead on one another', and PK'ung has applied this sense throughout: »The Hia king leads on (his officers) to (stop =) obstruct the efforts of the multitude, he leads on (his officers) to injure the city of Hia, the multitude lead on (one another) to be slack and disaffected». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: shuai = 77 'all' (a well-attested meaning, see Gl. 642): »The Hia king in all (ways) obstructs the efforts of the multitude, in all (ways) he injures the city of Hia, the multitude are all slack and disaffected». — C. Wang Nien-sun and Sun Sing-yen: shuai 75 \**sl̥iwaet* / *ʃi̯uət* / shuai is a loan char. for the particle 78 \**b̥iwaet* (?) / *i̯uət* / yü 'then, thereupon'. It would then be better to say that it is loan for 79 \**d̥i̯waet* / *d̥i̯uət* / shu which is attested as being a particle meaning 'then, thereupon', see Gl. 1406. But even so, this loan idea is both arbitrary, unnecessary and phonetically

余執縶事而割正夏<sup>35</sup>夏<sup>36</sup>正<sup>37</sup>政<sup>38</sup>割<sup>39</sup>害<sup>40</sup>天降割于我家<sup>41</sup>勾<sup>42</sup>昌<sup>43</sup>何<sup>44</sup>害<sup>45</sup>溺  
害<sup>46</sup>否<sup>47</sup>割正<sup>48</sup>害<sup>49</sup>正<sup>50</sup>昌<sup>51</sup>正<sup>52</sup>不<sup>53</sup>敢<sup>54</sup>不正<sup>55</sup>制<sup>56</sup>制<sup>57</sup>割大理<sup>58</sup>今汝其曰夏罪其如<sup>59</sup>台<sup>60</sup>  
其如<sup>61</sup>台<sup>62</sup>其奈<sup>63</sup>何<sup>64</sup>其若<sup>65</sup>之<sup>66</sup>何<sup>67</sup>如<sup>68</sup>台<sup>69</sup>如<sup>70</sup>何<sup>71</sup>台<sup>72</sup>何<sup>73</sup>爰<sup>74</sup>可<sup>75</sup>可<sup>76</sup>何<sup>77</sup>昌<sup>78</sup>卜<sup>79</sup>縶<sup>80</sup>曰  
其如<sup>81</sup>台<sup>82</sup>我<sup>83</sup>台<sup>84</sup>小子<sup>85</sup>乃<sup>86</sup>曰其如<sup>87</sup>台<sup>88</sup>今王其如<sup>89</sup>台<sup>90</sup>其如<sup>91</sup>我<sup>92</sup>何<sup>93</sup>其如<sup>94</sup>台<sup>95</sup>何<sup>96</sup>其<sup>97</sup>  
其能<sup>98</sup>久乎<sup>99</sup>乃<sup>100</sup>悔<sup>101</sup>其可<sup>102</sup>追<sup>103</sup>乃<sup>104</sup>此地無<sup>105</sup>若<sup>106</sup>我<sup>107</sup>何<sup>108</sup>夏王率<sup>109</sup>過<sup>110</sup>累<sup>111</sup>力<sup>112</sup>率<sup>113</sup>割<sup>114</sup>夏邑<sup>115</sup>有<sup>116</sup>采<sup>117</sup>率<sup>118</sup>急<sup>119</sup>弗<sup>120</sup>協<sup>121</sup>焉

unconvincing. Wang has the same idea of *shuai* 75 = the particle 78 in several more Shu passages (*Ts'i ts'ai*, *Kün Shī*, *Li cheng*), with just as weak foundation.

**1407.** *Yüe shī jī ho sang, yü ki ju kie wang* 80.

**A.** Meng: Liang Hui wang, shang, quotes the line 81, adding: 82. This has been explained in two ways: — *α.* Chao K'i says that *hai* 83 means 84 'great' and that T'ang is the speaker: »I say: on that day he will greatly perish, I together with you will (cause him to die =) kill him« — the people wished, together with him (T'ang) to kill (Kie), although he (Kie) had towers, ponds, birds and beasts, how could he enjoy it alone?« This is very unreasonable: the change of person as subject (now T'ang, now Kie) is very strained, *hai* 83 never means 'great', and that *wang* 85 should be transitive = 'to kill' is forced. — *β.* PK'ung foll. by Su Shi and Chu Hi: the people are speaking, and 83 (\**g'ád*) is loan char. for the 86 (\**g'ât*) of the traditional Shu text: »They say: (that sun =) you sun there, when will you perish? We will die together with you; the people were willing to die together with him — although he had towers, etc.« In other words the people likened Kie to the sun, and hated him so much that they were willing to die, if only he died too. This is obviously the correct interpr. of Meng-tsi's passage, and reveals the oldest interpr. of the Shu line. But at the same time it must be conceded that it is a highly sophisticated interpr. — **B.** Fu Sheng in *Shang shu ta chuan* has a story (unknown in pre-Han sources): Kie was warned by Yi Yin that his destruction was imminent, but he laughed and said: Heaven's having the sun is like my having the people. Will the sun perish? When the sun perishes, I shall perish«. This shows that Fu understood the Shu line thus »He (Kie) says: (that sun =) you sun there, when will you perish? (Then) I together with you will perish«. Cheng Huan turns it slightly differently: »(That sun =) you sun there, when have you ever perished? (When you do) I together with you will perish«. It is interesting to observe that the Han scholars did not feel bound to follow Mencius — he became authoritative only at a later epoch. It is easy to discern that the story about Kie's boast that he is just as imperishable as the sun, a story entirely unknown in pre-Han sources, has been composed *ad hoc*, precisely to furnish an explanation of the famous Shu line in question. — **C.** Another interpr. The oldest version of the line which we possess is that of Meng-tsi 81: Fu Sheng believed that *hai* 83 (\**g'ád*) here was a loan for *ho* 86 (\**g'ât*), just as in Ode 2, phr. 87 (»Which shall I wash, which not?«), and Si-ma Ts'ien, basing himself on Fu, altered the text into *ho sang* 80 and was followed in this by PK'ung. But all this was a mistake, and *hai* 83 has its ordinary meaning; the clause follows up the preceding line very closely: »(The Hia king in all ways obstructs the efforts of the multitude, in all ways he injures the city of Hia, the multitude are all slack and disaffected;) **they say: that one (sc. Kie) daily injures and destroys, I and you shall all together perish**«. For *shī* 88 cf. Ode 245, phr. 89 »(That one =) he was Hou Tsi; *sang* = 'to destroy' is common (e. g. Tso *passim*).

#### P'an Keng.

**1408.** *Min pu shī yu kü* 90 (following upon: »P'an Keng moved to Yin«).

**A.** PK'ung: »The people would not go and (have a dwelling =) settle there«. *shī* 93 = 'to go' is common. PK'ung reads a »did not wish to, would not« into the text, which is not expressed, but this is common in the early texts. Cf. Ode 22, phr. 91: »She would not take us«, etc. This, besides, was already the opinion of Si-ma Ts'ien, who narrates: »The people were annoyed, 92 and did not wish to move«. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: *shī* 93 = 'to like, to be pleased with' (common), thus: »The people did not like to settle there«. Yü Yüe turns it differently: (P'an Keng had moved to Yin, and) »the people did not like the dwellings they had«, thus placing the event after the definite removal. This, however,



A. PK'ung: y ü 95 (both Ts'ieyün and Shīwen read it \**d̥iŋg* / *ɨu* / y ü, which is astonishing, since the phonetic is 96 \**d̥iok* / *ɨak* / y ü e) = 97 'harmonious, harmonize' and sh ī 98 = 99 'straight'. Thus: »He led on and (harmonized =) pacified all the grieving (men), and issued these straight words«. PK'ung repeats this definition of y ü further on in our chapter, but abandons it in the chapters Shao kao and Li cheng, see below. Possibly, however, PK'ung imagined that 95 was a variant of 100, which is the same as 97. The meaning 97 'to harmonize' is not applicable in those later examples. As to sh ī 98, it would then mean 'arrow-like, straight like an arrow'. But sh ī y en 1 certainly, with Ts'ai Ch'en and later comm., means 'a solemn declaration', sh ī 98 (\**š̌iər* / *š̌i* / sh ī) being synonymous with sh ī 2 (\**š̌iəd* / *š̌iäi* / sh ī) 'oath, solemn declaration' (they were certainly not the same word, as often stated, merely synonymous). For confirmation see Gl. 783. (Sun Sing-yen adds an alternative interpr. sh ī = 3 'to array, display' and sh ī y en 'arrayed words' would then be equal to 'a declaration'; this is not superior to the preceding interpr.). That ch ung ts 'i 4 would mean 'all the grieving ones' is very forced; we should then rather expect ts 'i ch ung 'the grieving crowd'. — B. Shuowen: y ü 95 = 5 'to call', quoting our line with 6 (without rad. 'heart' in the last word). Ts'ai Ch'en accepts this (taking sh u ai - y ü 'to lead on and call' as practically a binome) and interprets: »He called all the grieving (men), and issued this solemn declaration«. — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen both follow Shuowen (B) as to y ü (when Sun moreover says sh u ai 75 is a particle = 78, this should be rejected, see Gl. 1406 above). But since the char. 7 — the oldest version here attested (Shuowen, see B above) — in pre-Han texts means both 'kin, kindred' and 'grief, to grieve, anxious', they conclude that the char. 8 is a form introduced by Wei Pao in T'ang time, because he took ts 'i 7 here to mean 8 'to grieve'. They prefer to interpret it as = 'kin, kindred', the king speaking to the leading henchmen of his own clan, thus: »He called all his kinsmen, and issued the solemn declaration'. This conception of the word ts 'i is really the oldest, for Si-ma Ts'ien narrates the event thus 9: »P'an Keng then instructed the feudal lords and great functionaries, saying«. But, after all, this is far from convincing: why should he convoke and speak to his kinsmen only? — D. Tuan Yü-ts'ai (in comm. on Shuowen) likewise accepts Shuowen's y ü 95 = h u 5, but turns the whole passage quite differently. He believes (after Yao Nai) that the whole following passage from wo wang lai as far as suei si fang, altogether 94 characters, are words uttered by the discontented people, thus: »All calling out (to one another) the crowd grieved and brought out a declaration (to this effect): when our king came . . . » etc. A comical idea that »the crowd« would unisonally proffer a »declaration« of 94 words! — E. Liu Feng-lu would punctuate after ch ung, and take ch 'u 10 as a short-form for tu 11 'to scold': »He called the crowd, and (anxiously and scoldingly =) with anxious reproof he made a declaration«. He adduces as a par. Shu: To fang 12 »He was

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not willing (anxiously =) solicitously to speak to the people». In fact, Liu is obviously right in stopping after *ch ung* 'the multitude', which tallies much better with many parallel passages; all the more since the par. adduced (To fang: *ts' i yen yü min*) conclusively shows that *ts' i* belongs to the following. But the speculation about *ch' u* 10 = 11 is quite arbitrary, unnecessary and unconvincing. We must therefore modify his interpr. thus: «He called the multitude, and solicitously issued this solemn declaration». — F. Yü Sing-wu: 95 is a variant for 13 in the sense of 14 'sacrifice'; *ch ung* 15 is a corruption of *ta* 15 'to join, together with', and *ts' i* 7 is a place name; thus: «Sacrificing and (joining Ts'i =) coming to Ts'i he issued a solemn declaration». A very unconvincing text alteration. — We must compare:

Shu: P'an Keng (later in the chapter): *Yü jo yü huai ts' i sin yi yi wei ju ku yi p' ei ts' ung küe ch' i* 17.

A. PK'ung: *jo* 18 = 19 and *yü* 95 = 97 (as above), thus: «(When) I compliantly and harmoniously cherish this new city, it is for your sake, and therefore I grandly follow my purpose» (sc. to settle here). — B. K'ung Ying-ta follows A but (after Erya) takes *huai* 20 = 21: «When I . . . went to this new city, it was for your sake . . .» But in spite of the Erya, a sense of 'come to, go to' of *huai* 20 is not safely attested, see Gl. 110 a, 771, 1156. Here that sense is all the more improbable, since only a couple of lines earlier we have *huai* 20 in its proper sense: 'to cherish'. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *yü* 95 = 5 (after Shuowen, see above); and he takes *jo* 18 = 'if' and *huai* 20 = 'to come' (criticised under B), thus: «If I call you to come to this new city, it is for your sake, in order grandly to follow your wish». This last making sheer nonsense (since the people bitterly opposed the removal), later expounders have had great pains to explain it as: «to follow what was properly good for the people, that which they ought to desire»(!). — D. Sun Sing-yen again takes *jo* 18 = 19, *huai* 20 = 'to come' (see above), *yü* = 5, and, curiously, says *p' ei* 22 is a «particle» which he leaves untranslated: «(When) I compliantly call you to come to this new city, it is for your sake, and hence (you should) follow my wish» — thus (like PK'ung above) referring *küe* 23 to the speaker (*küe ch' i* = «my wish»). — E. Kiang Sheng has some curious ideas about the latter part: he punctuates after *yi* 24 (25, where 24 = 28; cf. Tso: Chao 13, phr. 27 «That we do not give contributions, Lu causes it»); he reads *p' ei* 22 as *pu* 28 and interprets: «That I compliantly call you to come to this new city, it is you who have caused it; I do not follow your (foolish) wishes». This is certainly no improvement. — F. Yü Yüe: *jo* 18 = 'you', and hence *yü jo yü* 29 = 30 «I call you». But then *jo* is wrongly placed, and moreover, in Shu «you» is never *jo* but always *ju* 31, and a *ju* 'you' follows immediately in our line; it is unlikely that there should be one *jo* and one *ju* both = 'you' in the same line. — G. Yü Sing-wu: *yü* 95 = 14 (as above) and *huai* = 32: «(That) I sacrifice and find peace in this new city». Very improbable. — H. Another interpr. *Jo* 18 very often stands alone as an absolute expression, equal to *jo sh' i* 33 'thus', in this way', e. g. in the frequent phr. *wang jo yüe* 34 «The king spoke thus». This is its sense here: «That I thus call you to cherish this new city is because of yourselves: because you so greatly follow your (own) wishes».

Shu: Shao kao: *Yi ai yü t' ien* 35.

A. Here PK'ung follows Shuowen (*yü* = 5): «Wailing and calling to Heaven». — B. Yü Sing-wu «Wailing and sacrificing to Heaven»; entirely vetoed by the context.

Shu: Li cheng: *Nai yü sh' i ta king yü tsün tsun shang ti* 36.

A. PK'ung: «Then (the possessors of houses =) the great families were very strong, and

they called prominent men to honour God on High». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en refers the line to the just-mentioned king of Hia: «When (the possessed house =) his house was very strong and he called prominent men to honour God on High». The following lines, however, describe how the dignitaries recommend wise men to the king, which decides in favour of A as against B. — C. Yü Sing-wu: 37 = 38 = 39; 40 = 41 = 42; y ü 43 = 14, thus: «Then the great families revered and sacrificed to and estimated and honoured God on High». Exceedingly forced. — To sum up: Shuowen's definition (the earliest available) of y ü 43 = h u 44 is suitable to all the four Shu examples, and there is no reason whatever for rejecting it.

1410. Wo wang lai, ki yüan tsê yü tsî 45.

Since yüan 46 as a particle means 'then, thereupon', we must take ki 47 as a finite verb (common), thus: «Our (earlier) king came, and having done so, he settled here». There have been different ideas about the historical facts referred to. PK'ung and most following comm. think that «our king» was Tsu Yi, but Liu Feng-lu insists that it was P'an Keng's immediate predecessor Yang Kia. Again, since the Preface to Shu (Shu sü) says that Tsu Yi resided in Keng 48 (Sî-ma Ts'ien writes 49; Sî-ma Cheng says this is a mere variant and should be read Keng as well, which seems very doubtful), and PK'ung and later comm. have followed this and believe that our «settled here» refers to this Keng. But acc. to the authentic Chu shu ki nien, Tsu Yi resided, not in Keng, but in Pi 49, and so did several of his followers, whereas Yang Kia, P'an Keng's immediate predecessor, resided in Yen 50. It is, of course, quite futile to try to determine which potentate and which place are referred to in our text. As a mere curiosity may be mentioned that Yü Yüe believes that the line is not spoken by P'an Keng himself but on his behalf by the officials, and that therefore «our king» refers to P'an Keng himself; further that Yü thinks y ü a n 46 means 51: «Our king has come, and changing (place) settled here». In support of this he adduces that the term y ü a n t'ien 52 in Tso: Hi 15 is defined by Tu Yü as = 53. But the sense of this y ü a n is quite different, see Gl. 207.

1411. Chung wo min wu tsin liu 54.

A. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases so as to show that he took tsin 55 with its common meaning of ('exhaustively' =) 'all': «He attached great importance to our people, and would not kill them all». This makes a comical sense. — B. Tsin 55 is obviously a verb, coördinated with liu: «He attached great importance to the people, (so that) they should not be destroyed and killed». Cf. Tso: Ch'eng 12: «They (the lords) quarrel about a fathom or a double-fathom (of territory) 56 and for that they (exhaust, make an end of =) destroy their people».

Yüe k'i ju yi see Gl. 1405.

1412. Sien wang yu fu k'o kin t'ien ming 57.

A. PK'ung and later comm.: «When the former kings had some business, they reverently (attended to =) obeyed the commands of Heaven». — B. Yü Sing-wu believes that since

咄<sup>12</sup>不肯<sup>13</sup>感言<sup>14</sup>于民<sup>15</sup> 命<sup>16</sup> 倫<sup>17</sup> 災<sup>18</sup> 累<sup>19</sup> 予<sup>20</sup> 若<sup>21</sup> 顛<sup>22</sup> 懷<sup>23</sup> 茲<sup>24</sup> 新<sup>25</sup> 邑<sup>26</sup> 亦<sup>27</sup> 惟<sup>28</sup> 汝<sup>29</sup> 故<sup>30</sup> 以<sup>31</sup> 丕<sup>32</sup> 從<sup>33</sup> 厥<sup>34</sup> 志<sup>35</sup>  
若<sup>36</sup> 順<sup>37</sup> 懷<sup>38</sup> 歸<sup>39</sup> 丕<sup>40</sup> 厥<sup>41</sup> 以<sup>42</sup> 亦<sup>43</sup> 惟<sup>44</sup> 汝<sup>45</sup> 故<sup>46</sup> 以<sup>47</sup> 已<sup>48</sup> 我<sup>49</sup> 之<sup>50</sup> 不<sup>51</sup> 共<sup>52</sup> 當<sup>53</sup> 故<sup>54</sup> 之<sup>55</sup> 不<sup>56</sup> 予<sup>57</sup>  
若<sup>58</sup> 顛<sup>59</sup> 我<sup>60</sup> 呼<sup>61</sup> 汝<sup>62</sup> 汝<sup>63</sup> 懷<sup>64</sup> 安<sup>65</sup> 若<sup>66</sup> 是<sup>67</sup> 王<sup>68</sup> 若<sup>69</sup> 曰<sup>70</sup> 以<sup>71</sup> 衣<sup>72</sup> 顛<sup>73</sup> 天<sup>74</sup> 乃<sup>75</sup> 有<sup>76</sup> 室<sup>77</sup> 大<sup>78</sup> 競<sup>79</sup> 顛<sup>80</sup> 從<sup>81</sup> 尊<sup>82</sup> 上帝<sup>83</sup>  
競<sup>84</sup> 競<sup>85</sup> 敬<sup>86</sup> 敬<sup>87</sup> 俊<sup>88</sup> 駸<sup>89</sup> 長<sup>90</sup> 顛<sup>91</sup> 呼<sup>92</sup> 我<sup>93</sup> 王<sup>94</sup> 來<sup>95</sup> 既<sup>96</sup> 受<sup>97</sup> 宅<sup>98</sup> 于<sup>99</sup> 茲<sup>100</sup> 爰<sup>101</sup> 既<sup>102</sup> 取<sup>103</sup> 庇<sup>104</sup>  
宅<sup>105</sup> 易<sup>106</sup> 爰<sup>107</sup> 田<sup>108</sup> 易<sup>109</sup> 田<sup>110</sup> 重<sup>111</sup> 我<sup>112</sup> 民<sup>113</sup> 無<sup>114</sup> 盡<sup>115</sup> 顛<sup>116</sup> 盡<sup>117</sup> 以<sup>118</sup> 盡<sup>119</sup> 其<sup>120</sup> 民<sup>121</sup> 先<sup>122</sup> 王<sup>123</sup> 有<sup>124</sup> 服<sup>125</sup> 恪<sup>126</sup> 謹<sup>127</sup> 天<sup>128</sup> 命<sup>129</sup>

the characters for t'ien 58 'Heaven' and ta 59 'great' were practically identical in the early script, and since the Han scholars in several attested cases mistook a real ta for a t'ien; and since, on the other hand, kin 60 was probably originally written without radical (61) and could equally well be filled out into k'in 62 as into 60, we ought to read k'in ta ming 63 »diligently worked for the great command (appointment)«. The phr. t'ien ming 64, however, is very common in the early texts, and it would be quite unreasonable to alter it into ta ming in all these cases. Yü's emendation is arbitrary and unnecessary. — C. Yü Yüe thinks that fu 65 does not mean 'business' but 'regulation, law, rule'; the text parallels he adduces in support (Tso: Siang 30, Lü: Yüe ch'eng) are questionable. No reason to abandon the common and well-attested meaning of fu in A.

**1413.** Jo tien mu chí yu yu nie (ngo) 66.

For 67 (\*ngiat / ngiät / nie and \*ngât / ngât / ngo) there are (in Shuowen) the variants 68 and 69 (\*ngât / ngât / ngo). Shuowen defines them all as = 70 'the remains of a felled tree', i. e. the stump of a tree, but in fact it always means 'new shoots from a tree stump' (so in Ode 304, in Meng: Kao tsī, shang, in Kyū: Lu yū).

A. PK'ung renders yu 71 by yung 72: »Just like a fallen tree has yu something-by-which nie it has new shoots«. This is very forced, and moreover the definition of yu = yung, based on a gloss of Mao Heng's in Ode 66, is not acceptable, see Gl. 200. — B. Shuowen writes 73 for 71, defining it as = 'shoots from a tree'. Yu-nie (yungo) is then a binome of synonyms: »Just like a fallen tree has new shoots«. The Ts'ing scholars agree that in Tso: Chao 8, phr. 74 »It (the state of Ch'en) will still revive, the yu 71 has this sense. In fact 71 and 73 are homophonous (\*dîg / îzu / yu) and the fundamental sense of yu 71 being 'to come out from', the yu here, whether wr. 71 or with the special form 73, means 'that which comes out' = 'the shoot', i. e. it is etymologically the same stem as the ordinary yu 71 'to come out'.

**1414.** Yu nai tsai wei 75.

This follows upon: »P'an Keng instructed the people» (76).

A. PK'ung takes this to be an *oratio recta*, and says yu 71 = 72, interpreting: »Use (the commands of) your men in positions» (i. e. officers). This sense of yu is not acceptable, see Gl. 1413 above. Moreover, the line cannot be an *oratio recta*, since it is not introduced by any yüe 77, but the next line on the contrary begins with this yüe. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »(When P'an Keng instructed the people), yu he started with tsai wei those in high positions» (i. e. officers). Ts'ai says nothing of the inconvenient nai 78, which really makes no sense in Ts'ai's interpr. Now, however, nai was 79 in Archaic script and küe was 80 and they were frequently confounded by the Han scholars who transcribed the archaic Shu text (see B. Karlgren, *The Pronoun küe in the Shu king*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 1933). Our text here should be emended into yu küe tsai wei 81 »He started with those of them who were in high positions«, küe tsai wei being equal to 82, which is grammatically impeccable. — C. Wang Yin-chī: Fang yen (middle-Han colloquial) says yu 71 = 83 'to correct'. It is not very clear how Wang then understood the line, and no pre-Han support is available for that sense of yu. — D. Yü Sing-wu: in the bronze inscriptions there is a char. wr. 84 (Mao Kung Ting) or without rad. 'mouth', and Yü transcribes this as 85. He concludes that the traditional yu nai 86 is a wrong reading of this char., which in the inscriptions stands in the phrases 87 »to x my high position« and 88 »to x the king's position«, corresponding to our 75 here. This seems at first very ingenious. But even if Yü were right that x meant something like 'to support': »to support the king's high position« etc., such a verb with tsai wei as object would make no sense. And, moreover, Yü's reading of the unknown bronze graph is very hypothetical. — E. Yü

Yü: 90 is defined in Shuowen as = 91, which need not mean (transitive): 'to waken, to cause to understand, to teach' but (intransitive) 'to awaken, to come to insight, to realize'. Here: »P'an Keng hia o yü min realized about the people yu nai tsai wei that they followed those in the official positions» (i. e. the bad example of the officers). But 90 is well attested to mean (transitive) 'to teach', e. g. Ta Tai: Li ch'a 92 »Is that not a clear instruction and a great proof?» — F. Liu Feng-lu: the phr. yu nai tsai wei is analogous to a line in Shu: Wu yi: tso k'i tsi wei 89. It is difficult to see how yu nai could then be construed. — G. Cheng Hün, followed by various comm., believes that P'an Keng at this time was not yet king, and that the following: wang jo yüe »The king spoke thus», really means: »The »king says», P'an Keng quoting and passing on to the crowd an utterance of king Yang Kia. There is, however, not the slightest support in the text for this speculation.

**1415.** Yü kao ju hün ju yu ch'u nai sin 93.

**A.** PK'ung punctuates after hūn: yū kao ju hūn, ju yu ch'ū nai sin, interpreting: »I will announce to you my instructions: you should plan for expurgating your hearts«. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen divides the line differently: yū kao ju, hūn ju yu, ch'ū nai sin: »I will tell you and teach you (good) counsels: you should expurgate your hearts«. This is better rhythmically, the whole passage being: wāng jo yüe, ko ju chung, yū kao ju, hūn ju yu, ch'ū nai sin, wu ao ts'ung k'ang. — **C.** Yü Yüe divides thus: yū kao ju hūn ju, yu ch'ū nai sin, adding that yu 93 = 94 = 71 and that 71 is defined as = 72 by Mao in comm. on the Odes; thus: »I will tell you and instruct you, and (using this =) thereby you shall expurgate your hearts«. But yu 93 = 72 is quite unsupported. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin punctuates like Yü (C): Yū kao ju, hūn ju, yu ch'ū nai sin, wu ao ts'ung k'ang; it is easily seen that this is rhythmically far superior to A, and also to B. He says that yu 93 with Erya: Shī yen means 95, and points out that later in our chapter we have ju k'o ch'ū nai sin 96 »If you can expurgate your hearts«, thus here: »You should be able to expurgate your hearts«. (He adds that the following k'ang 97 should mean 'emptiness' and not 'ease', which is certainly no improvement.) But though the Erya gloss is of little value (see Gl. 277), Chang is certainly right in saying that yu should be taken together with ch'ū. The graphs 93 and 94 are often interchangeable, and yu 94, synon. with shang 98, is frequent as expressing a wish, an exhortation, cf. Ode 110, phr. 99 »May you still come and not stop there!« So we have yu here as a mark of the optative: »I will tell you and teach you, may you still expurgate your hearts«.

**1416.** Wang po kao chī siu pu ni küe chī 100.

**A.** PK'ung punctuates after *siu*: »When the king proclaimed and told them his (governing) measures, they did not conceal his aims» (sc. but explained them to the people and carried them out). *Siu* 'to cultivate, elaborate', here, then, as a noun: that which he elaborated, his governing actions, the measures taken. — **B.** Hū Shen in *Shuowen*, who has the variant *l*, quotes: *wang po kao chi*, which shows that

其大以謹以董以勤以勤大命以天命以服以苦顯木之有由漿以漿(藥)以燬以耕以代  
 木餘<sub>71</sub>由<sub>72</sub>用<sub>73</sub>男<sub>74</sub>猶特復由<sub>75</sub>由<sub>76</sub>乃在位<sub>77</sub>民<sub>78</sub>乃曰<sub>79</sub>乃<sub>79</sub>?<sub>80</sub><sub>1</sub>由厥在位<sub>81</sub>  
 其在位<sub>82</sub>正<sub>84</sub>男<sub>85</sub>男<sub>86</sub>由<sub>87</sub>男<sub>88</sub>朕位<sub>89</sub>王位<sub>90</sub>作其即位<sub>91</sub>敬<sub>92</sub>覺悟<sub>93</sub>非明敬  
 大驗乎<sub>94</sub>予告汝訓汝猷黜乃心<sub>95</sub>猷<sub>96</sub>貓<sub>97</sub>可<sub>98</sub>汝克黜乃心<sub>99</sub>康<sub>100</sub>尚<sub>101</sub>猫求無止  
 王播告之修不匿厥指<sub>102</sub>修<sub>103</sub>遠<sub>104</sub>修遠<sub>105</sub>低<sub>106</sub>匿<sub>107</sub>逕<sub>108</sub>迪<sub>109</sub>首吉播刑之迪

he carried *siu* to the following line. Then there are several possibilities: — *α*. Kiang Sheng: «When the king made a proclamation or announcement to them, they *siu* elaborated it (made it perfectly clear) and did not conceal its (aim =) purport». — *β*. Sun Sing-yen: «When the king made a proclamation or announcement to them, far away they did not conceal its purport» (i. e. they made it known all over the realm). Sun says *siu* 2 = 3; we have it meaning 'long' in *Shī*, and *Ch'u*: *Li sao* says «the way is *siu* *yüan* 4 long and far(-going)». — *γ*. Yü Sing-wu: *siu* stands for *yu* 5 (this after Sun Yi-jang), which Yü believes means 72(!). *Ni* 6 is a short-form for *t'ê* 7 (as often). Thus: «When the king made a proclamation or announcement to them, then they did not (make erroneous, distort =) change its purport». This construction of a surmised *yu* 5 is quite impossible. — *δ*. Yü Yüe reverts to PK'ung's interpunctuation: *wang po kao chī siu*, but he believes that *siu* 2 (\**sîôg* / *sîzu* / *siu*) is a loan char. for 8 (\**d'îôk* / *d'iek* / *ti*) in the sense of 'road'. His reasons are, first that in *Shu*: To fang for *ti* 8 in the orthodox version Ma Jung's version had *yu* 5 (\**dîôg* / *îzu* / *yu*), and secondly that in *Shu*: Lü hing there is a line *Po Yi po hing chī ti* 9 which reminds of the present line, if we read *siu* here as *ti*. These reasons are quite insufficient, and the theory is phonetically highly improbable. — If PK'ung, though he must have known of the earlier (Shuowen) punctuation (after *kao chī*), divided the line thus: *wang po kao chī siu* (with *siu* as an object after *Kao*), it was probably because in our earlier line he read *yü kao ju hün* 93 with an analogous construction. We saw, however (Gl. 1415), that it is rhythmically better in that line to stop after *ju*: *yü kao ju*, and on this analogy we should here stop, as Shuowen does, after *chī*: *wang po kao chī* (B). Interpr. B<sub>a</sub> then seems most logical and natural.

1417. *Wang yung p'ei k'in, wang yu yi yen* 10.

A. PK'ung: «The king therefore was reverently attentive (sc. in his orders) and had no frivolous words». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «The king therefore greatly respected (them, his officers), and there were no (let-loose words, too-far-going words =) untruthful words». This is certainly no improvement; in the early *Shu* chapters *k'in* 11 is regularly used in the sense of 'to be reverently attentive', and A suits the context better. — C. Liu Feng-lu: *k'in* 11 is a short-form for *hin* 12 'to set forth, display', thus: «The king therefore greatly (set forth =) promoted (those officers)» etc. A very unnecessary loan speculation.

1418. *Min yung p'ei pien* 13.

The traditional interpr. is: «The people were greatly transformed» (by the good influence of the king and his ministers). But it is certainly preferable to read the line in its logical context. The present people would not listen to the king and move. In older times, when the king made a proclamation (about a removal of capital), the ministers loyally supported and furthered his aims, and «the people therefore were greatly (changeable =) amenable» (sc. to the king's wishes).

1419. *Kin ju kuo kuo* 14.

A. Shuowen quotes the line with 15, variant 16 (\**kwât* / *kuât* / *kuo*) and defines it (as quoted in *Shīwen*) 17 'resisting what is good, and self-opinionated'. Ma Jung defines the 18 of the orthodox text in the same way; Cheng Huan says it is = 19 'difficult to tell something to', i. e. unwilling to hear, and PK'ung 20 'who has no understanding' — various ways of expressing the idea of 'self-opinionated'. — B. K'ung Ying-ta foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en: *kuo kuo* means 'garrulous', the idea, however, being properly: 'noisy talk, chattering noisily, clamour, vociferous'. — It is evident (against Tuan Yü-ts'ai and followers) that there are not two words but one: \**kwât* / *kuât* / *kuo* 18, of which 16 is merely a variant (further varied as 15). It is attested, on the one hand, in the sense of 'noisy talk', e. g. Tso: *Siang* 26, phr. 21 «Chatting noisily he talked with him» (Wei Chao:

*kuo* = 22 'to shout'); Chuang: T'ien hia 23 »They strongly vociferated and would not give up«. On the other hand, in the sense of 'to deafen, to make such noise as to deafen the ear', e. g. Han fei: Hien hüe 24 »The sound deafens the ear«. The question is which of these cognate meanings is the one obtaining in our Shu line. The A interpr. means: »Now you (are deafened =) turn a deaf ear« (i. e. are self-opinionated, will take no reason); the B interpr. means: »Now you are (making a deafening noise =) clamouring«. The former would suit the context admirably, since the king complains that the people will not listen to reason and move. But, after all, the latter is strongly supported by the reduplication: *kuo* - *kuo*, which shows that the author felt the word to be a descriptive, probably onomatopoeic word.

1420. K'i sin hien fu 25.

All the commentators believe that *hien fu* are attributes to an understood *yen* 26 words.

A. PK'ung does not explain the line more than defining *fu* 27 'skin' as = *fu shou* 28 'received by the skin' i. e. 'superficial, shallow' (*fu shou* being a phr. in Lun: Yen Yüan). K'ung Ying-ta expounds: »K'i in your (starts =) undertakings, you believe wicked and superficial (words)«. Hien 29 'precipitous', dangerous also often means 'oblique, crooked, wicked', e. g. Tso: Ai 16, phr. 30 »He who seeks fortune by wicked means« (Tu Yü: hien = 31); this is really an extension of meaning: 'risky, adventurous, unorthodox, incorrect'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en construes differently: »K'i sin that which raises confidence (of the people, in you) hien fu is wicked and superficial (words)«. Legge modifies this by taking *hien* in its fundamental sense: »You get the confidence (of the people) by alarming and shallow speeches«. — C. Sun Sing-yen turns it differently: »You (raise =) set going and believe wicked and superficial words«. — D. Kiang Sheng: sin 32 means 33 'to extend' = 'to repeat' (as often) and *fu* 27 (\**plwo* / *pju* / *fu*) means 34 \**b'ig* / *b'ig* / *fo* 'to float': 'floating words' = 'rumours'. Thus: »You (raise =) set going and repeat wicked rumours«. Kiang was deluded by a slight phonetic similarity in the modern forms (*fu* : *fo*). — E. Chang Ping-lin: hien 29 stands for *ts'ien* 35 'all' and *fu* 27 for 36 'to expose, narrate', as in Kyü: Tsin yü 37 »He listened to (exposed =) narrated talk in the market«. (*Hien fu* =) *ts'ien lu* 38 would then mean: »You (all = in all places =) everywhere narrate«. Utterly unlikely. — F. Another interpr. All comm. have stared themselves blind on the axiom that *yen* 'words' should be understood. Nothing is less necessary. The text is simple and easy as it stands: »(Now you are clamouring); in order to (raise =) invite confidence you endanger your skins, (but I do not know what you are wrangling about)«. The line means that the rebellious leaders are bold and take considerable risks in order to have their way. For *hien* 29 'danger' taken as a transitive verb: 'to endanger' cf. Tso: Chao 31, phr. 39 »endangering the great men«.

1421. Fei yü ts'i huang ts'i tê, wei ju han tê pu t'i yü yi jen 40.

A. PK'ung: »It is not that I myself (lay waste =) neglect this (virtue =) mentality (sc. goodwill between ruler and subjects), it is (your held virtue =) the mentality that you hold (sc. that is bad), you do not fear me, the one man«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *han*

10.王用丕欽罔有逸言11欽12威13民用丕變14今汝聒聒15慙16聒17拒善自用克18  
聒19難告之克20無知之克21聒而與之言22謹23強聒而不舍24聒聒耳25起信陷庸  
26言27膚28膚受29險30以險徼幸者31惡32信33伸34浮35貪36腹37聒腹言於市38  
貪腹39以險危大人40非予自荒茲德惟汝貪德不惕于一人41貪42噉43歛44貪德45

41 'to contain, to hold' = 'to keep hidden', thus: »It is not that I myself neglect this (virtue =) goodwill (sc. between ruler and subjects), it is you who (hold, keep shut up =) conceal this goodness and do not fear me, the one man». — C. Chang Ping-lin: h a n 41 (\*g'am / ɣəm / h a n) and 42 (\*k'liam / k'iem / k'ien) both mean 'to hold in the mouth' and »are really the same word«(!). Now 42 serves as loan char. for 43 (k'liam) 'deficient' in Kyü: Tsin yü, and our 41 does the same here, so h a n t ê 44 means 'a (deficient =) small virtue': »It is you who have a small virtue'. In contrast to this the preceding h u a n g t ê 45 means 'great virtue'. A curious speculation. — D. Sun Sing-yen: Si-ma Ts'ien, paraphrasing these ideas in a few lines, says: 46 »Throwing it away and not exerting oneself, how can one achieve the virtue». This shows that the curious h a n 41 of the orthodox text is a graphical error for s h ê 47, which makes a clear and easy sense: »It is not that I myself neglect this goodwill (sc. between ruler and subjects), it is you who reject the goodwill and do not (fear =) respect me, the one man».

1422. P u t ' i y ü y i j e n 48.

A. PK'ung: »You do not (fear =) respect me, the one man». T' i (\*t'iek / t'iek / t' i) in the sense 'to fear' is common (Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang; Kyü: Ch'u yü etc.). — B. Sun Sing-yen: Erya says t' i t' i 49 means 'to love', and the Han school applied this sense to a line in Ode 142 (50). T' i would mean the same here: »You do not love me, the one man». But this meaning of the char. lacks corroboration, see Gl. 345. — C. Another school (ap. Po hu t'ung: T'ung hao) reads 51. The meaning of 52 (\*sia / siɣ / s h i) here is obscure, since this char. has a great many meanings. One very common is 'to give, to bestow', and the present case might be an extension of this meaning: »You (bestow nothing on =) are not generous to me«(?). (When Tuan Yü-ts'ai argues that 53 and 52 were phonetically kindred, he is quite mistaken). — A is simple and convincing.

1423. Y ü j o k u a n h u o y ü y i c h o m o u t s o n a i y i 54.

A. PK'ung: »(I can see your minds) as if I looked at a fire; but I also have stupidly planned, and caused your (license =) fault»; in other words: I ought to have severely forced you to obey, instead of humouring you. A forced expl. — B. In comm. on Chou li: Si kuan shi, Cheng Hsian says: 55 is read like the k u a n 56 in Shang shu's phr. 57». So far he only gives a sound gloss. But then he continues: »Now, in Yen, colloquially one calls the heat of hot fluid k u a n 56». From this it appears that Cheng really thought k u a n 56 could mean 'hot' and stand for the (acc. to him) homophonous 58. Many Ts'ing scholars believe that this shows that Cheng interpreted our Shu phr. k u a n h u o 59 as = (60 =) 'hot fire'. On the other hand, Shuowen quotes the latter part: 61 (when Hü adds: t u j o 62 it is read like 63, it is only a sound gloss; he does not mean that it stands for 63, for then he would have said t u w e i 64; on the other hand, when Wang Ming-sheng believes that the 63 of the orthodox text is a correction of a primary 65, based on Shuowen's gloss, this is a quite arbitrary conclusion). This rather confirms the preceding suggestion about k u a n, for then there would have existed a version with h u o 'fire' in both k u a n and c h o. Unfortunately the char. 65 is known from no other text, and whereas Shuowen in its present version defines it as = 66 'fire being brilliant' (the brilliance of fire), Shuowen as quoted in Lei p'ien has just the opposite 67 'fire not being brilliant' (an obscured brightness). Kiang Sheng follows the latter: »I am like a blazing fire; but I have been obscured in my prestige, and caused you to be (licentious =) undisciplined» (how m o u in c h o m o u 68 can be twisted in Kiang's way, so that c h o m o u would mean 'lacking in prestige' is difficult to see). Sun Sing-yen carries m o u to the last line: »(Though) I am like a blazing fire, I have become obscured (i. e. I am not so awe-inspiring as I really should be); I am planning to (create your ease =) make it comfortable for you». It must be admitted that both these interpr. make very poor sense. (Chang Ping-lin has an even more eccentric interpr.: »I am like a beacon



fire, I also *ch o* belch out smoke, planning to *t s o* raise you from your ease»). It would be slightly better to accept the orthodox Shuowen version for *ch o* 65: »I am like a blazing fire, and I also have brilliantly planned for (creating your ease =) making it comfortable for you». But the fact remains that there is no pre-Han support whatever for *ch o* 65 (be it in the sense of 'brilliant' or 'obscured'), and the B version is therefore exceedingly unsafe. — C. Another interpr. With the readings of the A version it is still easily possible to make a more natural sense out of the lines: »I am as if watching a conflagration (i. e. this sedition); and yet I have (only) (ineptly =) according to my poor capacity planned to (create your ease =) make it comfortable for you». »I have ineptly planned» is the earliest ex. of this *ch o* 63 being used in the modest and self-deprecating way in which it is still employed in modern Chinese. *Y i* 69 in the adversative sense of 'and yet, still, *pourtant*' is common, e. g. Tso: Huan 5 »(An arrow hit the king's shoulder) 70 and yet the king was able to (the king was still, none the less, able to) maintain the fight». *H u o* 71 'fire' in the sense of 'conflagration' is likewise common, see Ch'un ts'iu: Siang 9; Tso: Hi 24 etc.

1424. *N a i p u w e i j u n g t u y ü y ü a n e r* 72.

*N a i* here does not mean 'you' (which is always *j u* in the nominative and objective case in the P'an Keng, *n a i* being exclusively genitive), but the temporal particle: 'then, now'.

A. PK'ung says simply *j u n g* 73 = 74 'great' (common e. g. in the Odes), and K'ung Ying-ta expounds more in detail: »Now you do not fear the great (poison =) harm in a distant or near (future)», thus taking *y ü a n e r* to refer to time. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Now you do not fear (to be submerged in) great harm in far away and near (places)» — referring, acc. to Legge, to the inundations around the old capital, from which P'an Keng is supposed to have fled. Couvreur, on the contrary, takes *y ü a n e r* to refer to persons: »Vous ne redoutez pas les grands maux qui menacent vos parents et les étrangers». — C. Kiang Sheng construes very curiously: »Now you do not fear the great harm, (calculating only) as to far or near», i. e. you think only of the distance you have to move. The single preposition *y ü* 75 certainly cannot express all this. — D. Sun Sing-yen: Erya (Shi yen) says *j u n g* 73 = 76, so that *j u n g t u* 77 means 78: »You do not fear to become hated far and near». But the Erya gloss means *j u n g* 73 = *s i a n g* 76 in the sense of 'to aid' (referring to Ode 164, see Gl. 387), and certainly not = *s i a n g* 76 as the reciprocal particle. Fundamentally, however, Sun is certainly right in taking *t u* to mean, not 'harm' (as A—C) but 'to hate, hatred' (a common meaning of *t u*). Adhering to A's gloss *j u n g* = *t a* we thus obtain: »Now you do not fear the great hatred (you incur) far and near». That this is the correct interpr. of *t u* follows from the next line: 79 »When you do not friendly and nicely speak to the people, you (yourself for yourself produce hatred =) create hatred against yourself». Here the very context proves that *t u* has its sense of 'to hate'. Similarly in Li: Tsi yi 80: »Only the noble man can love the righteous, the small man hates the righteous» (here *h a o* 'to love': *t u* 'to hate' are quite unambiguous).

荒德 舍而弗勉何以成德 舍 不惕予一人 惕惕 心 焉惕惕 不施予一人 施 惕 予 苦觀火 予 亦拙謀作乃逃 燬 觀 予 苦觀火 燬 觀火 燬火 燬火 予 亦拙謀 讀若 拙 讀為 燬 火 光 火 不 光 燬 謀 亦 乃 王 亦 能 軍 火 火 乃 不畏戎焉于遠爾 乃 戎 大 乃 于 相 乃 戎 乃 相 惡 汝 不 知 吉 言 于 百 姓 惟 汝 自 身 唯 君子能好其正 小人毒其正 不昏作勞 昏 昏 勉 昏 昏 强也 夙夜之强

## 1425. Pu hun tso lao 81.

A. Cheng Hün: *h un* 82 (\**χmwən* / *χuən* / *h un*) is a short-form for 83 (\**mjwən* / *mjwən* / *min*) = 84 'to make an effort, energetic'. We have this latter meaning 'strong, forceful, violent' in Shu: K'ang kao and Li cheng. Thus: »(When a lazy farmer takes his own ease) and does not energetically toil«. This would entail that we should really read it *min* (\**mjwən*) here, not *h un* (\**χmwən*). — B. In Erya: Shī-ku, however, we find an entry: 85 »*x* and *y* both mean strong«. By this the Erya author either meant that *x* 82 and *y* 83 here are two equivalent variants, and we are then authorized to read 82 as well as 83 \**mjwən* / *mjwən* / *min*; or meant to distinguish them as two synonymous words, and then the first should be read, not \**mjwən* but \**χmwən* / *χuən* / *h un*. The comm. Sun Yen (3rd c. A. D.) was of the latter opinion — indeed it is improbable that the Erya author would have registered first a short-form 82 and then the complete character 83, so that in all probability he meant to distinguish them. Sun Yen defines 82 = 86 'the (strength =) exertion of morning and evening', reading 82 \**χmwən* / *χuən* / *h un*. Thus our Shu line: »(When a lazy farmer takes his own ease) and does not (»evening-wise« =) unto evening toil«. Whether this was already the idea of the Erya author, when defining *h un* 82 as = *k'iang* 'strong', thus taking the latter in the sense of 'persevering', is of course uncertain. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en simply follow Erya's definition 82 = 87 without reflecting upon how it could mean this. — The word \**mjwən* 'strong' is known, besides wr. 83, in several other variants: 88, but in no other case abbreviated into 82. In both of the certain Shu cases it is written by the full form 83, and there are no variant readings having any short-form 82. That the 82 in our present chapter could be a short-form of 83 seems therefore unlikely. In following B we need not operate with any short-form speculation (reading *min* inst. of *h un*) but we can take the 82 as it stands and read it *h un* in its ordinary way; it makes good sense. Cheng's speculation (A) is therefore unnecessary.

Ju po ho ki yen see Gl. 1451.

## 1426. Nai ki sien ngo (wu) yü min 89.

A. PK'ung, followed by most later comm.: *sien ngo* 90 = 'to go before in evil', thus: »When you now have taken the lead in evil among the people«. — B. Wang Sien-k'ien: 91 should here be read *wu* 'to hate', not *ngo* 'evil': »When you now first have become hated by the people«. Since this follows up the preceding: »Wei ju tsī sheng t u (79) »you create hatred against yourself«, it is strikingly plausible.

## 1427. Ju hwei shen ho ki 92.

A. This is the orthodox version: »(When you now have become hated by the people, and then receive the pain), that you regret (the effect on) your persons, what will it avail?« — B. The oldest version attestable is in the stone classics of 175 A. D. which reads 93 »That you regret your fate, what does it avail«. — B is clearly superior.

## 1428. Siang shī ts'ien (sien) min 94.

K'ung Ying-ta takes a *wo* 'I' as understood subject: »I see those . . . . people«; but it is obvious that *siang* 95 is an imperative: »Look at«, as frequently in the Odes (Odes 52, 165, 197 etc.).

A. Ma Jung defines *ts'ien* 96 as = 97 'glib-tongued and petty-minded'. Shuowen similarly says that char. means 98 'fawning, ingratiating'. Thus: »Look at those ingratiating people«. For a sure par. see Shu: Li cheng below. The char. is read \**k'siam*(?) / *ts'iam* / *ts'ien* (Ts'ie yün, Shīwen) or \**gsiam*(?) / *siam* / *sien* (Shīwen alt.). But it is doubtful whether these readings are right. We have the word *hien* 99 in this sense of 'ingratiating, fawning' both in Chuang: Yü fu and Han fei: Kuei shī. That this has there its ordinary reading \**χliam* / *χliam* / *hien* follows from its being merely an extension of meaning from its ordinary sense, as shown by the binome *hien pi* 100, properly 'sloping, oblique, leaning towards one side', hence 'fawning on, ingratiating',

which occurs in this sense in Sün: Ch'eng siang and Lü: Kün shou. It seems possible that 96 is only a variant with rad. 'heart' in this special sense of 99 (sloping =) 'ingratiating' and that it should really be read hien. — B. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: ts'ien min 1 = 2 'the small people'. For this there is not the slightest foundation. Possibly they guessed that ts'iam, s'iam was the same stem as 3 (\*siam / s'iam / sien) 'thin, slender'? — C. Shuowen has a char. 4 defined as = 5 'glib-tongued', quoting: »The Ode 6 says 7». »The Ode» must here be wrong for »The Document» 8 and the line is a quotation from our chapter here. Ts'ie yün reads this 4 s'iam, but that is obviously because Lu Fa-yen identified it with the 96 in A above, and it is just as clearly wrong: the 9 (short for 10) series must end in -n; this is confirmed by the version in the stone classics of 175 A. D., which has 11 instead. This is generally recognized to be a variant of 12 \*sân / sân / san 'to scatter, to disperse', which is quite safe (the radicals 13 and 14 having kindred meanings), and the line in this version means: »Look at those dispersed (homeless) people», sc. those suffering from the floods. It seems reasonable to assume that 4 (phon. 10) was merely a variant of this 12 \*sân, stressing the mental side (rad. »heart») of the idea: dispersed and suffering. If so, Hū Shen has given his 4 a wrong interpr., influenced by his knowledge of the alternative reading 96, and his version with 4 should instead be joined to that of the stone classics with 11 = 12. The two versions with -m and -n respectively are equally early attested (Ma Jung \*k'siam, Hū Shen \*sân, both 1st c. A. D.). But A makes a far less natural sense than B: »Look at those fawning (ingratiating) people — even they are considerate in their remonstrating words»; here the yu 15 »even they» is quite unreasonable. B is far better: »Look at those dispersed (homeless) people, even they (sc. in spite of their extreme suffering) are considerate in their remonstrating words, lest in their utterances they should have reckless mouths». We compare:

Shu: Li cheng: Wang yu li cheng yung ts'ien (sien) jen 16, and next line: wu yi ts'ien jen 17.

A. Here again Ma Jung says ts'ien = 18 'glib-tongued, ingratiating'. Thus: »It has never occurred that in establishing the government one has employed ingratiating (insincere) men». (When Shīwen says: »originally also written 4», this is not an ancient alternative version in this chapter, but a note based on the variant in chapter P'an Keng above). — B. Shuowen quotes 19; defining 20 as = 21 'to inquire'. It is quite evident that by this definition Hū Shen means that 20 is the proper graph for the word that is generally written (by a loan char.) 22 'to test, try, verify' (\*ngliam / ngiäm / yen). It is doubtful how Hū understood our line. Did he mean: »men to be inquired about, men that should be tested»? Kuang yün says 20 = 23 'fawning', and the author evidently thinks that the 20 of Hū's version was merely a loan char. for 96; but that, at any rate, was not Hū's opinion, for his formulation indicates that he illustrates his sense definition by this Shu phr. — A is here clearly superior, as far as the meaning: 'fawning, ingratiating' is concerned; but it is still doubtful whether the char. should be read ts'ien (sien), as an independent word, or it is merely a variant of 99 and should be read hien (see above).

87 强 88 政 89 志 90 閑 89 乃 既 先 惡 于 民 90 先 惡 91 惡 92 汝 悔 身 何 及 93 汝 悔 命 何 及 94 相 時 愼  
民 95 相 96 愼 97 利 小 小 見 事 之 人 98 諫 99 險 100 險 101 愼 民 2 小 民 3 纖 4 思 5 疾 利 口  
6 詩 7 相 時 思 民 8 書 9 罔 10 剛 11 散 12 散 13 支 14 支 15 猶 本 罔 有 立 政 用 愼 人 16 勿 以  
愼 人 17 利 愼 18 勿 以 愼 人 20 愼 21 問 22 驗 23 諫 24 矧 予 制 乃 短 長 之 命 25 命 26 命 27 恐 沈 于

## 1429. Shen yü chī nai tuan ch'ang chī ming 24.

A. PK'ung: »How much the more, since I determine your short or long lives», sc. should you be considerate in your utterances. The weakness of this interpr. is that the essential part of the passage is not expressed but left to be supplied. It assumes a violent ellipsis. — B. Sun Sing-yen: ming 25 here means ling 26 'an order' (as often): »(Even those homeless people are considerate in their remonstrating words etc.); how much the more then I, in formulating your short or long orders?». B, which obviates the ellipsis, is certainly more plausible.

## 1430. K'ung ch'en yü chung 27.

A. PK'ung: »I fear that you will be submerged in all kinds (sc. of miseries)». A comical ellipsis. — B. K'ung Ying-ta: »I fear that you ch'en cause submersion (sc. in misery) yü chung to the multitude». This construction of ch'en is, of course, impossible (Kiang Sheng makes the same fault). — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: k'ung is transitive: »k'ung you scare and ch'en submerge (in misery) chung the people». Ts'ai has simply skipped the inconvenient yü 28. — D. Sun Sing-yen: »(You excite each other by loose talk), I fear that it will sink down deep in the multitude». D is grammatically faultless and obviously right.

1431. Before the words jo huo chī lia o yü yü an 29, there are four characters: ngo chī yi ye 30 in this passage as quoted by Tso. Since this quotation (»Shang-shu says: ngo chī yi ye, ju (31) huo chī lia o yü yü an») occurs both in Yin 6 and Chuang 14, there can be no doubt that those words really belonged to the Shu text read by the Tso author, and should be restituted. An orator in Tso: Yin 6 paraphrases yi 32 by 33 'to extend', thus: »The (extending =) spreading of evil is like a fire's flaming in the plain». But this word has no such sense as 'to extend' (when Ts'ing scholars would identify it with 34, this will not do, since they were all \*dia / iɛ / yi). Cf. also Gl. 1244. There is no reason why yi should not have its original sense: »The (facility =) easy success of evil is like a fire's flaming in the field».

## 1432. Tsī tso fu tsing 35.

A. Ma Jung: tsing 36 = 37 'quiet, rest'. In Kyü: Chou yü, hia, an orator defines tsing as = 38 'harmony, concordance', which comes to much the same thing (as also the tsing = 39 'good' proposed by Wang Nien-sun, based on a Han-school gloss, see Gl. 233): »You yourselves create the unrest». — B. PK'ung (after Erya): tsing = 40, thus: »You yourselves have made not (well-)planned (things)», i. e. rash actions. For the refutation of this expl. see in detail Gl. 653.

## 1433. Sü ki yi k'in 41.

A. PK'ung reads thus, and so the line was already quoted by Hū Shen in Wu king yi yi; thus: »They (together came to =) shared ease and toil». — B. Another version (ap. a stone inscription by Ts'ai Yung, 2nd c. A. D.) reads sü ki yi k'in 42, inst. of yi 43 (\*dʲet / ʲet / yi) 'escape, leisure, ease' having yi 44 (\*dʲəd / i / yi) 'toil' (for par. ex. see Shi). Yi-k'in is then a synonym compound: »They shared the labours». — Both versions make good sense. We can only abide by the version that is earliest attested (A, Hū Shen, 1st c. A. D.).

## 1434. Shī sü an er lao 45.

A. PK'ung: sü an 46 = 47 'to count', thus: »For generations they have counted your labours». For par. in the Odes see Gl. 68, 267. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: sü an 46 = 48 'to select', in the sense of 'to pick, critically examine': »In generations they have examined your labours». — C. Yü Yü: sü an 46 (\*sʲiwan and \*swân) is loan char. for 49 (\*tswân) 'to continue': »For generations you have continued your labours (merits)». A very arbitrary and unnecessary loan speculation. No reason to abandon the oldest interpr. which is well corroborated.

## 1435. Yü pu yen er shan 50.

A. PK'ung reads thus: »I do not (cover =) conceal your good points». — Another version ap. Hū Shen: Wu king yi yi reads: yü pu tsüe er shan 51 »I do not cut off your (good things =) prosperity», referring to their official positions and emoluments. From a long disquisition in Shang shu ta chuan we can see that Fu Sheng had the B version (with tsüe 52), not the A version (with 52a). B is thus much earlier attested and should be followed. Moreover the contrast: süan lao »to count the labours» (»record the merits and reward them») and tsüe shan »to cut off the prosperity» (to make an end to the hereditary emoluments) corresponds precisely to the following tso fu tso tsai, see next gloss.

## 1436. Tso fu tso tsai yü yi pu kan tung yung fei tê 53.

A. PK'ung believes that an understood »you» is the subject: »You create your fortune, you create your disaster, I also dare not apply and use an incorrect (virtue =) goodness» (sc. give you unmerited rewards). — B. From Ts'ai Ch'en's paraphrase it is not clear whether he means: »(The Spirits) cause fortune, cause disaster» to their descendants, or: »(When) I make your fortune or make your disaster». — C. Kiang Sheng insists that »I» is the subject. In fact the line logically connects with the preceding, the question of rewarding by hereditary positions and the punishment by »cutting off» such positions. Thus: »When I make your fortune or make your disaster, I likewise dare not apply and use incorrect (virtue =) morals».

## 1437. Yü kao ju yü nan, ju shê ch'ê yü ch'î 54.

A. PK'ung: »I tell you about (i. e. point out to you) the difficulties, just as an archer (has =) does his aiming (at the goal)». Ch'î in this sense 'to aim at' is common (Legge misses the sense entirely: »My will is that of an archer»). — B. Kiang Sheng (after Huei Tung): ch'î 55 has here the technical sense of 'a practice-arrow'. This is attested in Yi li: Ki si li: 56 »(There are) practice-arrows, one set of four, the front part and back part (of the arrow) (talleying in weight =) being equally heavy». Erya: Sh'î k'î says that an arrow with bone head and untrimmed feather is called ch'î 55. Since this arrow, in contrast to the ordinary arrow with a heavy (bronze) head, is well-balanced, 57 »equalized», it is used metaphorically here: »I tell you about the difficulties, just as the archer has his equalized arrow» (sc. my orders are well-balanced). An exceedingly far-fetched expl. — A is simple and plausible.

## 1438. Ju wu wu lao ch'eng jen wu jo ku yu yu 58.

A. This is the present orthodox version, current ever since K'ung Ying-ta's time. Here wu 59 and jo 60 serve as the corresponding transitive verbs: »Do not wu (insult =) despise lao ch'eng jen the old and grown-up men, do not jo (consider weak =) make little of ku the (lone =) helpless and yu yu (»having youth» =) young ones». This was followed by Ts'ai Ch'en. — B. The original Ku-wen version of Han time, however, read ju wu lao wu ch'eng jen etc. 61. So it was still cut in the stone classics of the T'ang dynasty, and Cheng Hsüan says »lao 62 and jo 60 both mean 'to despise», which shows that in his version it was lao and not wu that balanced

安 28 于 29 若火之燎于原 30 亞之局也 31 如 32 局 33 長 34 貶施移 35 自作弗靖 36 靖 37 安  
38 猷 39 善 40 謀 41 昏及逸勤 42 昏及輝勤 43 逸 44 輝 45 世選爾勞 46 選 47 數 48 簡 49 纂 50  
于不掩爾善 51 于不絕爾善 52 絕 53 掩 54 作福 作災 于亦不敢動用非德 55 于告汝于難如射  
者有志 56 志 57 志矢一乘軒朝中 58 平 59 汝無侮老成人無弱孤有幼 60 侮 61 弱 62 汝無

jo, thus confirming this sequence of the stone classics. Thus: «Do not lao consider (too) old and wu despise ch'eng jen the grown-up men, do not jo consider (too) weak and ku helpless yu yu the young ones». The inversion from the original wu lao wu ch'eng jen into the wu wu lao ch'eng jen of the orthodox version is undoubtedly due to influence from Ode 255, phr. 63 «Though there are no old and perfected men». — B. The Kin-wen version (ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D.; first 6 char. also so quoted in Tung kuan yü lun, Sung time) read differently: Ju wu hi wu ch'eng jen, wu liu (ku yu yu) 64. The hi 65 must obviously be a loan char.; Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes 65 (\**çiəp* / *çiəp* / hi) for 66 (\**g'ap* / *γap* / hia) 'to treat contemptuously'; P'i Si-juei proposes \**çiəp* for 67 \**çiäp* / *çiəp* / hie 'to constrain'. The latter is phonetically clearly preferable. Thus: «Do not constrain and insult the grown-up men». As to liu 68, Sun Sing-yen says liu = 69 'to be impolite', referring to a gloss by Cheng Hün on Li: Hiang yin tsü yi, which, however, is not applicable here. P'i Si-juei better says liu = 'to scatter, to throw about', thus: «Do not throw about and make helpless the young ones». All this is very doubtful. — The A version, which makes good sense, is attested (Cheng Hün) just as early as the very obscure B version and should be preferred.

1439. Ko chang yü küe kü, mien ch'u nai li 70.

PK'ung's paraphrase does not reveal how he read and understood 71.

A. Lu Tê-ming: 71 is read \**tjang* / *tjang* / chang, which indicates that, acc. to Lu, it does not mean 'long' but 'senior, president, to preside'. Thus: «May each of you preside over his abode (sc. his district in the new capital), strive to exert your strength». Cf. Ode 241, phr. 72 «He was able to preside, to be ruler» (71 here read \**tjang*). — B. K'ung Ying-ta reads 71 \**d'jang* / *d'jang* / ch'ang = 'long': «May each of you (think of) staying long in your abodes (in the new capital), and . . . » etc. K'ung here must supply a «think of» which is not in the text (PK'ung had already read such a *sī* 73 into the line), and B is therefore inferior to A.

1440. T'ing yü yi jen chī tso yu 74.

A. PK'ung: «and listen to the plans, which I, the one man, make». — B. Tuan Yü-ts'ai: Erya says yu 75 = yi 76 'to finish', and tso yu here means 'to make an end to, to stop'. There are, in fact, some cases in the classics, where a yu 77 has been defined as = 76 by the early glossists, but not in this sense; and moreover his interpr. ill suits the context.

1441. Yung tsuei fa küe sī, yung tê chang küe shan 78.

A. PK'ung has observed that *sī* 79 'to die' and *shan* 80 'good' balance each other, and concludes that *sī* does not refer to the death penalty but to the mode of action of the culprit. He interprets: «By tsuei punishments I will fa (cut away =) eliminate your *sī* lethal ways (i. e. ways leading to death), by (virtue =) benevolent attention I will display your goodness». Thus PK'ung refers the yung to the speaker («by my using punishments»). His construction of *sī* is desperate. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en refers the yung to those addressed: «If you (use =) commit crimes, I will punish you by death, if you (use virtue =) have a good behaviour, I will display your goodness». This is undoubtedly right, though it sacrifices the strict parallelism, but the difficulty is to explain how fa küe *sī* can mean «punish you by death». It must be a brachylogy for fa chī küe *sī* 81 «I will punishing effectuate your death».

Ko kung er shī see Gl. 1401.

1442. Tu nai k'ou 82.

A. PK'ung explains tu 83 by 84 'laws and rules', and Ts'ai follows him. Thus: «(Rule =) regulate your months». — B. Kiang Sheng and most Ts'ing scholars: tu 83 is a short-form for tu 85, which Shuowen defines as = 86 'to shut'. This char. is very

rare, but in Shu: Pi shī, where the orthodox text has 87, Cheng Hūan's text (ap. comm. on Chouli: Yung shī) had 88, so 88 tu (\*d'âg / d'uo / tu) and tu 89 (\*d'o / d'uo / tu) 'to block, to stop up' are evidently synonymous (the Ts'ing scholars mostly say that 89 is loan char. for 83, which is phonetically excluded). Thus: »Shut your mouths». — B is quite possible in itself, but the ancient interpr., which takes the char. as it stands, without any short-form speculation, suits the parallelism better: tu 83 'to rule' here matches the preceding ts'i 90 'to regulate'.

1443. P'an Keng tso wei shê ho yi min ts'ien 91.

A. PK'ung reads tso wei shê ho together and construes wei shê ho as a direct object of tso and therefore has to supply an understood 92 'means': »P'an Keng made cross-the-river [means =]» = »P'an Keng made means for crossing the river». An impossible construction. — B. Cheng Hūan: tso 93 'to make' refers to boats and oars: »P'an Keng fabricated (boats and oars) and crossed the river». A comical ellipsis. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: tso 93 = 94 'to rise, to start' thus: »P'an Keng (rose =) started and crossed the River». This is confirmed by a good Shī par.: Ode 133, phr. 95 »Together with you I will (rise =) start (sc. on the expedition)»; here tso is defined as = 94 by Mao, and the line balances 96 »Together with you I will march». — D. Yü Yü likewise takes tso 93 as = 'to rise', but in the sense of 'to ascend the throne' (as in Yi: Hi ts'i 97 »When Shen Nung ascended the throne»), thus: »When P'an Keng had become king, he crossed the River». Though D of course is quite possible, C certainly comes most naturally in the context.

1444. Nai hua min chī fu shuai 98.

A. Ma Jung: hua 99 = 100 »He addressed those of the people who would not follow». PK'ung rightly insists that hua has not simply this fundamental sense but a certain nuance: 1 'good words', valuable words. Indeed the phr. hua yen 2 is well attested in the sense of 'a lesson', see Gl. 959. Thus: »Then he lectured those of the people who would not follow». — B. Hū Shen in Shuowen defines hua as = 3 »good (valuable) words at a reunion», quoting a Tso line with the phr. hua yen 2 'lecture' (see A above). This, as often, is an attempt at etymology of Hū's (4 \*g'wâd : 99 \*g'wad) but of course it does not prove any fundamental meaning of 'to unite, assemble' of hua 99. When Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen explain our line: »Then he assembled those of the people who would not follow», this is entirely unwarranted. We should then, with Yü Yü, have to say that hua 99 (\*g'wad) is a loan char. for 5 (\*g'wât and \*kwât) 'to join, to unite' (ex. of this word in Ode 66, see Gl. 198). But this loan theory is quite unnecessary, since the word 99 makes a good and attested sense as it stands.

1445. Hien ts'ao wu sie tsai wang t'ing 6.

A. PK'ung: 7 read ts'ao = 'to come' (common); thus: »They all came and without (familiarity =) impropriety they were in the king's hall». — B. Ma Jung says 7 read tsao = 8. It is quite obscure how Ma understood the line; Sun Sing-yen believes he meant that tsao 'to make' refers to making boats for crossing. »They all fabricated (sc.

老倫成人以老心難無老成人以女母翁倫成人母流(孤有幼)心翁以狎以脅以流以矢  
禮以各長于厥居勉出乃力以長以克長克君以思以聽予一人之作猷以猷以己以猶  
以用罪伐厥死用德彰厥善以死以善以伐致厥死以度乃口以度以法度以敷以閉以  
杜乃獲以敷乃獲以杜以齊以盤度作惟涉河以民遷以法以作以起以與子偕作以與  
子偕行以神農氏作以乃詒民之弗率以詒以告以善言以詒言以合會善言以會以傳

boats». Sun then has to twist some sense into the remaining words and he says that *sie* 9 'familiar, unceremonious' fundamentally means 'close-standing, intimate' and hence here means 'near', thus: »They were not near to the king's hall». A hopeless forcing of the text. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en in the main follows A, but would have the word *wu* 10 to indicate an imperative, which it does as a rule: »All came, (the king warning them:) do not be (familiar =) improper in the king's hall!» But this is really not necessary, for *wu* 10 sometimes serves as an ordinary negation, equal to *pu* 11 or *wu* 12, e. g. Ode 109, phr. 13 »Indeed they give it no thought». It is then particularly common with verbs indicating a mental function or act of the will (»they will not think»), e. g. Tso: Wen 10: »He feasted lady Mi of Kiang, 16 but was not respectful (would not be respectful)», and this is precisely the case in our line here with A: *wu sie* »they were not (familiar =) improper» (would not be familiar). There are many such par. cases and they clearly prove that *wu* 10 here need not be construed as an imperative, and should not, since it would require an ellipsis. — D. Kiang Sheng believes, with Hū Shen, that 10 was the primary graph for *wu* 15 in the sense of »pennon» (15 has this sense in Chouli: Sī ch'ang) — indeed 10 occurs as short-form for this char. 15 in Ho Kuan-tsī: Wang fu — and that 9 (\**sīat*) is an error for 16 (\**slīwat*) = 17 'to lead' because of sound similarity(!). Thus: »All (created =) set up pennons and led (the people) to be in the king's hall». A dreadful speculation. Chuang Shu-tsu carries this idea *in absurdum* by taking the *tan* 18 'sincere' in the preceding line (19 »with sincerity») to be a short-form for 20 'flag', 7 short-form for 21 'assistant', and 9 in the sense of 22 'a familiar, a servant'. — E. Yü Sing-wu, in part following ideas expressed by Sun Yi-jang, likewise would read the preceding *yung tan* 19 together with our line, and since Ma Jung's version had 23 inst. of 18 (the two are often interchangeable), and since 23 often serves as short-form for 24 'to exhaust' (see Gl. 423), the line 25 would mean: »Therefore exhausting the crowd that there was, they all came». The following *sie* 9 Yü would take as an enlarged form of *chī* 26, but his expl. of *chī tsai wang t'ing* 27 makes poor sense. — F. Chung king yin yi 15 quotes the line 28, the 29 being merely a variant for 9. If this is right, the 10 of the A text is a short-form for 30. *Hu sie* undoubtedly makes a good and natural binome: »All came, but carelessly and (familiarly =) nonchalantly they (were in =) stood in the king's hall» — describing the still very insubordinate attitude of the people making further appeals necessary. — A is perfectly admissible. But that F is the best reading and meaning follows from the whole context: »He lectured those of the people who would not follow, grandly he informed them, with sincerity; the crowd that there was (sc. of malcontents) all came, but carelessly and nonchalantly they stood in the king's hall» — and then he gave them a long sermon.

1446. *Ming t'ing chen yen, wu huang shī chen ming* 31.

Wang Nien-sun would take *ming* 32 as a variant for *meng* 33, which in Erya is defined as = 34 'to make an effort, energetic' (he has the same proposal in Lo kao 35 and 36, To fang 37, Ku ming 38). Chuang Shu-tsu proposes to correct the first *chen* 39 into 40, a variant of 41, so that there would be »listen to the instructing words». And Kiang Sheng insists that *shī* 42 is a short-form for *yi* 43 (the meaning, however, being much the same). Nothing is gained by such arbitrary and unnecessary emendations.

1447. *Ku wo ts'ien hou wang pu wei min chī ch'eng pao hou sū ts'i sien yi pu fou yü t'ien shī* 44.

It should be remarked first that *chī* 45 in *wei min chī ch'eng* is the pronoun in the objective case, resuming the anteposed object *min*: non erant qui non populum — eum curabant, a common construction, e. g. Ode 28, phr. 46 »The former princes, of them I think», Ode 40: *yen yüan chī k'iu* »A beautiful one, him she sought», etc.



A. PK'ung punctuates after *ch'eng*, interpreting: »Anciently, of our former princes, there were none who did not (receive, take charge of =) take care of the people; (and the people) *pao hou* held on to the princes and *sü ts'i* (reciprocally worried =) cared for them in return; it was rare that they did not move (in accordance) with the times of Heaven». *Fou* 'to float' would then mean 'to move along'. This, of course is quite unacceptable, the change of subject (first »the princes» and then suddenly »the people») being too unnatural. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en accepts A but for the last line: *fou* 'to float' means 'to surmount, overcome': »It was rare that they did not overcome (the difficulties of) the times of Heaven». — C. Sun Sing-yen points out that in *Shu*: *Lo kao* we have: *Ch'eng pao nai wen tsu shou ming min* 47, which shows that *ch'eng pao* is a phrase and the two belong together, and we should punctuate after *pao*: *wang pu wei min chi ch'eng pao* (undoubtedly correct). He further says *fou* 48 is loan char. for *fu* 49 'to trust'. Thus: »Anciently, of our former princes, there were none who did not take care of and protect the people, *hou* the princes *sü* together with (the people) *ts'i* were full of concern, it was rare that they did not trust each other in the times of Heaven». — D. The stone classics of 175 A. D. inst. of *ts'i* 50 had *kao* 51 and this gives Kiang Sheng occasion for a bold speculation. He reads the central line thus: *Hou sü kao sien* 52, defines *sü* 53 as = 'to inspect' (refuted in our Gl. 790), *sien* 54 'small mountain separated from big mountains' (after Mao on Ode 241, refuted in our Gl. 838) and finally *fou* 48 'to float' = 55 'to pass over'. Thus: »The princes inspected the heights and the small mountains (and moved there), and did not transgress the times of Heaven». This weird speculation has been warmly recommended by Ch'en K'iao-tsung, accepted by Liu Feng-lu and approved at least alternatively by Wang Sien-k'ien. — E. Yü Yüé follows C for the first part, but in the line *sien yi pu fou yü t'ien shi* he says 54 (\**sjän / sjän / sien*) is a loan char. for 56 (\**sjëg / si / si*); and 48 (\**b'ïög / b'ïü / fou*) is loan char. for 58 (\**b'ïwat / b'ïwat / fu*), and the line is equal to 59 »and so they did not act contrary to the times of Heaven». He crowns this dreadful speculation by saying that the 51 (\**kog / kâu / kao*) of the Kin-wen version is merely a loan char. for the 50 (\**ts'ïök / ts'iek / ts'i*) of the Ku-wen version, finishing off with an admonition to students to pay careful attention to the phonetic loans! — F. Sun Yi-jang accepts the impossible 54 \**sjän* = 57 \**sjëg* of E above, and ends the line with *t'ien* 60, carrying *shi* 61 to the next line. He says *fou* 48 = 55 'to surpass', as in Li: Fang ki 62 »Let the man surpass his emoluments». Thus: . . . . *hou sü* etc.: »The prince together with (the people) worried about *si* this, and thus did not (surpass Heaven =) offend Heaven». — G. Chang Ping-lin: *hou* 63 is equal to 64, *sü* 53 to 65 and 50 to 66, thus: *Pao hou su ts'i* »They preserved their followers and distant (rela-

6.咸造勿衰在王庭 7.造 8.為 9.衰 10.勿 11.不 12.無 13.蒼亦勿思 14.而勿敬也 15.物 16.連  
17.率 18.重 19.用重 20.旌 21.蓬 22.智 23.單 24.彈 25.用單 其有象咸造 26.執 27.執在王庭 28.咸造  
忽縹 29.縹 30.忽 31.明聽朕言毋荒失朕命 32.明 33.孟 34.勉 35.明作有功 36.公明保于沖子  
37.爾色克明 38.明時朕言 39.朕 40.侯 41.訓 42.失 43.侯 44.古我前後罔不惟民之承保 45.胥  
感鮮以不浮于天時 46.之 47.先君之思 48.承保乃文祖受命民 49.深 49.孚 50.感 51.高 52.后  
胥高鮮 53.胥 54.鮮 55.過 56.斯 57.佛 58.斯不佛于天時 59.天 60.時 61.使人浮於食 62.后 63.使

tives =) descendants». — **H.** Yü Sing-wu adopts the *sü* 53 = 'to inspect' of **D**, and the 48 = 58 of **E**, but adds that *sien* 54 is a corruption of 67, which in bronze inscriptions is equal to 68 'I'; and the *ts'i* 66 is a place name, thus: «The prince inspected Ts'i; and I (we?) therefore did not transgress the times of Heaven». Quite apart from the violent text alterations, this makes very poor sense in the context. — **I.** Another interpr. Of all the attempts to explain this difficult passage, Sun Sing-yen's alone (**C**) is coolly reasonable. But I think his interpr. can be improved on two points. First *hou sü ts'i* is rhythmically very abrupt, as pointed out by Legge, and rhythmically it is much better to divide after *sien*: *hou sü ts'i sien, yi pu fou yü t'ien shi*, which also places the *yi* 69 in a more natural position. But *sien* 54 then does not mean 'rare' but 'good', a sense in which it is well attested (see Gl. 122), e. g. Shu: Wu yi 70 «He was kind and good to widowers and widows». *Hou sü ts'i sien* 71 is then equal to 72; *sü* = *sia ng* = 'towards them' (sc. the people): «The princes towards them were (worried, anxious =) thoughtful and good». (The punctuation *hou sü ts'i sien* was already advocated by Chu Pin.) Secondly *fou* 48 need not be altered into *fu* 49, for *fou* 48 'floating' often means 'unreliable, fickle, frivolous', e. g. 73 'frivolous words, unreliable rumours'. The passage then becomes clear: the last line refers to the moving of the capital because of the *t'ien shi* «times of Heaven: «Anciently, of our former princes there were none who did not take care of and guard the people, the princes towards them were thoughtful and good; therefore they were not frivolous in regard to the times of Heaven» (sc. the epochs of natural disasters). The Kin-wen version: *hou sü kao sien* 52 likewise gives a good meaning, fairly analogous: «The princes towards them were loftily good». It is quite impossible to decide which version best represents the original Shu.

**1448.** Yin kiang ta nüe 74.

**A.** Cheng Hün and PK'ung take *yin* as the name of the royal house, and then have to place the word in a absolute position: «As to (the) Yin (house), when (Heaven) sent down great calamities». Grammatically strained, this is unreasonable in content: P'an Keng was just moving to Yin, and could not possibly, at this stage, call his house in its past generations «the Yin (house)». — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: *yin* 75 is a short-form for 76; thus: «When painfully there were sent down great calamities». — **C.** Chuang is right in regard to the construction: *yin* is undoubtedly an adverbial phrase. But it is not necessary to take it as a short-form. *Yin* 75 is well attested in the sense of 77 'great': Li: Sang ta ki 78 «The host prepared the rites for a great offerings» (Cheng Hün: *yin* = 77); Chuang: Ts'iu shuei 79 «The essence is the smallest of the small; the mass is the greatest of the great» (here the contrast confirms that *yin* really means 'great'); etc. (common). Thus: «When greatly there were sent down grand calamities».

**1449.** Sien wang pu huai küe yu tso shi min li yung ts'ien 80.

**A.** PK'ung: *huai* 81 = 82 'to think of, to cherish' (common): «The former kings did not cherish (the old place), but in what they did they considered the people's profit and then moved». Ts'ai Ch'en modifies this slightly by defining *huai* 81 as = 83 'to find peace in': «The former princes did not find their peace in (the old place)», an extension of meaning from 'to cherish', not uncommon in early texts. — **B.** K'ung Kuang-sen takes the line in present time: «The (Spirits of) the former kings do not *huai* give peace to (i. e. protect) *küe yu tso* what they have made» (the city they themselves built) — they want us to remove. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen does not want a *huai* with understood object, hence he carries *küe yu tso* to the preceding and defines *tso* 84 as = 85 'to begin, to start'. He likewise takes *huai* 'to cherish' with the extension of meaning just said: 'to find peace in'. This is really not necessary, and we may abide by the fundamental meaning 'to carry in the bosom' = 'to cherish'. Thus: **The former**

princes did not cherish (that where they started =) their original place, they considered the people's profit and then moved». Since *tso* = 'to rise, to start' is common, this is certainly much better. — D. Kiang Sheng punctuates like PK'ung but takes *shī* 86 as equal to 87: »The former kings did not (cherish =) find their peace (in their place), by what they did they showed the people that it was profitable to (use moving =) move». This is certainly much more far-fetched.

1450. Ch'eng ju pei ju wei hi k'ang kung 88.

A. PK'ung punctuates: ch'eng ju, pei ju, wei hi k'ang kung: »I take care of you and direct you (sc. to move), in order to kung together with you have hi joy and k'ang peace». This is not reconcilable with the placing of kung; the line should then have run: wei kung hi k'ang (Ts'ai Ch'en's: »in order to rejoice in our common peace» is no better, for the line should then be: wei hi kung k'ang). — B. Sun Sing-yen: »I take care of you and direct you, (so that you) hi will enjoy k'ang peace and kung (furnish =) do your work». Even worse than A. Wang Sien-k'ien therefore tries to better it: »I take care . . . . ., I hi enjoy k'ang to (ease you =) give you ease and kung furnish you», which is hardly an improvement. — C. Liu Feng-lu: pei 89 = 90 'to pull forward': »I take care of you and bring you forward». In support Liu adduces a line in Shu: Ku ming 91, in which, however, pei after all has its ordinary sense of 92 'to cause'. — D. Yü Yüe: pei 89 in its ordinary sense of 'to cause, to make (somebody) do (something)' requires a following verb, and cannot stand in an sense absolute = 'to order, to direct'. Hence it must have another meaning here. Shuowen defines it as = 93 'to augment, to add', thus: »I take care of you, I (augment you =) enrich you». There are no text ex. of 89 (\**piëg* / *pjië* / *pei*) in this sense, but Hū Shen took it simply as variant for 94 (\**piëg* / *pjië* / *pei*) 'to supplement, to add' (ex. in Kyü: Tsin yü 4, Mo: Shang hien, chung), a word cognate to 95 (\**b'ïëg*) 'to accumulate' (Ode 40). This, in itself, is quite possible. But there is no reason for not giving *pei* its ordinary meaning. *Pei* is quite synonymous with *shī* 92 'to order, to cause'. This *shī* frequently has a following verb: 96 »He caused him to reside in it» (Tso: Yin 1). But very often it stands in an absolute sense = 'to direct the people'; Li: Ta hūe 98 »Kindness is that by which one directs the multitude». This is perfectly analogous to our present *pei ju* 99 »I direct you». Yü further insists that *kung* 100, placed at the end of the sentence, cannot have its ordinary meaning of 'all together, in common', but must be analogous to the preceding *k'ang* 1. He is undoubtedly right. Even if we force the sentence *wei hi k'ang kung* into grammatical correctness: »It is only that hi I like k'ang peacefully kung to share with you», this ill suits the context. Yü believes that *kung* 100 (\**kjüng* / *kjwong* / *kung*) is a short-form of 2 (\**kjüng*), in Kuang ya defined as = 3 'solid, steady, safe'. Of 2 in this sense there are no text ex., but the word \**kjüng* / *kjwong* / *kung* 'solid, steady' is well attested: we have it wr. 4 in Ode 264, phr. 5 »There is nobody whom it [Heaven] cannot steady»; we have it wr. 6 in Yi Chou shu: Shī fa: 7 »The one who manages affairs solidly and steadily is called *kung*» (6 here has not its

5疏6威7康8吾9以10惠鮮鯨魚11右腎感鮮12右相憂善13浮言14殷降大虐15殷  
 16怒17大18主人具殷羹之禮19夫精小之微也20大之殷也21先王不懷厥德作視民  
 利用遷22懷23思24安25作26始27視28示29承汝俾汝惟善厥共30俾31引32俾愛齊  
 侯33使34益35俾36俾37使居之38使民39慈者所以使衆也40俾汝共1康2拱3  
 固4鞏5無不克鞏6恭7執事堅固曰恭8康共9乃威大不宣乃心敬念以忱動于

ordinary sense of 'respectful'). K'ang-kung 8 'peace and (steadiness =) safety' makes an excellent phrase in our context. Thus: «(When) I take care of you and direct you, it is only that you shall rejoice in peace and (steadiness =) safety». — F. Some authors (mentioned by Liu Feng-lu) would punctuate thus: Ch'eng ju, pei ju hi k'ang kung: «I take care of you and cause you to rejoice» etc. But our ch'eng ju, pei ju here is certainly analogous to the kao ju, hün ju earlier in our chapter, see Gl. 1415 above.

Yü jo yü huai tsī sin yi etc. see Gl. 1409.

1451. Nai hien ta pu süan nai sin k'in nien yi ch'en tung yü yi jen 9.

A. PK'ung punctuates: nai hien ta pu süan nai sin, k'in nien yi ch'en tung yü yi jen, interpreting: **You all greatly do not proclaim your (hearts) ideas or respectfully think of moving me, the one man, by sincerity**. — B. Sun Sing-yen punctuates in the same way, but after Wang Yin-chi he takes süan to stand for ho 10, thus: «You all greatly do not make your hearts concordant (sc. with my wishes), respectfully thinking with sincerity». Yü Yüe had followed that same idea earlier in our chapter, insisting that the phr. 11 «When you do not friendlily and nicely speak to the people», should be emended into: 12 «When you do not proclaim good words» etc. The reasons for this curious speculation are two. In Yü kung, phr. 13 «In the (region of the) Ho yi barbarians he effected achievements», Cheng Hün says Ho 10 (\*g'wâ / yuâ / h o) should be read H u a n 14 (\*g'wân / yuân / h u a n), and 14 (\*g'wân) and 15 (\*s'üwan) have the same phonetic (16), hence 10 can stand for 15 and vice versa — a bad piece of speculation based on a phonetic fantasy in a commentary of the 2nd c. A. D. On the other hand, Wang Yin-chi compares Chouli: T'ai tsai 17 with Chouli: Siao sī k'ou 18, and concludes that 10 in the former should be altered into 15 and read together with the following pu (Sun Yi-jang accepts this curious emendation). The whole theory is phonetically utterly impossible. — C. Yü Yüe, who in an earlier line followed the \*g'wâ = \*s'üwan speculation of B above, does not accept it here, but punctuates differently: Nai hien ta pu süan, nai sin k'in, nien yi ch'en tung yü yi jen. He says süan 15 is often = ming 19 'to make clear = to proclaim' and here it means 'to make clear to oneself', thus: «You all are (not making it clear =) not understanding (you are stupid); your hearts (should be) fervent, (you should) think of moving me, the one man, by your sincerity». But the fundamental sense of süan 15 'to proclaim' is really 'to spread out, to propagate' and pu süan certainly cannot mean «you are not understandings». No reason to abandon A.

1452. Er ch'en pu chu wei sü yi ch'en 20.

A. Ma Jung: ch u 21 (\*t'uk) stands for 22 (\*d'uk). It is doubtful how he understood the line, but probably he took ch'en 23 'sincere, sincerity' as an adverbial phr. 'sincerely' = 'really, truly': «You are truly not alone, we shall all together sink in ruin». There are many semantic parallels to this: ch'eng 24, sin 25, sü n 26, ta n 27 all mean 'sincere', and as adverbs 'truly, really'. And further, if the early graph was simply 28 (loan char. without radical, Chou fashion), it is quite conceivable that it was wrongly enlarged by the transcribing early Han scholars into 21 instead of into 22 (just as 29 was sometimes wrongly enlarged into 30 instead of 31 etc.). For a confusion of the two characters, cf. that the name of a famous sword is written ch u - l o u 32 (\*t'uk) in Tso: Ai 11, but t u - l u 33 (\*d'uk) in Sün: Ch'eng siang. This affords a strong support for Ma's interpr. Yü Yüe would alter ch'en 34 'sincere' into 35 'to sink': «You, in sinking, are not alone, all together you will sink», a repetition which is not very likely. — B. PK'ung: «Since your (sincerity =) loyalty is not (connecting with =) reaching (sc. the ancient standard), you shall together sink in ruin». An absurd interpr. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: «Since

your (sincerity =) loyalty (is not connected =) is broken to pieces, you shall all together sink into ruin». — D. Kiang Sheng: »If your (sincerity =) loyalty does not attach itself (to me), we shall together sink into ruin». — E. Sun Sing-yen connects the line with the preceding simile of the boat crossing the water: »If you do not sincerely (attach yourself to =) concentrate upon it (sc. the crossing), you will all together sink». — D and E are both possible, but after all the oldest interpr. (A) gives the simplest and most natural sense.

1453. Pu'k' i huo ki, tsī nu ho ch'ou 36.

A. PK'ung reads thus and interprets: »If maybe you do not examine it, to be angry against yourself (sc. afterwards), what does it (cure =) help?» PK'ung says »examine» by aid of the former kings, and K'ung Ying-ta expounds this into: »If maybe you do not (examine =) verify it (by aid of the removals made by the former kings)». Ts'ai Ch'en, more generally: »If maybe you do not examine (what is good or bad) . . . .» — B. Sun Sing-yen: ki 37 has a sense 38 'to stop, to detain, to stay', e. g. Kuan: Kün ch'en 39 »Orders are given out, but they do not (tarry =) remain in force for long» (comm.: ki = 40). Thus: »If maybe you stay (sc. and do not go to the new place), (afterwards) to be angry with yourselves, what does it help?» A curious interpr., since Sun simply skips the negation pu 'not'. — C. The Kin-ven version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read p u k' i h u o t i, t s i y ü a n h o c h' o u 41. — a. Kiang Sheng accepts this, and says: h u o 42 = y u 43. He connects the line logically with the preceding: »(you will all sink) and 44 there will exist no (way =) chance (of life)». The idea that 42 \*g'wāk / γwāk / h u o could serve as loan char. for 43 \*g'üŋ / j'üŋ / y u (so Kuang ya: Shiku) crops up quite early. Shu: Hung-fan 45 is rendered as 46 in Lü: Kuei kung; Shu: Wei tsī 47 is rendered by Sī-ma Ts'ien (Sung shī kia) 48; and in consequence the gloss h u o 42 = y u 43 is given by Kao Yu on Lü: Kuei kung, PK'ung on Shu: Wei tsī, Cheng Hüan on Ode 166 and on Li: Tsi yi etc. But, after all, in all these cases h u o 42 can very well have its ordinary meanings, either 'perhaps, maybe', or 'some, somebody, in some way' and need not at all be taken as a loan graph for 43, which is phonetically very improbable. Similarly some scholars have thought that 49 (\*g'iwāk) can serve as loan char. for 43 (\*g'üŋ), but erroneously, see Gl. 304 and 875. — β. T i 50 is well attested in the sense of 51 'to go forward, to advance' (Erya), e. g. Ode 257, phr. 52 »He does not seek (office), he does not (advance =) push himself forward». (Mao Heng: t i 50 = 51). Thus: »If you perchance do not go forward (sc. to the new place), to be angry against yourselves (afterwards), what does it (cure =) help?». — C is the oldest version attested, and in its β interpretation makes a clear and natural sense.

1454. Ju tan k'üan yu 53.

A. PK'ung gives no clear expl., and K'ung Ying-ta fills out: »You greatly stimulate yourself with disastrous (principles)». This is grammatically unacceptable. — B. Kiang Sheng rightly considers y u to be a direct object of k'üan. He says our k'üan yu must be equal to the chao yu 54 'to presage (anticipate) disaster' in Tso: Chao 1.

一人<sup>10</sup>和<sup>11</sup>汝不和<sup>12</sup>吉言于百姓<sup>13</sup>汝不宣吉言<sup>14</sup>和<sup>15</sup>焉底績<sup>16</sup>桓<sup>17</sup>宣<sup>18</sup>亘<sup>19</sup>正月之  
吉始和布治于邦國<sup>20</sup>乃宣布于四方<sup>21</sup>明<sup>22</sup>爾忱不屬<sup>23</sup>惟胥以沈<sup>24</sup>屬<sup>25</sup>獨<sup>26</sup>忱<sup>27</sup>誠<sup>28</sup>  
信<sup>29</sup>海<sup>30</sup>宣<sup>31</sup>而<sup>32</sup>說<sup>33</sup>悅<sup>34</sup>屬<sup>35</sup>樓<sup>36</sup>獨<sup>37</sup>鹿<sup>38</sup>忱<sup>39</sup>沈<sup>40</sup>不<sup>41</sup>其或稽自怨<sup>42</sup>曷<sup>43</sup>瘳<sup>44</sup>  
稽<sup>45</sup>留<sup>46</sup>止<sup>47</sup>令<sup>48</sup>出而不稽<sup>49</sup>延<sup>50</sup>留<sup>51</sup>不<sup>52</sup>其或迪自怨<sup>53</sup>曷<sup>54</sup>瘳<sup>55</sup>或<sup>56</sup>有<sup>57</sup>不<sup>58</sup>其有<sup>59</sup>生道<sup>60</sup>無<sup>61</sup>  
有<sup>62</sup>作好<sup>63</sup>無<sup>64</sup>或作好<sup>65</sup>殷其弗<sup>66</sup>或亂正四方<sup>67</sup>殷不有<sup>68</sup>治政不治<sup>69</sup>四方<sup>70</sup>域<sup>71</sup>迪<sup>72</sup>進<sup>73</sup>

It is difficult to see how *k'üan* could have that sense. Sun Sing-yen (after Kuang ya) says *k'üan* 55 = 56 'to assist'. More precisely it has its ordinary sense of 'to encourage', thus: »You greatly encourage the grief (to come)«. The Han stone classics inst. of *tan* 57 have 58, which is less suitable in the context.

1455. *Ju ho sheng tsai shang* 59.

A. PK'ung: »How will you be able to live above (the people)« — the king speaks to the leaders, so *tsai shang* »above« means »above the people«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: 58b »What (reason of) life will you have (above =) from Heaven?«. — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: »How will you be able to live (above =) upon earth« (sc. not land in the grave).

1456. *Kin yü ming ju yi wu k'i wei yi tsi ch'ou* 59b.

A. PK'ung filled out by K'ung Ying-ta: »Now I order you one single thing (sc. with my whole mind concentrated upon one thing); do not (raise =) start doing (dirty =) wicked things, thus making yourselves foul«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Now I order you to *yi* (unite =) be of one mind«, etc. — C. Yü Yüe punctuates after *ju*, and defines *yi* = 'one' as = 'the totality, all', as in Ta Tai: Wei tsiang kün Wen tsi 60 »They all are (capable of being) ministers to feudal princes« — *yi* here is equal to the common phr. *yi ts'ie* 61 in the later language. Cf. also Sün: K'üan hüe 62 »They all are worth being taken as patterns« (Yang Liang: *yi* = 63 'all'). Thus: »Now I order you, all (not to start =) to beware of starting (dirty =) wicked things, and making yourselves foul. It might seem strange with *yi* = 'all' before a negation: *yi pu k'i* »all not to start«, but that is quite in good order, for we have numerous parallels with *kie*, e. g. Tso: Siang 9, phr. 64 »the princes all did not wish to fight«; Tso: Ting 8 phr. 65 »All did not get their will (= nobody got his will) with Ki shi«. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang 66 »All were not willing (= nobody was willing)«. — C is well supported and strikingly plausible.

1457. *Yü ya sü nai ming yü t'ien* 67.

Yen Shi-ku (K'uang miu cheng su) quotes 68, still read *ya sü*: 69, 70 and 71 \**ngä / nga / ya* are interchangeable, meaning 72 'to meet, to go to meet, to welcome'.

A. Both PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en simply define *ya* as = 72, without explaining the obscure phr. *ya sü*. K'ung Ying-ta curiously expounds *ya* and *sü* as contrasting verbs: if Heaven is favourable to you, I *ya* (go to meet =) welcome it, if Heaven wants to destroy your (endowment =) life I try to (continue =) preserve it. Thus »I welcome (in case of favour), or I try to preserve (in case of disfavour) your endowment from Heaven«. This is very forced. Still less can Legge be accepted: »I *ya* am going forward *sü* to a continuance of your lives from Heaven«. — B. Sun Sing-yen: »I go to welcome and to preserve your endowment from Heaven« (sc. in the new place).

1458. *Yü nien wo sien shen hou ch'i lao er sien, yü p'ei k'o siu er yung huai er jan shi yü cheng* 73.

*Wo sien shen hou*: PK'ung followed by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen thinks this refers to T'ang, the founder of the royal house. But only a few lines later we have *wo sien hou*, and there the context clearly indicates that it means »our former rulers«, PK'ung quite rightly understanding it like that. Thus here as well, we must, with Ts'ai Ch'en, interpret: »Our former divine rulers«.

The whole passage: A. PK'ung reads *la o* in the falling tone = 'to recognize the toils of' = 'to reward for the toils, to recompense'. He defines *siu* 74 as = 75 'to bring forward, to promote', and *huai* = 'to tranquillize' (cf. Gl. 1449 above). And he punctuates: . . . . *yung huai er, jan, shi yü cheng*, thus taking *jan* as an elliptical clause of its own: »I think of our former divine rulers' rewarding your forefathers for their toil; I grandly can promote you, and so tranquillize you; and yet (you do not obey); I have failed

in the government» etc. This construction of the *jan* is, of course, impossible, and it is not necessary to take *huai* with an extension of meaning. But as to *lao* and *siu*, which logically match each other, PK'ung has good corroboration. *Lao* in falling tone = 'to recompense' is common: Ode 153, phr. 76 »The prince of Sün rewards them for their toil». *Siu* 74 is defined as = 75 in Erya, and though this is mostly in the sense of 'to bring forward' as a present or food, yet it is also attested in the sense of 'to let advance, to promote': Kyü: Tsai 9, phr. 77 »He had martial capacity and hence was promoted to first-rank minister (i. e. leader of an army)». We might slightly modify PK'ung by taking *huai* in its fundamental sense and carrying *jan* to the following line, thus: »I think of our former divine rulers' rewarding your forefathers for their toil; I grandly can promote you, and thus (cherish you =) show you kindness; but I have failed in the government» etc. With these modifications, A is worth serious consideration. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *siu* 74 = 78 'to nourish, to sustain'. In fact, *siu* is common in the sense of 'to present food to', e. g. Tso: Chao 27, phr. 79 »those who brought food». Ts'ai does not explain *lao* in *lao er sien*, but since it balances his »I can (nourish =) sustain you», and thus refers to the work of the ruler for his subjects, he must have meant »to toil for your forefathers» (with Legge); cf. Shu: Kin t'eng 80 »Anciently the prince toiled for the royal house». Ts'ai carries *jan* 81 to the preceding and construes: *yü k'o siu er — huai er jan* »that I can nourish you is so because I cherish you». This is far-fetched; it is better to carry *jan* to the following. Thus: »I think of our former divine rulers' toiling for your forefathers; I (also) can grandly (nourish =) sustain you, and thus (cherish you =) show you kindness, *jan* but I have failed in the government» etc. — C. The stone classics of 175 A. D. have 82 inst. of 83. In Chou inscriptions in fact 82 served for both *pu* 'not' and *p'ei* 'grandly', without bottom stroke in the latter, so this variant need make no difference. But on the other hand it could of course mean *pu* 'not', and Kiang Sheng interprets: *pu k'o* I have not been able to *siu* bring you forward (to the good region) *yung huai er* and thus tranquillize you, *jan* that this is so, *shü yü cheng* is because I have failed in the government». — D. The authors of the *Ji kiang* »Daily explanations» (in K'anghi time) take *lao* as a transitive verb: »I think of our former divine rulers' fatiguing your forefathers (sc. by the migrations)». Before making our choice we should examine an analogous case a few lines later:

*Ku wo sien hou ki lao nai tsu nai fu, ju kung tso wo hü min*  
84.

A. PK'ung explains 85: »He put them to toil in governing people along with himself; and 86: »You along with me govern the people». Thus: »Anciently our former rulers put toil (sc. administrative duties) on your grandfathers and fathers; you along with (me) are my *hü* upbringers of the people». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Anciently our former rulers

弗求弗迪 53 汝誕勤曼 54 兆曼 55 勤 56 助 57 誕 58 永 59 汝何生在上 58 汝有何生理于天  
乎 59 今予命汝一無起穢以自臭 60 則一諸侯之相也 61 一切 62 一可以為法則 63 皆 64  
諸侯皆不欲戰 65 皆不得志於季氏 66 皆不欲也 67 于運績乃命于天 68 御績 69 御乃遵  
70 誥 71 迎乃于念我先神后之勞爾先予丕克羞爾用懷爾然失于政 72 羞乃進 73 節伯  
勞之 74 有武德以量為正卿 75 養 76 羞者 77 昔公勤勞王家 78 然 79 不 80 丕 81 古我先后  
既勞乃祖乃父汝共伯我舊民 82 勞之共治人 83 汝共我治民 84 順于道不逆于倫是之

toiled for your grandfathers and fathers; you all are my (people to be nourished =) people whom I sustain». — C. Kiang Sheng takes *hü* in an enlarged sense: 'to bring up' = 'to educate, to discipline', referring to Li: Tsi t'ung 87: »To obey the (way =) proper principles and not go counter to the natural relations, that is called *hü*». Thus: »Anciently our former rulers fatigued your grandfathers and fathers (by migrations); you all should be my (brought-up =) disciplined (obedient) people». — It should be observed that Ts'ai Ch'en alone (B) has fully realized the close parallelism between the two passages and he alone interprets them in a strictly analogous way. In the first, *la o er sien* corresponds to *la o nai tsu nai fu* in the second; in the first, *siu* 'to present food to' corresponds to *hü* 'to nourish, to sustain' in the second. That this is the real sense of *hü* is further confirmed by a line immediately before, where we had *yung feng hü ju chung* 90 »By this I take care of and (nourish =) sustain you all». There can be no doubt that Ts'ai, who has the advantage of this obvious parallelism, is right. — We should compare:

Shu: Tsiu kao: *Er ta k'o siu kou wei kün, er nai yin shi tsuei pao* 91.

A. PK'ung believes that the line is addressed to K'ang Shu, the first prince of Wei; *siu* 74 = 75 (cf. above): »If you grandly can advance in (the principles of) (aged ones =) wise old men, you will be a ruler, and then you (can rightly) drink and eat to satiety». A most extravagant expl., since the crowd of officers have just been exhorted to receive an address. Moreover the line cannot be construed to give this sense. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en says he does not understand the *wei kün* but interprets *siu kou* 92 as = 93 »to present food to the aged», the well-known rite fully described in the rituals. The compilers of the *Ji kiang* »Daily explanations» fill out the gap by explaining *wei kün* 94 as = 95; thus »When you have grandly been able to present food to the aged and to serve your prince, you (are able to) drink and eat to satiety». But of course *wei kün* can have no such sense, and probably the compilers took *kün* as a second object to *siu*, with *wei* as = 'and': »present food to the aged and to the prince»; but *wei* has no such meaning. — C. Kiang Sheng: *siu kou wei kün* is equal to 96: »When you (bring forward =) present aged persons to the prince, you can drink and eat to satiety». That *wei kün* should mean *yü kün* »to the prince» is quite out of the question. — D. Sun Sing-yen punctuates after *kou*: »If you grandly can advance (sc. progress in wisdom) to (becoming) aged ones (wise old men), the prince will let you drink and eat to satiety». But how could a line like *wei kün er nai yin shi* 97 make this sense or, for that matter, any sense at all? — E. Yü Yü: *wei* 98 means 99 'and'; and *kün* 100 does not mean 'prince' but 'elders'; *ta* 1 means nothing, being a »particle» (this latter after Chu Pin); thus: »If you can *siu* (bring forward =) present (your) aged ones and elders, you (can) drink and eat to satiety». Utterly impossible. — F. Ts'ai (B) is undoubtedly right in assuming that *siu kou* means 11 »(to present food to =) to feast the aged», the well-known rite, since the context shows that it is a question of feasting: drinking and eating to satiety. But *wei kün* 94 must be correctly construed: (»For your grandly being able to feast the aged, there is the prince» =) »That you can grandly (present food to =) feast the aged, depends on the prince; then you can drink and eat to satiety». Cf. Tso: Hi 33 phr. 2 »As to late or soon, there is your order» = »whether late or soon, depends upon your order»; Tso: Siang 9, phr. 3 »As to whom they (the Spirits) approach, there is the good faith» = »whom they approach, depends on the good faith», etc. (common).

Shu: Tsiu kao (shortly after the preceding line): *Er shang k'o siu kuei si* 4.

A. PK'ung take *siu* 5 = 6 as a transitive verb (common) and *kuei si* as object: »You may still be able to (bring forward =) present the food offerings» (sc. to the Spirits).



Kuei 7 as a noun = 'food' is common: Ode 65 phr. 8 »I set out viands»; Tso: Chao 4, phr. 9 »He placed the food in a side-room». — B. Kiang Sheng: »May you be able to siu (advance =) come forward (i. e. be chosen) to kuei si assist at the sacrifices» (for this curious idea that kuei si would mean 'to assist at a sacrifice' he bases himself on Cheng Hüan). — C. Sun Sing-yen: »May you be able to advance (sc. progress in wisdom) (so as to do the) kuei si sacrifice of cooked offerings». — B and C are very forced, A is simple and applies the ordinary sense of 'to present (food)' to our siu. It is curious that many Ts'ing scholars should be so eager to find the most forced explanations simply in order to avoid agreeing with PK'ung and Ts'ai. — We have seen that in all the passages above siu is a transitive verb 'to present to', esp. 'to present food to', and that those comm. who take it as an intransitive verb 'to advance, go forward, progress' are not acceptable. From this point of view we should examine some more Shu passages:

Shu: P'an Keng (end): Kin wo ki siu kao er yü chen chī 10.

»Now I have presented to you and told you about my will». Here siu is clearly transitive.

Shu: Hung fan: Shī siu k'i hing er pang k'i ch'ang 11.

This follows upon: »When there are men who have ability and activity. . .»

— A. Wang Fu (2nd c. A. D.) in Ts'ien fu lun: Si hien paraphrases: 12 »If there are men who have ability, cause them to follow their road»; evidently Wang took siu k'i hing to mean »to advance in their road». (When Tuan Yü-ts'ai says that Wang's sūn 13 is a corruption of the similar 14, and this again a phonetic loan for siu 5, this is all arbitrary guesswork.) — B. PK'ung paraphrases: 15. This is, in fact, quite ambiguous. K'ung Ying ta has understood PK'ung thus: »Cause them to advance in their (walk =) conduct, and the state will be prosperous» (siu intransitive). But evidently PK'ung might also have meant: »Cause them to (bring forward =) perfect their conduct» (siu transitive). — C. Wang Su paraphrases: 16. The second half: »entrust them with the government» reveals that Wang believed the first meant their putting their ability into action. Thus: »Cause them to bring forth their (actions =) achievements, and the state will be prosperous». Kiang Sheng has followed this. Siu has here its ordinary, transitive sense of 'to bring forward'. C here is the natural sequence to the preceding line and therefore preferable; hing 17 as a noun = 'actions' is common, e. g. Lun: Li jen 18 no yü yen er min yü hing »slow in his speech but energetic in his actions».

Shu: Li cheng: Wei siu hing pao tê chī jen t'ung yü küe pang 19.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 20. This is indeed just as ambiguous as the Shu text itself. It can be divided thus: wei tsin — yung hing yü pao tê chī jen »He (advanced =) promoted men who used punishments and (pao tê a violent character =) violence»; or; wei tsin yung — hing yü pao tê chī jen »He siu promoted and used hing punishing and pao tê violent-natured men». Ts'ai Ch'en and

謂當 10 用李當汝眾 11 爾大可差考惟君 爾乃飲食醉飽 12 羞考 13 養老 14 惟君 15 奉君  
16 進考老于君 17 惟君 爾乃飲食 18 惟 19 與 20 君 1 大 2 遲速惟命 3 所臨惟信 4 爾尚  
可差饋祀 5 羞 6 進 7 饋 8 陳饋 9 賓饋於个 10 今我既羞告爾于朕志 11 使羞其行而  
邦其昌 12 人之有能使循其行 13 循 14 脩 15 使進其所行 16 使進其行任之以政 17 行 18  
訥於言而敏於行 19 惟羞刑暴德之人同于厥邦 20 惟進用刑與暴德之人同于其國 21

Kiang Sheng understood it in the latter way. — B. Yü Yüe, rightly making the criticism that *siu — hing pao tê — chī jen*, with the monosyllabic *hing* coördinated with the dissyllabic *pao tê*, is an impossible rhythm, proposes that *hing 21* really means *yung 22* in the sense of 23; thus: «He *siu* promoted men who *hing* used *pao tê* violence». In support Yü adduces two cases of the phr. *hing yung 24* (in Shao kao and To fang) which he believes to be synonym-compounds (*hing* meaning 'to use') and a case in Tso: Chao 12 where 25 would mean «to use the people's force» — all very untenable (we revert to that in gloss on Shao kao). — C. Legge has clearly seen that all the above, who take *siu* as = 'to promote', with the king as understood subject of the clause and *jen* as object must be wrong. The absolute parallelism with next line: *Shu si yi tê chī jen t'ung yü küe cheng 26*, in which *jen* 'men' is in the nominative as subject of the clause: «A crowd of familiars (favourites) and men of a licentious character were his associates in his government», proves definitely that in our line as well *jen* must be a nominative as subject, *siu hing* and *pao tê* being coördinated. So far Legge is obviously right. But when he interprets: «men who *siu hing* advanced punishments (as the proper method)», it is impossible to follow him. — D. Another interpr. As to the construction, C is certainly right. But as long as we insist on *siu* meaning 6 'to advance' or 'to promote', every interpr. will be inadmissible or at least far-fetched. *Siu* very frequently means 'shame, to be ashamed'. Thus: «(Shamed =) disgraced (punished ones =) criminals and men of a violent character were his associates in his state».

**1459.** *Kao hou p'ei nai ch'ung kiang tsuei tsi 27.*

A. This is PK'ung's version. «The high rulers (ancestors) grandly heavily send down suffering for the crimes». The accumulation of adverbs: *p'ei nai ch'ung* is unnatural. — B. Kiang Sheng again (cf. Gl. 1458) takes *p'ei nai 28* to stand for *pu nai 29*: «Will not the high etc.» This, however, entails that in the sequel he has to be consistent: in the phr. 30 («Your grandfathers and fathers grandly report to my high rulers [ancestors] saying») Kiang likewise must take *p'ei nai* to stand for *pu nai* and make it a rhetorical question: «... do they not report...», which is very far-fetched. In fact this par. shows that *p'ei* has its ordinary reading and meaning. — C. The stone classics of 175 A. D., the oldest version preserved, have: 31, thus with 32 'to know', inst. of the *ch'ung 33* 'heavy' of the Ku-wen version. Thus: «The high rulers (ancestors) grandly know about it and send down suffering for the crime». This is grammatically impeccable. — We must compare a few lines later:

*Ti kao hou p'ei nai ch'ung kiang fu siang 34.*

A. This is the PK'ung version: «They lead the high rulers (ancestors) grandly to heavily send down inauspicious things». The same unnatural combination of adverbs *p'ei* and *ch'ung*. — B. Kiang Sheng again says *p'ei nai — pu nai*, but then the clause cannot be correctly construed. Sun Sing-yen declares that *p'ei* = *pu* and leaves it out entirely in his paraphrase, evidently taking this *pu* to be an «empty particle» (very wrong, see Gl. 759). Moreover, he has an extraordinary speculation that *fu siang 35* does not mean 'inauspicious' but 36 'not long', which would make no reasonable sense in the context; his theory is certainly due to a wish to reconcile the *siang* of A with the *yung 37* of C next. — C. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read *nai hing kiang pu yung 38*. The Ts'ing scholars have given no reasonable expl. of this. The char. *siang 39*, however, is very often written with the short-form 40 in Han-time (esp. on mirrors: 41 «to eliminate the inauspicious»). The characters 40 and 37 are easily confused. The *pu yung 42* of the stone classics is probably simply a corruption of 43 = the 44 of the Ku-wen version. Thus: «They lead on the high rulers (ancestors) grandly to rise and send down inauspicious things».

a min nai pu sheng sheng ki yü yi jen yu t'ung

heng sheng 46 = 47 'to advance steadily', the idea, as K'ung put it, being 'growingly' (sheng = 'to grow'). Thus: »If you, the myriad readily advance and plan to be of the same mind with me, the one man». After we have wang tsai sheng sheng 48, and here PK'ung is right: »wang from now onwards, sheng sheng advance steadily (he simply skips the inconvenient tsai).» — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: sheng 'make life vigorous' = to act with vigour. »If you, the myriad people, with vigour and plan to . . . » — C. Sun Sing-yen and Kiang Sheng take sheng as a verb with object, and Sun rightly cites Chuang: Ta tsung shi: 49 'ish life does not constitute death, to keep alive the life does not constitute death, the myriad people, if you do not (keep alive the life =) make your livelihood, one man, (plan =) endeavour to be of one mind». — For the line 50 in P'an 36.

shuang tê tsî shang k'i fa ju 51.

A. PK'ung (who still believes that the understood subject is T'ang alone, not the ancestors generally): shuang 52 = 53 'bright' (common): »Thus, since he has a (bright = brightseeing =) perspicacious power of mind, he will punish you from above». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: shuang tê = 54 'a failing virtue', followed by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen, who take it in the sense of 55 or 56 (Erya) 'to aberr, to deviate' very well attested (for text par. see Gl. 181): »Thus, if you have (an aberrant =) a faulty virtue, from above they will punish you». The term shuang tê is well attested in the sense of 'aberrant virtue' both in Shî and in Kyü (see Gl. 181) and must mean the same here.

Ku wo sien hou kilao nai tsu etc. see Gl. 1458.

1462. Ju yu ts'iang tsê tsai nai sin 57.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 58 »If you have a mind to injure people» and Ts'ai Ch'en similarly: 59 »If you have injury in your hearts», which does not follow the text but skips the tsê 60. We should have (with K'ung Ying-ta) to put it more precisely: »If you have something injurious, then it is in your hearts». (Legge tries desperately to better it: »Your conduct is injurious — it is cherished in your hearts».) This makes poor sense. — B. Kiang Sheng therefore takes tsai 61 = 62 (common, see Gl. 751 above), interpreting: »If you have something injurious, they (sc. the ancestors) scrutinize your hearts» (i. e. they will know it). Sun Sing-yen turns it slightly differently: »If you have some injury (that befalls you), they (the ancestors) scrutinize your hearts» (they will know it). — C. Liu Feng-lu: tsê 60 (\*tsək) is loan char. for 63 (\*dz'ək), and ts'iang-tsê is a binome: »If you have (injury =) injurious intents in your hearts». In the famous inscr. of the San shî P'an the word tsê 63 is wr. 64, which might be taken to be 'man' and 'cowry' and

為威虐 21 刑 22 庸 23 用 24 利用 25 形民之力 26 庶習逸德之人同于厥政 27 高后丕乃崇  
降罪疾 28 丕乃 29 不乃 30 乃祖乃父丕乃告我高后曰 31 高后丕乃知降罪疾 32 知 33 崇  
34 迪高后丕乃崇降弗祥 35 弗祥 36 不長 37 永 38 乃與降不永 39 祥 40 羊 41 辟不羊 42 不  
永 43 不羊 44 不祥 45 汝萬民乃不生 生 46 予一人猷同心 47 生生 48 進進 49 位哉生生 50  
殺生者不死 生生者不生 51 敢恭生生 52 故有英德自上其罰汝 53 爽 54 明 55 失德 56 貳  
57 差 58 汝有戕則在乃心 59 汝有殘人之心 60 汝有戕害在汝之心 61 則 62 在 63 蔡 64 賊

'dagger-axe', but just as well 65 'dagger-axe' and tsê 60 (with Wang Kuo-wei). Our tsê 60 here could then be simply a short-form. Cf. the pronunciation in Kyü: Lu yü, shang: 66 »The one who destroys the law (\*tsək) is a malefactor (\*dz'ək); a fanciful attempt at etymology, but revealing that to the Kyü author the char. 63 contained the char. 66. All this strongly supports Liu's interpr. — D. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. reads 67. Sun Sing-yen, in order to interpret this, takes tsê 60 as = 68: »You have a near pattern in your hearts» (i. e. you should follow the example of your ancestors). Very strained. The Ku-wen version gives a much better sense (with C).

**1463.** Wo sien hou suei nai tsu nai fu, nai tsu nai fu nai tuan k' i ju pu kiu nai si 69.

A. PK'ung: »Our former rulers suei reposed in (the loyalty of) your grandfathers and fathers». This makes no sense in connection with the following: »Your grandfathers and fathers will reject you and not save you from death». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Our former rulers comforted your grandfathers and fathers» (sc. so that they will be affectionate towards them and not oppose your punishment). — C. Sun Sing-yen: »Our former rulers (tranquillized =) found a peaceful place for your grandfathers and fathers (sc. by moving the capital); (now that you do not follow me) your grandfathers and fathers will reject you» etc. — D. Kiang Sheng: suei 70 = 71 'to stop': »Our former rulers will (stop =) restrain your grandfathers and fathers, (so that) your grandfathers and fathers will reject you and not save you from death». Cf. Kyü: Ts'i yü 72 »He will stop slanderous talk», on which Wei Chao: suei 70 = 71. Tso: Wen 12, phr. 73 »Both sides went out to battle but (reciprocally =) both (desisted =) withdrew». This sense is really an extension of meaning: 'to tranquillize slanderous talk' = to stop it; both armies became tranquillized, still, i. e. stopped fighting (Yü Yüe on the contrary believes that 70 [\*sn̥wər or = 74 \*t'nwār] is merely a variant for 75 \*t'wəd 'to retreat, to cause to retreat', which is phonetically impossible). Here then: the former rulers will (tranquillize =) restrain your ancestors. — D is by far the best in the context and is well supported.

**1464.** Tsī yü yu luan (sī) cheng t'ung wei 76.

PK'ung (after Erya): luan 77 = 78 'to regulate, to order'. It may seem strange that the same char. 77 means both 'disorder, confusion' and 'to bring into order', but that is only apparently so. The former sense occurs in thousands of cases, the latter in several undeniable and unambiguous cases, e. g. Shu: Kao Yao mo 79 »He is regulating and yet (careful =) cautious»; Tso: Siang 28 phr. 80 »Wu wang had (regulating =) governing ministers, 10 men» etc. From a linguistic point of view it would, of course, be absurd that one and the same word \*lwán (falling tone) should mean both 'disorder' and its opposite: 'to regulate', and the secret is, that wherever the char. 77 occurs meaning 'to regulate, to govern', it should really not be read luan but sī (\*sīǎg / si / sī); this word, in modern script 81, was in the Chou inscriptions as a rule wr. 82 or 83 'to regulate, govern', and obviously in Han time the transcribers wrongly used the common 77 by mistake for the rare 82. To revert to our Shu line here, evidently our 84, read luan cheng, might mean 'a disorderly government', but it can just as well be a binome, with PK'ung: (luan =) sī cheng, and there is no reason to reject this oldest interpr. A. PK'ung: t'ung wei refers to the ancestors: »Now I have a sī cheng government with t'ung wei the same offices (as their ancestors)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Now I have such who share the high positions in the government».

Ti kao hou p'ei nai ch'ung kiang fu siang see Gl. 1459.

**1465.** Kin yü kao ju pu yi 85.

A. Cheng Hün reads \*d̥ǎk / ǎk / yi 'to change, alter': »Now I tell you something unalterable» (a course that cannot be altered). — B. PK'ung and Wang Su read \*d̥ǎg / ǎg / yi 'easy': »Now I tell you about something that is not easy». Since this corresponds

exactly to an earlier passage in our chapter: 86 »I tell you about the difficulties», it is obviously preferable.

1466. Yung king ta sü, wu sü tsüe yüan 87.

A. PK'ung: »Perpetually respect (my words), ta sü and greatly be anxious about (carrying them out), do not (reciprocally =) all together (cut off and remove =) reject (them)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Perpetually pay careful attention to (my great anxiety =) that which I am greatly worried about, do not cut off and alienate yourselves from me». — C. Sun Sing-yen: »Perpetually be respectful (to your superior) in the great (anxieties) difficulties» etc. — A combination of B and C comes nearest to the text: »Perpetually pay careful attention to the great (anxieties =) difficulties, do not cut off and alienate yourselves (from me)».

1467. Ju fen yu nien yi siang ts'ung 88.

A. PK'ung: fen 89 = 90 'to distinguish clearly', thus: »You should distinctly plan and ponder and so follow me». — B. K'ung Ying-ta: »You should (separately =) each in his place plan and ponder» etc. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: »You should share in my planning and pondering» etc. — D. Sun Sing-yen: fen 89 = 'diverging, dissentient': »As to your dissentient plans, you should think of following (me)». This is decidedly inferior, since it separates yu and nien; those two: yu 'to plan, to consider' and nien 'to ponder, to think' are so analogous that they should certainly be taken together as a binominal phr. — E. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: ju pi yu nien yi siang ts'ung 91. This has been variously interpreted. Kiang Sheng takes pi 92 = 93 'to attach oneself to, to join, to concur with': »You should pi yu concur in the plan (sc. to move) and nien yi siang ts'ung think of following me». Sun Sing-yen: pi yu = 94, thus: »You should compliantly think of following me». Both these interpr. have the disadvantage criticized above, viz. that they separate yu and nien, which should go together. But Kiang is certainly right in thinking that pi should have the same sense as it had a few lines earlier. There the ancestors reproach: »why do you not pi (join =) concur with our young descendant?» Here the king admonishes: »You should pi (join =) concur in yu nien my plans and thoughts, yi and so siang ts'ung follow me». This dividing of the line: ju pi yu nien, yi siang ts'ung is also rhythmically the best. — It might be possible to see the reason for the divergence between text versions A and E. The char. 95 \*piwər / pjiwɛi / fei serves as loan char. for 89 (\*piwən / piwən / fen) in Chouli: Lin jen and possibly our 89 (\*piwən) of version A is merely a phonetic loan char. for 92 (\*piər / pji / pi) or vice versa. On the other hand, the one or the other may be due to a scribe's error. In bronze inscr. 89 is wr. 96, but it can also be turned in the opposite direction, as in the compound 97 wr. 98 (see Grammata Serica p. 246). Now this 99 was sufficiently similar to pi 92, wr. 100, to make it easy for a scribe to mistake a pi for a fen or vice versa. In any case, since both versions make good sense and a choice between them cannot be made on that ground, we should follow the one (E) that is earliest attested.

64 65 66 毀則者為賊 67 女有進則在乃心 68 法 69 我 先后 綏乃祖乃父乃祖乃父乃  
斷棄汝不救乃死 70 綏 71 止 72 綏誘言 73 皆出戰交綏 74 妥 75 退 76 茲予有亂政同位 77  
亂 78 治 79 亂而敬 80 武王有亂臣十人 81 司 82 爾 83 爾 84 亂政 85 今予告汝不弔 86 予告  
汝于難 87 永敬大恤無胥絕遠 88 汝分猷念以相從 89 分 90 分明 91 女比猫念以相從 92  
比乃附 93 比順 94 匪 95 分 97 益 98 益 99 公 100 公 1. 各設中于乃心 2. 各翁中于乃心 3. 設

## 1467a. Ko shê chung yü nai sin 1.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »Each one of you should establish the correct norm in your heart«. — B. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. reads 2: »Each one of you should conform to the correct norm in your heart«. — C. Wang Yin-chi: Kuang ya says 3 = 4 'to accord with, to conform to', and thus the A text means the same as the B text. In support of the Kuang-ya gloss, Wang Nien-sun had already adduced Li: Li k'i 5, saying that since shê 3 here matches ho, shun and ho respectively, it must mean the same: ho 'to conform to'. But that, of course, is not conclusive, shê has its ordinary sense: »As to the ritual gifts, they should conform to the seasons, they should be (put up =) presented from among the resources of the soil, they should be agreeable to the Spirits and conform to the minds of men«. When Chang Yi (3rd c.) wrote the Kuang ya and said shê 3 = 4, he probably had our Shu passage in mind: knowing the Kin-wen to have hi chung 6 and the Ku-wen to have shê chung 7, he concluded that the latter was an error for the former, and would correct this error by means of his gloss. — B is the earliest version attested.

## 1468. Tien yüe pu kung 8.

Kung: Tso: Ai 11, quoting this and the following lines (in an abbreviated form), reads 9. Now this kung 10 often serves as short-form for 11 and likewise very often as short-form for 12. Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Kiang Sheng believe that the original 10 stood for 12 »not furnishing» = »not doing their duty» as in several earlier passages (see Gl. 1401), and this was probably already PK'ung's idea. Tuan concludes that the kung 11 of the present orthodox version was introduced by Wei Pao in his famous re-editing of the Shu text (in the t'ien-pao period 742—755 A. D.). But Ch'en K'iao-tsung points out that K'ung Ying-ta (in comm. on Tso) more than a century before Wei Pao quotes Shu as having 13, and that Sî-ma Ts'ien (Wu Tsî-sü chuan) and Shuo yüan (Cheng kien) both have this reading — that both these Han texts should have been »corrected» after Wei Pao is too unlikely. Thus the earliest Han tradition was that that Shu really had 10 in the sense of 11 'respectful'.

## Tien yüe 14:

A. PK'ung: tien yüe = 15 'to fall down' (this after Fu K'ien, 2nd c. A. D., who in comm. on Tso: Ai 11 says tien yüe means 16); PK'ung takes tien-yüe as a binome; thus: »Who are fallen and disrespectful«. Cf. Tso: Hi 9, phr. 17 »I fear that it will fall down low», on which Tu Yü: yün yüe = 18. Yüe 19 fundamentally means 'to transgress, to pass beyond, to go far away' (\*gîwät, closely cognate to 20 \*gîwîn), but in the binome tien yüe 'to fall and pass' = 'to fall down', it simply expresses the movement, passing from one place to another. It is then common in the sense of 'to fall down', e. g. Tso: Ch'en 2, phr. 21 »He fell down under the chariot«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes the words separately: »Who overturn and transgress and do not respect (the king's orders)«. — C. Sun Sing-yen; tien 22 is a loan char. for 23 'mad', thus: \*Who are mad and transgressing...». — The Tso par. decides in favour of A.

## 1469. Chan yü kien kiu 24.

A. PK'ung believes that yü 'to meet' has an understood jen 25 as object: »Who when chan occasionally yü meeting (people) are villainous and traitorous» (i. e. rob them). A comical interpr. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Who, chan for a short time yü (meeting, coming across =) having a chance, are villainous and traitorous», little better than A. — C. Couvreur, who in his Shu translation follows B (\*qui profitent d'une occasion pour se rendre coupables de révolte ou de perfidie), in his Dictionnaire takes the line as a separate clause: »Chan yü s'il se rencontre soudain kien kiu des rebelles ou des traitres», which, however, will not do in the context. — D. Wang Yin-chi: chan 26 (\*dz'am) is a loan char. for tsien 27 (\*tsiam, \*dz'iam), which here has the sense of 28 'treacher-

ous'; and y ü 29 (\*ngü / ngü / y ü) is a loan char. for 30 (\*ngu / \*ngü / o u), which here is equal to 31 (\*ngu) 'uneven', and means 'deflected, depraved'. Thus: »Who are treacherous and depraved, villainous and traitorous.» For ou 30 in this sense Wang adduces a very obscure and debatable phr. in Huai: Yüan tao. For tsien 27 = 'false, treacherous' he quotes (besides an ex. in Shu: Lü hing, see below) Sün: Cheng lun 32 »If the ruler is hidden and inaccessible, the subjects become false (treacherous)»; Yang Liang had taken tsien as = 33 'gradually' (properly 'drop-wise'): »The subjects become more and more false»; or, alternatively = 34 (27 = 'to moisten, soak'): »the subject become imbued with falseness»; Ho Yi-hang believes that 27 \*dz'iam is merely a loan char. for 35 (\*dz'iem / dz'iam / ts'ien) 'hidden, deep': »The subjects become deep and false». Further: Sün: Pu kou 36: Wang: »If they are clever, they are predatory and false»; Yang Liang had taken it as = 33: »they are predatory and increasingly so, which is bad, and hence Ho Yi-hang: »they are predatory and deep (scheming)». In fact Ho's interpr. is confirmed by Sün 2: 18, phr. 37 »The knowledge being deep», where tsien shen is a synonym-compound; but it is not necessary to consider it (with Ho) as loan for 35; the meaning 'deep' can be an extension from 'to soak through, to imbue, penetrating deeply'. Further: Chuang: K'ie k'ie 38: Wang: »Clever deceptions and false (poisons =) poisonous ideas»; but the comm. Li Yi had taken tsien as = 39 'to soak through, to imbue': »Clever deceptions and imbuing poisonous ideas». Wang Yin-chi's idea is certainly clever, but all ancient comm. go against it, and neither Erya nor Kuang ya has such a meaning for tsien, and all the ex. adduced can equally well be interpreted with tsien in one or other of its well-attested meanings. If \*tsiam = 'false' is thus far from confirmed, it is even less probable that our 40 \*dz'am-ngü is a loan for a 41 \*dz'iam-ngü. — E. Chang Ping-lin: Ch'an 26 (\*dz'am) is a loan char. for ch'an 42 (\*dz'am, \*dz'am) 'uneven, irregular', and ch'an yü 40 is really the same binome that Shuowen gives as ch'an hu 43, which should really be ch'an ya 44 (45 \*ngü = 29 \*ngü) = 'irregular'. There are, however, no pre-Han ex. whatever of such a binome. — F. Another interpr. Ch'an 26 has the same meaning 'rash' as it has in Tso: Hi 33, phr. 46 »The warriors by their strength captured them (sc. the prisoners) in the field; a woman by her rashness liberated them in the city»; on which Tu Yü: ch'an 26 = 47 (\*ts'wat) 'brusque, rash'. The fundamental sense being 'for a short time', the extension of meaning 'instantaneously, on the spur of the moment, brusquely, hasty, rash' is very natural. Yü 29 (\*ngü) stands for the homophonous yü 48 (\*ngü) 'stupid' (in other words: the Chou-time text had simply 49 without radical, wrongly filled out into 29 instead of into 48). Thus: »Rash and stupid, villainous and traitorous». In this way the text phonetically reads as it stands: \*dz'am-ngü. — We should notice here:

Shu: Lü hing: Min hing sü tsien 50.

A. PK'ung: »The people started to imbue each other». Kiang Sheng accepts this, pointing out that the same word 'to moisten, to soak through, to imbue' occurs wr. 51 (\*tsiam). — B. Sun Sing-yen (following Wang Yin-chi above) tsien 27 = 28: »The people started to cheat each other». No reason whatever for abandoning the ancient interpr. (A).

4 合 5 禮也者合於天時設於地財順於鬼神合於人心 6 翁中 7 設中 8 顛越不恭 9  
下共 10 共 11 恭 12 供 13 不恭 14 顛越 15 隕墜 16 殞墜 17 恐隕越于下 18 顛墜 19 越 20 遠 21  
越于車下 22 顛 23 殞 24 暫遇姦宄 25 人 26 暫 27 漸 28 詐 29 遇 30 偶 31 齒 32 上幽險則下漸  
詐 33 進 34 浸 35 潛 36 知則獲益而漸 37 知慮漸深 38 知詐漸弄 39 漬 40 暫遇 41 漸偶 42 僂  
43 僂互 44 僂牙 45 牙 46 武夫力而拘諸原婦人暫而免諸國 47 卒 48 遇 49 偶 50 民興晉漸

1470. *Wo nai yi tien mie chi* 52.

A. PK'ung takes *yi tien* as a binome: »I will destroy and annihilate them«. *Yi wr. 53 or 54* means 'to cut the nose', but also more generally 'to mutilate', and then even more general: 'to cut off, to destroy', as in *Shu: To fang 55*. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *yi* and *tien* separately: »I will either cut their noses (for smaller crimes) or *tien mie* annihilate them (for greater crimes)«. This does not suit the context, since it presupposes that some, though mutilated, survived, which is forbidden by the sequel.

1471. *Wu yi yü* 56.

A. Tu Yü in comm. on Tso: Ai 11, where our line is quoted, says *yü 57 = 58* and this is repeated by PK'ung, who adds the paraphrase 59. This shows that PK'ung read 58 \**d'iang / d'iang / ch'ang*: »I will not leave over and prolong (their kind)«. — B. But Tu Yü may not have had the same idea with his *yü 57 = 58*. In fact Lu Tê-ming in both places (*Shu* and *Tso*) reads 58 \**t'iang / t'iang / ch'ang* 'to grow up, to cause to grow up, to bring up', and this is really the sense of *yü 57* ('to breed, to rear'). Thus: »There will be no remaining (reared ones =) children brought up«. — C. Wang Yin-chi, after criticizing A, says *yü 57* (\**d'ïök / iuk / yü*) should be read 60 (\**d'ïôg / d'ïu / ch'ou*) 'descendant', thus: »There will be no descendants«. He refers to the case fully discussed in Gl. 1288 above. 57 \**d'ïök* and 60 \**d'ïôg* are certainly cognate words, but there is no reason whatever for considering the former as loan char. for the latter and reading \**d'ïôg* instead of \**d'ïök*.

*Wu pei yi chung yü tsī sin yi* see Gl. 1244.

1472. *Nai cheng küe wei* 61.

This follows upon: »When P'an Keng had moved, he fixed their (where they dwelled =) dwelling-places«.

A. Cheng Hün and PK'ung explain *wei* 62 as the official buildings (temples, altars, palace). Thus: »And then he determined their (public) emplacements«. Cf. *Shu: Shao kao 63* »With all the Yin people he started work on the (public) emplacements at the nook of the Lo (river)«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *wei* refers to the difference between »ruler and subjects, between superior and inferior«, thus: »He adjusted the rank positions« (Couvreur: »il régla les dignités et les charges«). Ts'ai has failed to see the parallelism with the *Shao kao* passage just quoted.

1473. *Suei yüan yu chung* 64.

A. PK'ung (after *Erya 65 = 66*) paraphrases the line 67, thus: »He tranquillized (the multitude he had =) his multitude«. This seems to have been accepted by all later comm. But in the first place, in spite of *Erya*, the common particle *yüan* 65 never functions as a preposition equivalent to *yü 66*, and secondly *suei* is a transitive verb and should have no preposition between itself and its object. Ts'ai Ch'en has felt this and simply skipped the inconvenient *yüan*, paraphrasing: 68 »He tranquillized the feelings of his multitude«. — B. Another interpr. 65 \**giw'in / jiwon / yüan* is a short-form for the homophonous 69 'to pull up, to lift, to raise, to succour', thus: »He tranquillized and (lifted =) encouraged his multitude«.

1474. *Wu hi tai mou kien ta ming* 70.

A. PK'ung has this version: »Do not play and be slack, exert yourselves in firmly establishing the great mandate«. — B. Yü Sing-wu believes that 71 \**d'ag / d'ai / tai* is a loan char. for 72 \**d'ïag / i / yi* 'cheerful, pleased', thus: »Do not play and rejoice«. A quite unnecessary loan speculation, since the text as it stands makes a good and natural sense. — C. The *Kin-wen* version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: 73. As to 74 \**xiuk / xiwok / hü* 'to stimulate', here 'to stimulate oneself' it gives the same meaning as the 75 \**mug / mqu / mou* 'to exert oneself'. But the first half is radically different from the A version. — a. Kiang Sheng proposes that 75a (\**d'ïag*) is a short-form for 75b



\**d'ag / d'âi / tai* 'to cheat' (ex. of this w. in Kuliang: Hi 1); thus: »Do not cheat the people«. —  $\beta$ . Sun Sing-yen refers to Fang-yen 1 (middle-Han colloquial), which says 75a = 75c 'to lose, to miss, to neglect', thus: »Do not neglect the people«. It is quite uncertain how this Han word was read; Ts'ao Hien (7th c. A. D.) believed \**d'ag / i / yi*, even tone, but probably it was simply a short-form for the 71 \**d'ag / d'âi / tai*, rising tone, 'to be slack, lazy, idle, to neglect' of version A. Another variation of the same word stem is 75d \**d'ag / d'âi / t' ai*, even tone, 'loose, slack' (ex. in Chuang: T'ien hia). — Probably the original version had 75a in the sense of 71, and was elucidatingly enlarged in that way (71) by the scribes of the Ku-wen school, whereas the Kin-wen school kept the ancient short-form 75a. But neither the hi 75e of A nor the min 75f of B could very well be free inventions, and so the true text probably ran: wu hi tai min, mou (or hü) kien ta ming 75g. »Do not play and neglect the people, exert yourselves in firmly establishing the great mandate«. This also makes the best rhythm. 1475. Kin yü k' i fu sin fu shen ch'ang, li kao er po sing yü chen ch' i 76.

A. This is the Ku-wen version, attested on this point as having been that of the Hia-hou school of Han time (see K'ung Ying-ta, comm. on Yao tien), and adopted by PK'ung. »Now I will (spread out =) disclose my heart and belly, reins and bowels, and (seriatim =) in all details tell you people my will«. (Chang Ping-lin would improve this by taking 77 \**liek / liek / li* as loan char. for 78 \**klëk / kek / ko* 'diaphragm', since in the Wei stone classics there is 79 as loan char. for 77. But this goes against the rhythm: sin - fu shen - ch'ang li — there would surely have been one more word after li, if the latter were analogous to sin - fu and shen - ch'ang). — B. The Kin-wen version, as drawn upon by Tso S' i (3rd c. A. D.) in Wei tu fu and directly quoted in comm. on that, read: kin yü ki fu yu hien yang li 80 (carrying li 77 to the preceding yang). A Han-time poem (Sung) by T'ang Fu (ap. Li shi) has 81, which testifies to the existence of this version just as early as the A text. Thus: »Now I will fu widely yu hien be liberal towards the wise men and yang li signalize their exploits; I will tell you people my will«. — It is easily seen that the original Chou text may have had »phonetics« without radicals: 82, which the Ku-wen scribes filled out into 83, the Kin-wen scribes into 84. And if, in the same way, we operate with yu 85 and fu 86 written without radicals (Chou fashion), it might be possible that yu 87 and sin fu 88 derive from one and the same pre-Han graph or graphs: either yu has been erroneously cut up into two: sin fu by the Ku-wen scribes; or sin fu has been erroneously coalesced into one: yu by the Kin-wen scribes. Two reasons favour the latter alternative. First, in Tso: S'üan 12 an orator says: 89 »I presume to (spread out =) disclose my belly and heart«, which is very likely an allusion to our Shu passage here; and secondly the A sense is simple and natural, whereas the B sense is more incoherent. A is therefore preferable.

77 瀝 口我乃剿殄滅之 53 剿 乃剿 乃剿 割夏邑 无道有 57 有 58 長 乃長 其類 60 胃 61 乃  
正厥位 62 位 63 乃以庶殷攻位于洛汭 64 綏爰有衆 65 爰 66 于以安於有衆 68 安有衆之  
情 69 援 乃無戲 70 德建大命 71 德 乃怡 72 女同 台民勛建大命 73 勛 乃德 74 台 乃約 75 失  
76 駘 77 戲 78 民 79 無戲 台(台)民德(勛)建大命 80 今于其敷心服腎腸歷告爾百姓于朕志  
77 歷 78 腸 79 兩 80 今于其敷優賢揚歷 81 優賢 82 歷 83 阪易 84 腎腸 85 賢揚 86 腹

## 1476. Ku wo sien wang tsiang to yü ts'ien kung 90.

As earlier, the comm. believe that sien wang refers to T'ang alone; I have stated previously (Gl. 1458) my reasons for taking it in the plural.

A. K'ung Ying-ta takes tsiang 91 as = 92, this mark of the future thus expressing an intention: »The ancient king(s), (going to =) wishing to add to the earlier achievements». — B. Kiang Sheng: tsiang 91 = 93 'great' (common, see Gl. 15): »Anciently, our former king(s), greatly adding to . . . . .». Both in A and in Kiang's interpr. B here to is thus taken as a verb, which is strained. Sun Sing-yen therefore turns it slightly differently: »they tsiang enlarged so as to make them big(ger) the former achievements», which, however, skips the inconvenient yü 94. — C. Another interpretation. Tsiang 91 is very common in the sense 'to take, to bring', (which is really the fundamental sense of the char.), thus: »Anciently our former kings (brought much to =) added much to the earlier achievements».

## 1477. Yung kiang wo hiung tê kia tsi yü chen pang 95.

The Kin-wen version (ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D.) has suei 96 'peaceful' inst. of kia 97 'good'. The passage follows upon: »Anciently, our former kings added much to the earlier achievements; they went to the mountains».

A. PK'ung explains 98 by 99 'bring down and take away': »Thus they (brought down =) vanquished our evil dispositions (sc. of mind) and had fine achievements in our state». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en believes that hiung tê refers to the evil conditions of the low places, as against the high mountains, and hence Legge expounds: wo hiung tê = »our suffering conditions», and he translates: »Thereby he removed our evils»(!); Couvreur: »Il supprima ainsi la cause de nos malheurs»(!); I suppose with this view we should have to define hiung tê as = 'baleful forces'. — C. Kiang Sheng: 98 means 100 'to go down and rescue'; there should be a comma after hiung; tê 1 means 2 'to ascend' (after Shuo wen), and the Kin-wen suei 96 is preferable to the Ku-wen kia 97. Thus: »Therefore they descended (sc. helpfully) (to) us in the calamitous (lowlands), they ascended (to the high places) and made peaceful achievements in the state». Kiang = 'to go down and rescue' is certainly strained, and for tê 1 = 2 there is no text confirmation, see Gl. 1342. Sun Yi-jiang would turn the tê 1 = 2 in another way: »He tê raised kia tsi fine achievements», but this will not do for the same reason. — D. Yü Sing-wu points out that hiung tê is a phr. recurring in Shu: To fang, so Kiang's speculation is impossible. So far so good. But then Yü goes on: suei 96 = 'continuously' and tsi 3 stands for tsê 4, thus: »They continuously made reproaches in our land», a very eccentric idea. — E. Another interpr. Kiang 98 with »luck» or »misfortune» as object, always means 'to send down', with Heaven as either expressed or merely understood subject: Ode 166, phr. 5 »It (Heaven, mentioned in the preceding line) sends down to you a far-reaching felicity»; Ode 194, phr. 6 »It sends down death and famine»; Ode 274, phr. 7 »(Heaven) sends down blessings that are very great» — the preceding lines here contain no »Heaven», so this has to be supplied; quite the same is true of Ode 279, phr. 8 and Ode 284 phr. 9. In the Shu we have this same idea in To fang: 10 »Heaven sent down that ruin (on him)». Further, hiung tê does not mean »baleful forces» i. e. calamities or evils (as supposed in B), but refers (with A) to the minds of men. The decisive parallels on this point are two: Ode 255, phr. 11 »Heaven sent down (to them) a reckless disposition»; Shu: To fang, see below. Thus: »(Anciently, our former kings added much to the earlier achievements, they went to the mountains); therefore, when (Heaven) sent down to us (sc. our people) evil dispositions (sc. recalcitrant minds), they (yet) had fine achievements in our state». — We compare for the phr. hiung - tê:

Shu: To fang: Er shang pu ki yü hiung tê 12.

A. PK'ung paraphrases 13 and K'ung Ying-ta expounds this thus: »May you not hate

(each other) and (fall into) an evil disposition», an impossible construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »May you (officers) not have fear of the evil disposition» (of the people). — C. Another version ap. Shuowen reads 14 »When your superiors have no aversion for your evil dispositions (i. e. have forgiven your rebellion)». — C is the earliest version attested and the A version may very well have the same meaning. — We should also study some disputed cases of *kiang* 98:

- a. Shu: To shī: Yü ta *kiang* er sī kuo min ming 15;
- b. Shu: To fang: Wo wei ta *kiang* er ming 16;
- c. Shu: To fang: Nai yu pu yung wo *chiang* er ming 17.

A. PK'ung: min ming 18 means 19 'the ruler, sovereign'. And in ex. b and c ming 20 alone is equal to the min ming 18 of a. (K'ung Ying-ta tries desperately to explain this: the ruler is the one who determines life and death of the subject, thus: »the people's life(-determiner)»; but probably PK'ung simply thought of the phr. recurring later in our chapter: 21 »I (the king) take care of the people's life», see Gl. 1480 below). Thus: a. »I have grandly (brought down =) vanquished your four states' rulers»; b. »I have grandly (brought down =) vanquished your rulers»; c. »If there are such who do not use (my orders), I will (throw down =) vanquish your rulers». An absurd interpretation. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *kiang* 98 means 'to lower, to reduce, to diminish', and *kiang* ming 'to diminish — life' would mean »to mitigate (the punishment so as to spare) the life». This curious interpr. has been swallowed by Legge: a. »I greatly mitigated the penalty in favour of the lives of the people of your four countries»; b. »I dealt very leniently as regards your lives»; c. »If you do not take advantage of the leniency with which I have spared your lives». — C. The lines obviously mean, with Kiang Sheng: a. »I grandly sent down orders (commands) to the peoples of your four states»; B. »I grandly (send down orders to you =) give you my commands»; c. »If there are such who do not (use =) obey the order I have sent down to you».

1478. Er wei chen ho chen tung wan min yi ts'ien 22.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »You say to me: why do you (shake =) scare and (move =) excite the myriad people by the removal?» — B. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: kin er huei chen ho chī tung wan min yi ts'ien 23. The chī 24 (\*t̥iər / t̥i / chī) 'to revere, to respect' is only a variation ('to fear' = 'to revere') of the same stem as 25 or 26 \*t̥iən / t̥iəŋ / chen 'to shake, to fear'. Huei 27 is defined as = 28 'to accord with, to obey' in Erya, and this is attested by good text ex., see Gl. 1281. Kiang Sheng interprets: »If now you obey me, why do you scare and (move =) excite the people as to this removal» — this said to the leaders. Sun Sing-yen believes, since Erya: Shī yen has an entry 29 = 30, that ho 29 could have the sense of 'why not': »If now you obey me, why do you not scare and excite the myriad people so that they move». But that Erya sense of ho 29 is confirmed by no texts. —

87 憂 88 心腹 89 敢 90 布腹心 91 古我先王將多于前功 92 將 93 欲 94 大 95 于 96 用降我凶德  
嘉績于朕邦 97 綏 98 嘉 99 降 100 下去 101 降 102 拊 103 德 104 升 105 績 106 貢 107 降爾遐福 108 降喪饕  
餗 109 降福簡簡 110 降福孔皆 111 降福孔夷 112 天惟降時喪 113 天降滔德 114 爾尚不忌于凶  
德 115 汝庶幾不自忌入於凶德 116 上不著于凶德 117 于大降爾四國民命 118 我惟大降爾  
命 119 乃有不用我降爾命 120 民命 121 若 122 命 123 承民命 124 爾謂朕曷震動萬民 125 以遷 126 今  
爾惠朕曷祗動萬民以遷 127 祗 128 震 129 振 130 惠 131 順 132 曷 133 益 134 爾謂朕 135 汝曷不告朕

It is true that version B is attested a century earlier than version A; but if *huei* 27 is taken in the sense of 'to obey' it is far less natural in the context. The *er wei chen* 31 of A is analogous to the 32 earlier in the chapter. Probably B 27 \**g'iwəd* / *yiwei* / *huei* is simply a loan char. for A 33 \**giwəd* / *jwgi* / *wei*.

**1479. Luan yüe wo kia 34.**

**A.** PK'ung: «luan bringing order yüe in wo kia our house». Yüe 35 (\**giwət*) is a variant graph for 36 or 37 as a particle (see Gl. 1207), and since this particle is defined as = 38 or 39 in Erya, PK'ung followed by the Ts'ing scholars considers yüe wo kia as equal to 40. But there are no safe text par. in which yüe, written in one fashion or another, is equal to 38 as a preposition indicating the locative. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en therefore renders yüe 35 'to go far away, to pass on' by 41: «so that luan orderly government yüe (passes on to =) reaches to our house». — **C.** Another interpr. Kuang ya: Shī ku 3 says yüe 35 = 42 'to regulate' — the same meaning as luan (sī) 93 (see Gl. 1464) with which it is here combined, evidently a binome: sī-yüe «(regulating =) putting in order wo kia our house». This meaning of yüe 35 is well attested in Han time (e. g. Shuo yüan: Chī wu 44) but from pre-Han texts only one ex. has been adduced, and even that debatable: Kyü: Chou yü hia 45, where Wei Chao says yüe means 46 'to raise' which makes poor sense, and Wang Nien-sun therefore interprets: «They regulated the 9 plains». This idea of Wang's has good support in our binome (luan =) sī-yüe here. Probably the sense 'to regulate' of yüe is simply an extension of meaning from yüe 'to pass on': 'to cause to pass on, keep going'.

**1480. Chen ki tu king kung ch'eng min ming 47.**

**A.** PK'ung: «I will together with reliable and careful (men) respectfully (uphold =) take care of the people's life». — **B.** Kiang Sheng: 41 is a short-form for 48. Kungyang: Yin 1 says 41 = 48 and ki-ki 48 means 'eagerly' in Li: Wen sang. We should then rather say that 41 is a short-form (Chou fashion) for 50 which is really 51 (both \**kīap*). Indeed 49 in Li is simply a loan char. for 50. Thus: «I will eagerly and honestly, carefully and respectfully take care of the people». — Since interpr. A must cut up the line so as to separate king from kung, which is very unpalatable, whereas B obtains organic and natural binominal phrases: ki tu 52 «eagerly and honestly» and king kung «carefully and respectfully», B is certainly preferable.

**1481. Fei fei küe mou tiao yu ling 53.**

Küe 54, archaically wr. 55, is probably wrong for nai 56, arch. 57.

**A.** PK'ung: tiao 58 = 59 (this after Erya) and yu 60 = 61 (this after Mao Heng). Thus: «I do not reject your counsels tiao when they come yu I use ling the best ones». I have had repeated occasion to state that yu cannot be proved ever to have meant 'to use', in spite of Mao Heng, cf. Gl. 200 and 1413, and Sun Sing-yen better says yu = 'to follow': «When they come, I follow the best ones». (Kiang Sheng instead: yu ling = «I follow the divine one», sc. the tortoise oracle). But in Gl. 429 I have extensively examined all alleged cases of tiao 58 = 59 'to come' and arrived at the conclusion that no such meaning of the word can be proved. — **B.** Yü Yüe: tiao 58 = 62 'good', a well-established meaning, as fully developed in our Gl. 429. But tiao in the sense of 'good' fundamentally means 'good-hearted, kind', and in Gl. 429 I already proposed to interpret: «I kindly follow the best». Cf. E below. — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: yu ling 63 is equal to yung ling 64 (65 \**lieng* used for 66 \**liəng*); we could modify this into yu ling 67 «to follow the commands». Thus: «I do not reject counsels, I tiao (find good =) approve of yu ling those who follow commands». In support Sun adduces Shu: Lü hing 68, which in Li: Tsi yi is quoted 69. That is all very well, but Sun's interpr. in our present passage really makes poor sense. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: In Chuang: Ts'i wu lun the binome tiao kuei 70 is the same as the binome ch'u kuei 71 in

Chuang: T'ien hia, and 72 \**tiók* can thus serve as short-form for 73 \**t'íók* / *ts'íuk* / *ch' u* 'deceitful'. Hence our *tia o y u l i n g* means »I (deceitfully =) cunningly use magic«. A very fanciful speculation. — E. Yü Sing-wu points out that for rhythmical reasons the first word *k o* 74 of the next line must be carried here: *fei fei k ü e m o u, t i a o y u l i n g k o* 75. This is obviously right, all the more since in a line *K o f e i k a n w e i p u* 76 the *k o* comes in very quaintly (Yü Yüe therefore has to declare it to be »an empty particle«, this after Kuang ya: *Shí ku* 4; but in comm. on that Wang Nien-sun rightly points out that *k o* 74 there must be a corruption of *j o* 77). Now in Chou inscriptions *k o* 74 is regularly a short-form of *k o* 78, and Yü defines the latter as = 79, and following C above he paraphrases 80, whatever that may mean (I can make no sense of it). But in fact *k o* 78 makes an excellent binome with the preceding *l i n g* 81 which *inter alia* means 'intelligent, clever', e. g. Chuang: T'ien ti 82 »The one who is greatly stupid will all his life not become intelligent«. *K o* 78 means 'to penetrate, to understand perfectly, to comprehend', as in Shu: Ta kao 83 »to comprehend and know the commands of Heaven»; Li: Ta hüe 84 »(to investigate, penetrate =) to comprehend the phenomena in the world«, etc. (common). Thus: »I do not reject your counsels, I graciously follow the intelligent and discerning ones; but I dare not disobey the tortoise oracle«, etc.

1482. Yung hung tsí fen 85.

A. PK'ung takes both *hung* and *fen* as meaning 'great': »And so I make grand this great (undertaking)«. 86 (\**b'íwən* / *b'íuən* / *fen*) in this sense is well attested (e. g. Ode 242); it is then etym. the s. w. as 87 and 88. — B. Wang Yin-chí would read 86 \**pjār* / *pjiē* / *pi* 'ornate'; for text ex. of this see Gl. 489. Thus: »And so I make grand this (ornate =) beautiful (undertaking)«. — There is really no advantage in B. The apparent pleonasm in A is very typical Chinese: »to make grand, to enhance, to make even grander this (already) great thing«. — Yü Yüe would carry our *y u n g* 88 here to the preceding: *fei k a n w e i p u* 76, because in Ta kao we have twice the phr. *w e i p u y u n g* 89. But the grammatical context is different: there it means »only the oracle employ« = »to follow nothing but the oracle«, with *y u n g* as verb and *p u* as an object anteposed because of emphasis. Here the principal verb is *k a n*, and a *y u n g* at the end would make no sense. Our phr., on the contrary, is analogous to Ta kao: *W a n g h o p u w e i p u* 90 (*p u* last word before a new passage). — C. Chang Ping-lin: Erya: *Shí yü* says a three-legged tortoise is called a *f e n* 86 (or: *p e n*; or: *pi*), and Po hu t'ung: *Shí ying* repeats this (also Lun heng: *Shí ying*). Our *f e n* should have this sense. Since *h u n g* 91 'vast' in Shuowen is defined as = »a room being deep and reverberating«, Chang believes it means here 'to reverberate', which he expresses by *y i n g* 92 'to respond', thus: »I respond to this tortoise«. In regard to Ta kao, phr. *f u f e n* 93 (cf. Gl. 1591) he likewise says this means »to display the tortoise«. But there are no pre-Han text ex. of 86 in this sense, and in Ta kao it fails entirely in the context.

33 謂 34 敵 越 我 家 35 越 36 寧 37 曰 38 于 39 於 40 于 我 家 41 及 42 治 43 亂 44 城 郭 不 修 溝 池  
不 越 45 汨 越 九 原 46 揚 47 朕 及 萬 敬 恭 承 民 命 48 汲 49 汲 汲 50 急 51 悉 52 急 驚 53 非 廢 厥  
謀 帛 由 靈 54 厥 55 56 乃 57 之 58 弟 59 至 60 由 61 用 62 善 63 由 靈 64 用 令 65 靈 66 令 67 由  
令 68 苗 民 弗 用 靈 69 苗 民 非 用 命 70 弗 說 71 說 說 72 弗 73 說 74 各 75 弗 由 靈 各 76 各 非 取  
達 卜 77 若 78 格 79 正 80 至 用 令 以 格 正 之 81 靈 82 大 患 者 終 身 不 靈 83 格 知 天 之 命 84 格  
物 85 用 宏 茲 貢 86 貢 87 墳 頒 88 用 89 惟 卜 用 90 王 害 不 達 卜 91 宏 92 應 93 敷 貢 94 尚 皆 隆

Pang po shī ch'ang see Gl. 1335.

**1483.** Shang kie yin tsai 94.

**A.** PK'ung: yin 95 = 96, a variant for 97 'a carpenters' correcting frame' (for straightening crooked wood). Yin 98 is attested in Sün: Sing-ngo, and PK'ung took 95 as short-form for this. In the same way it occurs with this short-form 95 in Hanfei: Hien hūe. Thus: **«May you all (»correcting-frame yourselves» =) correct yourselves»**. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: yin 95 = 99 'to be pained', sc. in the sense it has in Meng: Liang Huei wang 100 'to suffer with, be compassionate': **«May you all be compassionate»**. — **C.** The stone classics of 175 A. D. read shang kie ch'eng tsai 1. Kiang Sheng refers to Cheng Hūan's gloss on Ode 154: ch'eng 2 = 3: **«May you all (govern =) carry out your government»**. But Cheng's definition there is very obscure and unsupported, see our Gl. 376. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen: Erya: Shi yen says yin 95 = 4, thus: **«May you all prognosticate»**. But, as Sun as well as Ho Yi-hang and Shao Tsin-han in comm. on Erya point out, from the primary sense of 'prognosticate', by extension of meaning, yin could (with Kuangya) mean 'to compute, to calculate' and our line would then mean: **«May you all (compute, calculate =) consider»**. Sun further adduces ex. in which the ch'eng 2 of the C text version has the same sense of 5 'to calculate', and the meaning would thus be the same. As to yin, the primary Erya sense 'to prognosticate' has no text confirmation. The extended sense 'to compute' is weakly supported. Kuan: Kin ts'ang 6 is expl. **«in order to (compute, measure =) examine oneself»** (yin = 7) by the comm., but it might just as well (with the sense of A above) mean: **«in order to correct oneself»**. In Li: Shao yi 8 Cheng Hūan says yin = 9 'to calculate': **«to calculate the conditions»**; but Ch'en Hao more naturally says **«to conceal one's feelings»**. (The Ts'ing scholars insist that 95 \*·iän was »phonetically similar» to 9 \*·iäg or 10 \*·iäk and therefore could serve for them, which is quite wrong). On the other hand, the meaning of ch'eng 2 = 'to calculate' is safely attested in Chouli: Kao jen etc. — **E.** Yü Yüe: A is right in regard to yin: it means 'to correct by a straightening frame'. The ch'eng 2 of version C (\*d'iang / d'iang / ch'eng) serves as loan word for 11 (\*d'iang / d'iang / sheng) in Mao's version of Ode 237 and so it does in our text C here. It means 'to plumb-line' = 'to correct by the plumb-line', just as the yin 95 of A means 'to correct by the straightening-frame'. 11 'a cord, a line' in this sense of a verb 'to correct by the cord' is common, e. g. Li: Yüe ki 12 **«in order to correct the amplexness of the virtue»**. — The choice is difficult here, but A, supported by E, which finds a close correspondence between both text versions, seems most convincing. — Yü Sing-wu adduces a long series of Shu lines in which we have the optative shang 13 **«would that, may you . . .»**, and proposes in all these cases to consider shang 13 as a short-form for ch'ang 14 **«constantly»**. It is difficult to see any plausible reason for this.

**1484.** Yü k'i mou kien siang er 15.

**A.** PK'ung: kien 16 = 17 'great' (common) and siang 18 = 19 'to assist' (common): **«I will exert myself in greatly assisting you»**. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: kien = 20 'to select' and siang 'to assist' means 'to guide': **«I will exert myself in selecting and guiding you»**. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: kien = 21 'to examine' (common) and siang = 22 'to see, to inspect' (common): **«I will exert myself in examining and inspecting you»**. — C, which takes the two verbs as analogous notions, is evidently right.

**1485.** Nien king wo chung 23.

**A.** PK'ung: **«You should think of and be careful about my multitude»**. — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: nien 24 is a short-form for shen 25 'to announce, to tell, to remonstrate' (for text ex. see Gl. 404), and king 26 is a short-form of 27 'to warn' (common), thus: **«I tell and warn (you) my multitude»**. — B is infinitely better in keeping with the preceding: **«I will exert myself in examining and inspecting you»**, being a severe warning, than A.

Short-forms like these are the rule rather than the exception in bronze inscriptions; it is exceedingly common that no »radicals» are added.

1486. Chen pu kien hao huokan kung sheng sheng kü jen mou jen chī pao kü sū k'in 28.

For different ideas about sheng sheng see Gl. 1460. Here, as in several other places, the ancient text had kung 29, not 30, see Gl. 1401.

A. PK'ung: kien 31 'shoulder' means 32 'to put a burden on' = 'to give office to'; sheng sheng 33 means 34 'to advance steadily in goodness'; kü 35 means 36 'exhausted'. And he interprets: »I do not give office to such who love riches; such who dare to (furnish =) achieve and advance in (goodness), and such who, in regard to destitute men, plan for the secure residence of (these) men, I will classify (for offices) and respect them». An absurd interpr. as a whole, and with several very weak points: how can kien 'shoulder' mean 'to charge, to give office to?' ('to cause to shoulder?'). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, while admitting that the line is in part obscure, tentatively says: kü 35 = 37 'to nourish' (ex. of this in Ode 202), and he interprets: »I do not give office to such who love riches; such who kan courageously kung are careful about (the people's) sheng sheng living vigourously, who nourish people and plan for people's secure residences, I classify them (for office) and respect them». Hardly better than A (the latter half: »who nourish people» etc. goes back to a gloss by Cheng Hsün). — C. Kiang Sheng has a very curious speculation, taking sheng sheng not as = 'to make a livelihood', as earlier (see Gl. 1460), but 'to make a profit'; and he quotes Shuowen's definition: kan 38 = 39 'to go forwards and take', thus: »I do not give office to such who love riches, or such who kan grab (such things which) kung contribute to sheng sheng making profit; such who nourish» etc. (like B above). — D. Sun Sing-yen: Erya: Shī ku says kien 31 = 40, thus here: »I do not do wealth-loving (things)». But for this Erya definition there is no support in par. text ex. — E. Chuang Shu-tsu: k'in 41 is a short-form for hin 42 'to raise': »I will (classifyingly =) according to merit raise them» (to office). Chang Ping-lin likewise says 41 = 42 in the sense of 43 = 44 'to array' and pao 45 = 46 (Shuowen = 47 'to follow in a sequence', no text ex.), thus: mou jen chī pao kü sū (k'in =) hin »I plan for people's pao kü arrayed dwellings and sū hin sequences». — F. Another interpr. The entire passage is of quite a different purport from those proposed above. Kien 31 'shoulder, to shoulder' means by extension 'to carry' generally. Thus »I do not (shoulder =) carry any love of riches, I (only) presume to furnish the means to make your livelihood, to nourish people, to plan for people's secure residences; may you (seriatim =) each in his place respect this!». There is support for this interpr. first in the fact that kien 31 means 'to carry' a few lines later and precisely in an analogous, abstract sense: yung kien yi sin »forever carry a single mind», and secondly in that we there have the same order of ideas. Just as here the king does not indulge in riches but only wants to secure the livelihood of the people, so there the leaders are exhorted not to be bent on riches but work for the securing of a livelihood.

Kin wo ki siu kao er see Gl. 1458.

哉 25 隆 26 隱 27 隱 28 隱 29 隱 30 隱 31 隱 32 隱 33 隱 34 隱 35 隱 36 隱 37 隱 38 隱 39 隱 40 隱 41 隱 42 隱 43 隱 44 隱 45 隱 46 隱 47 隱 48 隱 49 隱 50 隱 51 隱 52 隱 53 隱 54 隱 55 隱 56 隱 57 隱 58 隱 59 隱 60 隱 61 隱 62 隱 63 隱 64 隱 65 隱 66 隱 67 隱 68 隱 69 隱 70 隱 71 隱 72 隱 73 隱 74 隱 75 隱 76 隱 77 隱 78 隱 79 隱 80 隱 81 隱 82 隱 83 隱 84 隱 85 隱 86 隱 87 隱 88 隱 89 隱 90 隱 91 隱 92 隱 93 隱 94 隱 95 隱 96 隱 97 隱 98 隱 99 隱 100 隱 101 隱 102 隱 103 隱 104 隱 105 隱 106 隱 107 隱 108 隱 109 隱 110 隱 111 隱 112 隱 113 隱 114 隱 115 隱 116 隱 117 隱 118 隱 119 隱 120 隱 121 隱 122 隱 123 隱 124 隱 125 隱 126 隱 127 隱 128 隱 129 隱 130 隱 131 隱 132 隱 133 隱 134 隱 135 隱 136 隱 137 隱 138 隱 139 隱 140 隱 141 隱 142 隱 143 隱 144 隱 145 隱 146 隱 147 隱 148 隱 149 隱 150 隱 151 隱 152 隱 153 隱 154 隱 155 隱 156 隱 157 隱 158 隱 159 隱 160 隱 161 隱 162 隱 163 隱 164 隱 165 隱 166 隱 167 隱 168 隱 169 隱 170 隱 171 隱 172 隱 173 隱 174 隱 175 隱 176 隱 177 隱 178 隱 179 隱 180 隱 181 隱 182 隱 183 隱 184 隱 185 隱 186 隱 187 隱 188 隱 189 隱 190 隱 191 隱 192 隱 193 隱 194 隱 195 隱 196 隱 197 隱 198 隱 199 隱 200 隱 201 隱 202 隱 203 隱 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## 1487. Wu tsung yü huo pao, sheng sheng tsī yung 48.

For sheng sheng cf. Gl. 1460 and 1486 above.

**A.** PK'ung: »Do not amass riches and precious things, advance steadily and yourselves use (virtue)«. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en briefly says that yung 49 means 50 'merit', thus tsī yung = »make yourselves meritorious«. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: yung 49 = 51: »Do not amass riches and precious things, sheng sheng make your livelihood tsī yung for your own (use =) consumption«. — **D.** In all the preceding the comm. have simply skipped the inconvenient yü 52, as if the line had run: wu tsung huo pao. But the fundamental sense of tsung 53 is 'to bind, to tie' (secondarily: 'a bundle, to bundle, to heap'), hence also 'to fasten to, to attach to', as in Ch'u: Li sao 54 »I (tie, fasten =) attach my reins (of my horses) to the Fu-sang tree»; and here we have it in the reflexive; tsī yung means 'to use oneself' = 'to devote oneself to'; thus: **»Do not attach yourselves to riches and precious things, employ yourselves in making your livelihood».**

## 1488. Shī fu min tê 55.

**A.** PK'ung: shī 56 = 57 'to use' (common): »Using (this), (spread out before the people =) show the people the virtue (they should possess)«. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: shī 56 = 57, thus (in Legge's formulation): »Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people«. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »Using (this), bestow upon the people your bounty«. — **D.** Another interpr. There is no reason not to give shī its full value as a verb, coördinated with fu: **»Use and propagate the people's virtue».** For shī 56 = 'to use', see text ex. in Gl. 103.

## Kao Tsung jung jī.

## 1489. Wei sien ko wang cheng küe shī 58.

This is the Ku-wen version; the Kin-wen version ap. Han shu: Ch'eng ti ki and K'ung Kuang chuan had 59; ko 60 and kia 61 were synon. and interchangeable, see Gl. 1265.

**A.** PK'ung: »The former (arrived kings =) kings who attained (the highest principles) corrected their affairs«. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: ko 60 = 'to correct'; thus: »First (one must) correct the king, (then one can) correct his affair« (sc. the sacrifice). For ko 60 'to correct' see corroborating ex. in Gl. 1325 above. But this interpr. excludes the Kin-wen kia 61 which can have no such meaning. — **C.** Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 62 »The king should not be anxious, but first correct his governing affairs«. Sun Sing-yen proposes that Si-ma took kia 61 as equal to hia 63 'leisure, at ease' and displaced the sien. In the original order: wei sien hia, wang cheng küe shī, the line would then mean: »(first =) for the present be at ease, the king should correct his governing affairs«. Whatever Si-ma may have intended, that was surely not the meaning of the Shu text. — **D.** In Han shu: Ch'eng ti ki there is an edict of the year 32 B. C., on the occasion of a bad omen, which quotes our Shu line and adds: »All you dignitaries are eager and shuai sien poliao 69 lead forward all the officers to repair my faults«. This shows that to the edict author sien 65 in our text means 'to come forward', and that he hence understood the kia 61 in its ordinary sense: **»We shall come forward and go to the king, and correct his (sacrificial) performance».** Shī 66 often has this technical meaning of 'sacrifice', e. g. Ch'un ts'iu: Chao 15, phr. 67 »There was a (service, performance =) sacrifice in the temple of Wu, etc. The fact that we have no preposition: ko wang, not ko yü wang, is no obstacle, since verbs of motion are frequently construed transitively both in literary and in modern Chinese (68, etc.). — **E.** Chuang Shu-tsu: kia 61 is a loan char. for 69 (same sound): **»kia wang »to bring blessing on the king».** An unnecessary loan speculation. — **D.** which suits both text versions and which takes ko in its commonest sense, is obviously best; and, apart from the impossible construction of Si-ma's, it is the oldest interpr. recorded. — We should compare:



Shu: Si po k'an li: Ko jen yüan kuei wang kan chi ki 70.

Si-ma Ts'ien has the usual Kin-wen reading *kia 61* inst. of *ko 60*.

A. Wang Ch'ung (1st c. A. D., Lun heng: Pu shi) paraphrases *ko jen 71* by *hien jen 72* 'wise men'. PK'ung explains this by *ko 60* = 73 'to arrive, to attain': 'arrived men' (men who have attained to the highest virtue); Sun Sing-yen: *ko 60* = 74, thus »normative men». The latter might do for *ko 60* (see text par. in Gl. 1325) but not for *kia 61*, so that PK'ung is in fact better. Yü Yüe, on the other hand, explains *kia jen 75* as = »the great men» (well attested meaning, see Gl. 758); this will do for *kia 61* but not for *ko 60*, and here again PK'ung is better. Thus: »The (arrived =) perfected men and the great tortoise dare not (know of =) foresee any luck». — B. Wang Fu (2nd c. A. D. in Ts'ien fu lun: Pu lie) quotes 76. In Li: K'ü li we find 77 and Ch'en Hao (14th c.) defines *kia 61* here as = 78: »We base ourselves on (depend on) you, great tortoise, (you who have) constant norms». This would then be an extension of meaning from *kia* = 'to borrow': »We avail ourselves of you»; but evidently *kia* could equally well, and better, have its common meaning of 'to arrive': »We come to you, great tortoise». In any case, this is evidently a fixed formula in addressing the oracle. Kiang Sheng believes that the B text version (Wang Fu's) in our Shu line is the correct one, and that the *jen 79* of version A is a corruption of 80, short-form of 81. Thus: »(We have said:) we come to you, great tortoise», but it (the oracle) has not dared to foresee any luck». Kiang believes that *jen* in the *kia jen 75* of Si-ma Ts'ien is a later correction made after PK'ung's 71, which is very unlikely. In any case Wang Ch'ung's *jen 79* cannot be due to a correction, since he paraphrases his *kia jen 75* by *hien jen 72*. Thus in early Han time there surely existed a version with *jen* and not *er*. This, however, by no means prevents an *er 80* having been erroneously turned into *jen 79* before Si-ma's time, and in fact the Li parallel must be said to be decisive on this point: it would be strange indeed if that oracle formula and our Shu line, so exceedingly similar, were quite independent and had different meanings. Quite decisive in this direction is furthermore the fact that it is an oracle, and certainly not any »wise men» who foresee whether something is *ki 82* auspicious or *hiung 83* nefarious.

Shu: Lü hing: Shu yu ko ming 84.

A. Cheng Hüan (after Erya): *ko 85* = 86 'to ascend', interpreting: »May you all have a (highly-ascending =) long life». *Ko* 'to arrive, *parvenir*' may sometimes by extension of meaning come to mean 'to ascend', as in the Lü hing: 87 »There was no descending or ascending». But the idea that *ming* here refers to long life is impossible in the context. — B. PK'ung simply says *ko 85* = 88 (so also Ts'ai Ch'en), and K'ung Ying-ta fills out: *chi* = 89, thus: »May you have a perfected life» (still referring to high age). — C. Since the »life» idea makes no sense, Legge and Couvreur take *ming* as = 'charge, order', but still adhere to the B idea of *ko 85* as = 88 'attaining (the utmost point), perfected': Legge: »You will receive a most important charge; Couvreur, somewhat differently: »Vous trouverez, j'espère, d'excellentes prescriptions». — D. Wang Yin-chi: 85 is loan char. for 90 'great': »May you get a great charge». We should

54 總余魯手扶桑 55 式敷氏德 56 式 57 敬 58 惟先格王正厥事 59 惟先假王正厥事 60 格  
61 假 62 王勾憂先修政事 63 暇 64 帥先百僚 65 先 66 事 67 有事于武宮 68 入城到東 69 假  
70 格人元龜罔敢知吉 71 格人 72 賢人 73 至 74 正 75 假人 76 假爾元龜 77 假爾桑扈有常  
78 罔 79 人 80 尔 81 爾 82 吉 83 凶 84 庶有格命 85 格 86 登 87 罔有降格 88 至 89 至 90 假 91

then have to say that *ko* 85 stands for 91, because these synonymous words (but not homophonous: 85 \**klāk* : 91 \**kā*) are often interchangeable, and that *kia* is a loan char. for *kia* 90. But if so, it is strange that no ancient text version here has *kia* 91; *ko* 85 alone is attested. — E. Wang Sien-k'ien: *ko* 85 = 86 (with A), but *ming* 92 means 93 '(heavenly) charge': »May it occur that you ascend to (heavenly) charges» (a long row of persons being addressed). We might modify this by giving *ko* 85 its commoner meaning of 'to arrive, to attain to', and take *ming* 'charge' simply in its ordinary sense of office: »May it occur that you (all) attain to charges». This suits the context best.

**1490.** *Min yu pu jo tē, pu t'ing tsuei* 94.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en take *jo* and *t'ing* as finite verbs: »When among the people there are such who do not comply with virtue and do not acknowledge their guilt». *T'ing tsuei* 95 means 'to listen to their guilt' i. e. acknowledge their guilt. We have an exact par. in Li: *Yü ki* 96 »The inferior man because of that acknowledges his faults» (here the sense is quite unambiguous). — B. Kiang Sheng takes *pu jo* as an attribute to *tē* and *t'ing* as an attribute to *tsuei*. *Pu jo* 'not conforming' (to the right) = 'not good': *t'ing* 'to hear' means 'to investigate and judge, to condemn' as *passim* in Li: Wang chī. Moreover he connects it with the preceding: »(They themselves in the middle cut off their lives because) the people have a (not-conforming =) aberrant virtue and (not heard crimes =) crimes that have not been judged». — The grammatical construction of A really makes a better sense, for it is here not a question of »the people» (as a whole) being wicked but that some are good and get a long life and some are wicked and get a short life. And the Li par. offers a strong support for *t'ing tsuei*. There is really no reason for abandoning the ancient interpr.

**1491.** *T'ien ki fu ming cheng küe tē* 97.

A. PK'ung: *fu* 98 (\**p'ig*) = 99 'true, truly', thus: »Heaven has *fu* truly *ming* granted life (sc. short for the culprits) and corrected their virtue». *Fu* 98 = 'true, sincere', is common. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *fu* 98 'sincerity' here means 100 'token of reliability', i. e. 'evidence', referring to warning omens in the shape of premature death for the wicked. Thus: »Heaven has *fu* given evidence and *ming* given orders (that they should) correct their virtue». — C. Whereas the Ku-wen version had 98 above (\**p'ig*), the Kin-wen version had *fu* 1 'to deliver, to give' (\**pju* / *pju* / *fu*); so read in the stone classics of 175 A. D. and so quoted by K'ung Kuang (Han shu: K'ung Kuang chuan), late 1st c. B. C.; Si-ma Ts'ien has instead 2 (\**b'iu* / *b'iu* / *fu*) 'to apply', a cognate word. Thus: »Heaven has given its grant of life, (adjusting =) determining their virtue». — C follows up directly the idea expressed in the preceding line. It is also the oldest version attested.

**1492.** *Wang si king min wang fei t'ien yin tien si wu feng yü ni* 3.

A. PK'ung punctuates after *tien*, interpreting. »The king *si* presides over king and cares about *min* the people; there is nothing that is not *t'ien yin* by Heaven continued *tien* (norms =) institutions; *si* in regard to the sacrifices, do not be over-rich in the (near one =) father's shrine». The char. 4 (\**njät* / *njät* / *ni*) means 'near, close' (common). But Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that our text originally had simply 5 (\**njät* / *njät* / *ni*) 'near, close', a cognate word (altered into 4 by Wei Pao) and this would here mean the same as (the cognate word) 6 (\**njät* / *njät* / *ni*) 'dead father, dead father's shrine', the etymology of the latter being in fact 'the near one' as opposed to more remote ancestors (to the same word stem belongs 7 \**njät* 'near, close'). The definition of our *ni* as having this sense was adopted by PK'ung from Ma Jung. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after *yin*, interpreting: »The kings *si* have for duty king *min* to care for the people;

there are none who are not the successors of Heaven; tien sī in arranging the sacrifices, do not be over-rich in the father's shrine». — C. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders the line thus: wang sī (11) king min wang fei t'ien ki (13) ch'ang sī wu li (9) yü k' i tao (some editors have feng 8 inst. of li 9, but that is a correction after Shu; the Sung Po-na edition has li). Now, sī 10 and sī 11 are interchangeable in Chou inscriptions and either the 10 of A is equal to the 11 of C in its sense of 'to continue, to succeed', or the 11 of C means 10 'to govern' (common in bronze inscr.); the former, however, is more plausible, since it matches the following yin 12 (Sī-ma = 13) 'to continue, inherit'. As to feng 8 and li 9, the latter without radical 14 (so written, meaning 'ritual vase' in a bronze inscr., see Grammata p. 278), they are so similar that a confusion was easy, and it is hard to tell which was the original reading in our Shu line. Indeed the archaic graphs for feng 8 and li 14 are hardly distinguishable (see Grammata pp. 278 and 395), and the Han scholars in transcribing such a graph might just as well take it to be the one as the other. Sī-ma renders tien sī by ch'ang sī 'regular, standard sacrifices', thus taking tien as an attribute to sī. And obviously he does not take ni 5 as = 'father's shrine', since he paraphrases it by 'k' i tao 'neglecting the proper principles', but he took it as = 4 'intimate, familiar, uncere- monious'. Thus: »When the kings become successors in taking care of the people, there are none who are not successors of Heaven; in the standard sacrifice (sc. to the Royal spirits), do not perform rites in familiarity». (Chavannes has understood this Shī ki passage quite differently.) Kiang Sheng follows this as far as tien sī but for the rest accepts B. — D. Yü Yü punctuates differently: Wang sī king min, wang fei t'ien, yin tien sī, wu feng yü ni; he takes 10 as = 11, after Shī ki, and takes tien 15 (\*t'ien) 'standard, norm' as a loan char. for 16 (\*d'ien) 'to cut off', interpreting: »When the kings become successors in taking care of the people, wang fei t'ien there is nothing that is not Heaven (i. e. due to Heaven's command); yin tien sī you should continue the interrupted sacrifices, wu feng yü ni and not be over-rich in the father's shrine». This is certainly no improvement, the clause wang fei t'ien being strained and the loan \*t'ien for \*d'ien not very convincing. — E. Yü Sing-wu: 8 should not be read feng but li, being properly 14 (with Sī-ma, C above). Ni 5 is a corruption of 17, and this again is the same as shī 18 »the corpse», the representative of the dead at a sacrifice. Tien sī 19 is the name of an office »the regulator of sacrifices», as recorded in Chouli: Tien sī. As to sī 10, he follows B. Thus: »The kings have for duty to care for the people, there are none who are not the successors of Heaven; (but now) the tien sī regulator of sacrifices has no courtesy towards the shī representative of the dead». This is very ingenious, as far as tien sī is concerned, 5 = 18 being much less convincing. Yü has a long discussion whether Chou offices were the same as those of the Yin, an unnecessary worry since certainly no Shu text was written earlier than Western Chou: the authors naively applied the Chou-time institutions to Yin times. But then it is decisive that the duty of the tien-sī according to Chouli (the only text in which he occurs) was to preserve, cleanse and guard the open altars in the suburbs. He really could have nothing to do with the »representative of the dead» in the ancestral sacrifices in the temple. If, with Yü, we were to take tien sī as the name of an office, it would be something quite different from that recorded in the Chouli, and

假 2 命 3 天命 4 民有不若德不聽罪 5 聽罪 6 小人以聽過 7 天既早命正厥德 8 孚  
 9 信 10 符信 1 付 2 附 3 王司敬民罔非天胤典祀無豐于昵 4 昵 5 尼 6 稱 7 通 8 豐  
 9 禮 10 司 11 嗣 12 胤 13 繼 14 豐 15 典 16 矜 17 尼 18 尸 19 典祀 20 西伯既歿黎 21 黎 22 望 23

then we are in the field of pure guess-work. — If we take *ni 4* as it stands, without any loan speculation (= 6), giving it its normal meaning 'intimate, familiar', we can follow the oldest interpr. attested (C).

### Si po k'an Li.

#### 1493. Si po ki k'an Li 20.

For *Li 21* (\**liər*) (Shuowen 22 \**liər*) Shang shu ta chuan has *K'i 23* (\**g'ïer*), and *Si-ma Ts'ien* has both this latter and *Ki 24* (\**kïer*) and *Ki 25* (\**kïer*). There has been a heated discussion whether these are variants of the same ancient place name, or whether the Han scholars incorrectly mixed up two different warfares, erroneously identifying a *K'i* or *Ki* with the *Li* of the Shu. The word 26 is wr. 27 in Shang shu ta chuan and Shuowen; since both are \**k'am* / *k'âm* / *k'an*, even tone, they are obviously merely variant graphs for the same word.

**A.** Erya, foll. by PK'ung: *k'an* = 'to vanquish', thus: »When the Prince of the West had vanquished Li». — **B.** Shuowen defines 26 as = 28 'to pierce' and 27 as = 29 'to kill', thus: »When the Prince of the West had killed (the prince of) Li». Cf. *Shi ki*: *Ts'i k'o chuan 30* »With the right hand he pierced (stabbed) his breast». It is true that this par. is only from early W. Han time, but it helps greatly to define the precise concrete sense of the word, from which the sense 'to vanquish' is merely an extension.

*Ko jen yüan kuei wang kan chi ki* see Gl. 1489.

#### 1494. Wei wang yin hi 31.

**A.** This is PK'ung's version: »The king is dissolute and sporting». — **B.** *Si-ma Ts'ien* has 32 »The king is dissolute and tyrannical». This was not only the *Kin-wen* version, but also the original *Ku-wen* version, since *Cheng Hsüan* expounds it by 33. PK'ung's *hi 34* is therefore a mere corruption due to similarity in the graphs.

#### 1495. Pu yü t'ien sing 35.

**A.** *Cheng Hsüan*: »(The king) does not consider his heavenly nature». *Yü 36* = 'to estimate, calculate, consider' is the normal meaning. — **B.** *Sun Yi-jang*: *yü 36* = 37 'to rejoice' (then really = 38), thus: »(The king) does not rejoice in his heavenly natures». Cf. *Meng*: *Tsin sin 39* »rejoicing and cheerful». — **C.** *Chang Ping-lin*: The preceding line *pu yu k'ang shi 40* does not mean »we have no (means of) eating our food in tranquillity», but *k'ang 41* stands for 42 'chaff, bran', and »the people» is an understood subject. *Yü 36*, with **B.**, is = 38 = 37, and *t'ien sing 43* does not mean 'the heavenly nature' but is = *sheng 44* 'life'. Thus: »(The people) have not (even) bran food, they do not enjoy the (heavenly =) by Heaven given life». A series of arbitrary loan theories; moreover *t'ien-sing* is a well-known and frequently occurring binome, whereas no *t'ien sheng* exists. — **A.**, besides being an ancient interpr., really makes better sense in the context than **B.**

#### 1496. Pu ti shuai tien 45.

**A.** PK'ung: *ti 46* = 47 'to walk in, pursue the course of', see full discussion in Gl. 1337 above; *shuai 48* = 49 'to follow' (common); *ti-shuai* then simply becomes a binome = 'to follow'. Thus: »(The king) does not follow the statutes». — **B.** *Sun Yi-jang*, basing himself on some theories of *Wang Nien-sun* and *Wang Yin-chi*, proposes that *ti 46* is equal to 50, and this is = *yung 51* (refuted in Gl. 200); further that *shuai 48* is 'a particle' simply to be skipped (cf. Gl. 1406). Thus the line would be equal to 52 »He does not (use =) observe the statutes». An arbitrary and ill-founded speculation.

#### 1497. Ta ming pu chi 53.

**A.** *Si-ma Ts'ien* renders *chi 54* by 55 'to come', and *Shuowen* quotes 56 = 'to come'. This latter graph is known from no other text. Thus: »The great mandate (sc. to another family) does not come». This interpr. is weak in that it leaves an important item: »to

another family» unexpressed and to be supplied. Erya says *chī 54 = 57* 'to come', cf. Li: Yü ling 58 »Snow and frost greatly come«. — B. Yü Sing-wu: *chī 54* is a corruption of *yi 59* (a person named 60 in Lü: Sien shī is called 61 in Huai: Fan lun) and this *yi 59* (\**ngiad / ngiäi / yi*) is loan chr. for 62 (\**ñiär / ñizi / er*), thus: »The great mandate is not (coming near =) approaching«. Phonetically quite excluded. — C. The proper and fundamental meaning of *chī 54* (\**tiab / tsi / chī*), a word closely cognate to 63 (\**tiap / tsip / chī*) 'to seize' is 'to grasp, to seize, to catch', e. g. Li: K'ü li 64 'beasts of prey'; Ta Tai: Hia siao cheng 65 »The hawk commences to seize». It has its original sense here: »(Why does Heaven not send down its terror,) (why has) the great mandate not been seized?»

Kin wang k' i ju yi see Gl. 1405.

1498. Yin *chī tsi sang*, *chī nai kung* 66.

A. PK'ung: »That Yin is on the point of perishing (points to =) signalizes your deeds«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *chī nai kung* together with the following line: »When Yin now presently will perish, (pointing to =) in view of your deeds (you cannot but be killed in your state)«. — C. Kiang Sheng: »When Yin presently will perish, one will (point out =) signalize your deeds«. — D. Yü Yü: *chī 67* (\**tiar / tsi / chī* (rising tone) is a loan char. for 68 (same sound) 'to effectuate, accomplish', and has the same phonetic in the graph. In ode 285 we find 69 »You have (effectuated and settled =) established your (deeds) merits« (for a full discussion of which see Gl. 820) and the Ode's *chī er kung* and our *chī nai kung* here must reasonably be the same, all the more since Ode 241, phr. 72 »God on High settled it« is quoted 73 in Ts'ien fu lun: Pan lu (Lu school) with the same loan of 67 for 68 as here. Thus: »When Yin is on the point of perishing, if you (effectuate =) carry through your deeds, (you cannot but be killed in your state)«. The word \**tiar / tsi / chī* 68 is also often wr. 74 or 75 and it is closely cognate to \**tiar ti / chī* 76 'to effectuate, bring about, settle', see in detail Gl. 820. — E. Yü Sing-wu: 67 stands for 77 in the reading \**kier / kiei / ki* 'to calculate, to count'. Thus: »When Yin is on the point of perishing, in counting your deeds (you cannot but die in your state)«. — All these alternatives are quite admissible, and before deciding we have to study another case:

Shu: Wei tsī: Kin er wu *chī kao yü tien tsi jo chī ho ki* 78.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien (Sung shī kia) renders this: *kin ju wu ku kao, yü tien tsi, ju chī ho ki* 86, thus cutting the line after *ka o*: »Now you shall without (special) designs tell me: if I collapse, what is to be done?« *Chī 67* is common in this sense of 'purport, aim, scope, design', and is likewise often wr. without radical 79 (in later times wr. 80, which is not a pre-Han graph). We had it like that in P'an Keng 81: »They did not conceal its (aim) purport»; Yi: Hi ts'ī 82 »Its purport is far-reaching»; etc. (common). In spite of the char. *tsi* 83 (PK'ung text 84), which properly means 'to ascend', Ma Jung

舊 24 飢 25 飢 26 飢 27 飢 28 飢 29 飢 30 飢 31 飢 32 飢 33 飢 34 飢 35 不虞天性 36 虞 37 樂 38 娛 39 樂 40 不有康食 41 康 42 練 43 天性 44 生 45 不迪率典 46 迪 47 蹈 48 率 49 循 50 由 51 用 52 不用典 53 大命不擊 54 擊 55 至 56 擊 57 臻 58 雪霜大擊 59 擊 60 向擊 61 向擊 62 通 63 執 64 擊 65 鷹始擊 66 殷之即畏指乃功 67 指 68 舊 69 舊定 爾功 70 舊爾功 71 指乃功 72 上帝舊之 73 上帝指之 74 辰 75 辰 76 致 77 舊 78 今爾無指告 予爾隣若之何其 79 旨 80 旨 81 不匿厥指 82 其旨遠 83 躋 84 躋 85 躋 86 躋于清蹕 87 今汝

says the word here means 'to fall', forming a binome with *tien*: *tien-tsi* = 'to collapse'. Curiously enough Shuowen under 83 = 'to ascend' quotes our line here. But 83 (84) \**tsiar*, even tone, is merely a loan char. for 85 \**tsiar*, rising tone = 'to push', as in Tso: Chao 13, phr. 86 »pushed (down) into the ditches», thus: *tien tsi* = 'to be overthrown and pushed' = 'to collapse'. Sī-ma's idea, that *wu chī* 87 means »without (sly) designs» is very far-fetched. Kiang Sheng therefore, punctuating in the same way, tries to take the first line interrogatively: »Have you no aim to tell me?» But there is nothing in the text to indicate a question. Wang Sien-k'ien turns it differently: »(If) you have no aim to tell me». — B. Wang Yin-chī: the line should, with Sī-ma, be punctuated after *ka o* (and so also Hū Shen understood it, since under 83 he quotes: *yü tien tsi* 89). *Wu 90* is »a particle» and should simply be skipped. *Chī 67* (\**īar*) is equal to 68 or 74 \**īar* / *tī* / *chī* 'to effectuate' (see D above) and closely cognate to 76 \**īar* / *ī* / *chī* 'to effectuate' (see *ibid.*); our *chī ka o 91* here means 92 'to (effectuate =) make an announcement'. That same phr. we had in P'an Keng above: »You all 93 should effectuate the announcement». In Tso: Siang 9 we have: 94 »There is nowhere (to go and) (effectuate) make announcement». Thus our: *er wu chī ka o 95* is equal to 96: »You should make an announcement». I have often had occasion to point out the fallacy of taking *pu 97* and *wu 90* as »empty particles» (see e. g. Gl. 759), but with this modification, Wang's interpr. is quite plausible: »Now you do not (effectuate =) make any announcement (to me)». — C. Yü Sing-wu (as above): *chī 67* stands for 77 *ki* 'to count': »Now you do not calculate and tell me». — D. PK'ung punctuates thus: *kin er wu chī ka o yü, tien, jo chī ho ki*: »Now you do not *chī* indicate and *ka o* tell me; when there is collapse (sc. of the Yin realm), what is to be done?» — E. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: *kin er wu chī, ka o yü tien tsi, jo chī ho ki*: »Now you have nothing to indicate (sc. no good advice), you (simply) tell me the (impending) collapse, what is to be done?». The only advantage of this is the good rhythm in lines of 4 syllables. — With Wang Yin-chī we must admit that *chī ka o 92*, *chī ka o 94* and our *chī ka o 91* here cannot very well be entirely different and unrelated phrases, all the more so since in Ode 285 *chī 67* is the Lu school loan char. for *chī 68* 'to effectuate' which is id. with 74. Thus in our Wei tsi line we necessarily have to accept B. But then consistency demands that in the Si po k'an li line 66 we should follow D, and in this we have a strong support in the Ode par. adduced: our *chī nai kung 71* must tally with *chī er kung 70* of Ode 285.

## Wei tsi.

*Yin k'i fu huo luan cheng si fang* see Gl. 1453 (C).

1499. *Wo tsu chī suei ch'en yü shang 98.*

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien drops the *chī 99*, thus indicating *chī suei* as a binome, and PK'ung interprets: »Our ancestor accomplished and achieved (merits), it was displayed (above =) in former ages», defining *yü shang 100* as = 1. — B. Sun Sing-yan refers to Han shu: Ai ti ki, where the word *ch'en 2* has been glossed as = 3 'way, principle' by a comm. Li Fei, and Sun interprets: »Our ancestor *chī suei* has achieved *ch'en* the proper principles *yü shang* (above =) previously». But it was already shown by the comm. Ju Ch'un that in the Han shu passage quoted Ch'en was simply a family name. Indeed *ch'en* can mean 'road', but then as a technical term (properly: »the expanse») for the path leading from the gate to the hall (Ode 199), and this sense of course is not applicable here. — C. Sun Yi-jang: *ch'en 2* (\**d'ien*) is a loan char. for *tien* (\**d'ien*), just as the word *tien 4* in Ode 210 is quoted 5 in Cheng Hūan's comm. on Chouli: Shao jen. Thus: »Our ancestor accomplished *tien* to lay out for cultivation (sc. our land Shang) in former ages». It would thus be analogous to the phr. 6 in Shu:

To shī. But a tien standing like that without an object is very unnatural, and the theory is an unnecessary loan speculation. — D. Chang Ping-lin: *suei* 7 has the sense it possesses in the binome *suei - ku* 8 »in the far-off antiquity« (see the 1st line in Ch'u: T'ien wen) and *ch'en* 2 means 9 'a long time', thus: »Our ancestors achieved antiquity and a long time in former ages« (whatever that may mean). — E. Another interpr. *Yü shang* 100 'above' cannot mean »in former ages«, since it balances the following *yü hia* 10 'below' which certainly cannot, with Ma Jung, mean 11 »in these after times«. As usual in the Shu, *yü shang* 'above' means in Heaven, as opposed to *yü hia* 'below' = here below on earth. Thus: »What our ancestor achieved and accomplished was (displayed =) signalized above (sc. in Heaven)«.

1500. Ch'en hū yü tsiu 12.

A. This is PK'ung's version, and Shīwen reads 13 \**χiu* / *χiu* / hū; Shuowen has a 14 with the same reading and sense 'mad with drink', evidently merely a variant. »We are plunged in and mad with wine«. — B. The Kin-wen version ap. Sī-ma Ts'ien and Han shu; Sū chuan reads 15 »We are plunged in wine«. The binome *ch'en - mien* 16 (\**d'iam-mian*) is very common in Han literature, evidently under the influence of this Shu passage, competing with the analogous *tan - mien* 17 (\**tam-mian*). Wang Yin-chī would take *ch'en* 18 (\**d'iam*) as a loan char. for 19 (\**d'iam* / *iam* / *yin*), a cognate word meaning 'to soak' and by extension 'licentious, dissolute', because a binome *yin - mien* 20 also exists (Lü: Tang wu); but the combination with *tsiu* 'spirits' makes it natural to take 18 in its primary reading and sense: 'to sink, to plunge into, to steep in'. Cf. Ode 256, Lu and Ts'i versions 21 (Mao version correspondingly 22): »Excessively (plunged in =) steeped in wine«; Ode 255, phr. 23 »Heaven does not steep you in wine« (see Gl. 940). — Undecidable whether A or B best represents the orig. Shu.

1501. Yin wang pu siao ta hao etc. 24.

A. PK'ung: »Among the Yin there are none who do not — whether small or great — love to« etc. This is grammatically correct. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: 25 »Among the Yin, (not having small, not having great =) with no distinction between small and great«. This is quite wrong, for the text should then be either *wang siao wang ta* 26 or *wang siao ta* 27, cf. Ode 136, phr. 28 »whether winter or summer«; Lun: Yao yüe 29 »(Not having =) not distinguishing between many and few, between small and great« (see further Gl. 939). — C. Sī-ma Ts'ien renders the line 30. This really makes no sense. It has been proposed that 31 stands for 32 which again would be = 33 = 34. But this is all very obscure.

1502. Hao ts'ao ts'ie kien kiu 35.

A. PK'ung: »They love in the (grass =) open fields to rob and to commit villainy and treachery«. Ts'ao 'grass' is common in the compound *ts'ao - mang* 36 'the wilds' (Tso: *passim*) and in Kyü: Wu yü we find 37 »she is a man from the wilds and the

無故告于顯跡 38 無指 39 于顯跡 40 無 41 指告 42 致告 43 其惟致告 44 無所底告 45 爾無  
指告 46 爾致告 47 不 48 我祖底遂陳于上 49 底 50 于上 1 于上世 2 陳 3 道 4 甸 5 陳 6  
甸四方 7 遂 8 遂古 9 久 10 于下 11 於後世 12 沈 13 于酒 14 酌 15 沈酒于酒 16 沈酒  
17 湛酒 18 沈 19 淫 20 淫酒 21 沈于酒 22 湛于酒 23 天不酒爾于酒 24 殷罔不小大好 25 無  
小無大 26 罔小罔大 27 罔小大 28 無冬無夏 29 無衆寡無小大 30 殷既小大 31 既 32 无 33  
无 34 無 35 好草 36 藉 37 草莽 38 草鄙之人 39 藉 40 芳 41 草 42 鈔 43 草禁 44 粗 45

border lands». But after all *ts'ie* 38 means 'to steal' (furtively), not 'to rob', which makes this interpr. improbable. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: *ts'ao* means 39 'nocuous weed': He refers to Lü: Pien t'u, where the phr. *ts'ao ts'ie* 40 'herbs stealing' means 'weeds encroaching' (upon the growing grain), and he believes we have the same simile here: »They love to (weed-encroach =) encroach upon others like nocuous weeds». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: *ts'ao* 41 \**ts'ög* is loan char. for *ch'ao* 42 (\**ts'ög*) = to rob'. This latter was coll. current in middle Han time (Fang yen) but is known from no earlier text. — **D.** Yü Yüe has a bold speculation that *ts'ao ts'ie* stands for a phr. *ts'ao ts'ai* 43, which he tries to explain as meaning 'disorderly'. But he has no single text par., only dictionary items, which he forces badly. — **E.** *Ts'ao* 41 is sometimes defined as = 44 'coarse, rough', and Chavannes has followed this: »Ils se plaisent à agir grossièrement, à voler . . . ». *Ts'ao* means 'coarse' as opposed to *si* 45 'fine, detailed, delicate', as in Lun: Hien wen: »Pei Shen 46 coarsely commenced it», i. e. made the coarse draft (of the document). It seems better to take *ts'ao ts'ie* together (as the following *kien kiu* is practically a binome), cf. Germ. »grobes Diebstahl», thus: **»They love grossly to steal and to do villainy and treachery».**

K'ing shī shī shī fei tu see Gl. 1305.

### 1503. Nai wang heng huo 47.

Sī-ma Ts'ien replaces *heng* 'constant (norm)' by 48 'rule'. The line follows upon: »They all have guilt».

**A.** PK'ung: »There are none who *heng* have regular norms and *huo* attain to (the proper mean)». Chavannes turns it thus: »Il n'y en a aucun qui se conduise suivant la règle et observe (son devoir)». — **B.** Cheng Hüan: »There are none who in a regular way obtain (their emoluments)». — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »(Of all those who have guilt) there are none who obtain their (guilt =) punishment» (he simply skips the inconvenient *heng*). — **D.** Wu Ch'eng: »(They all have guilt), but there is nobody who *heng* with the regular law *huo* catches (them)». — **E.** Kiang Sheng: »They do not constantly (regularly) get (sc. what they ought to get as consequences of their actions)». — **F.** Yü Yüe: »(They all have guilt) but they are not regularly caught».

Siao min fang hing see Gl. 1234.

### 1504. Kin Yin k'i lun sang 49.

**A.** Sī-ma Ts'ien reads *Kin Yin k'i tien sang* 50. This has been variously explained: — **a.** Sü Kuang (foll. by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen): *tien* 51 means 52 »the state's statutes»: »Now Yin's statutes have been lost». In fact, the word sequence should then properly be: *kin Yin tien k'i sang*, so that we have to construe the line thus: **»Now in Yin, its statutes have been lost».** Sun points out how Lü: Sien yi has a story about the Nei shī annalist of the last Yin king: he »loaded on a carriage his *t'u fa* 53 tablets and laws and fled to Chou», which certainly is an allusion to our Shu passage and confirms the early existence of the version *tien* 51, and in this **a.** interpr. — **β.** Ts'ien Ta-hin and Yen Jo-kü: 51 \**tien* / *tien* / *tien* is loan char. for 54 \**d'ien* / *d'ien* / *t'ien* 'to destroy', thus: »Yin will be destroyed and perish». In Chouli: Chou jen 51 is expl. as loan char. for 54 by Cheng Chung; and in Yi li: Yen li in one text version 54 stands for 55. — **B.** The PK'ung version has, as above: *lun sang* 56. — **a.** PK'ung (after Shuo-wen) says *lun* 57 = 58 'to sink in water, to drown': »Now Yin will drown and perish». But, as fully discussed in Gl. 564, no such sense of the char. 57 can be confirmed. It is probably a meaning fabricated to suit this char. which has the rad. 'water', and possibly Hū Shen has really had our Shu passage in mind and been influenced by a simile in the following line about a boat crossing a river. — **β.** *Lun* 57 may simply be a loan char. for *lun* 59 'principle, norm': »Now, in Yin, its (norms =) laws have been lost». If so, the meaning comes to the same as **A a.** — The element 60 forms part both of 51 and



of 61, and probably the Chou text had some such simple graph, which was interpreted by some Han scholars as *tien* 51, by others as *lun* 61; the latter, which should really be enlarged into 59, has been wrongly enlarged into 57 (by Hū Shen? or by PK'ung?). We have every reason to accept the earliest attested deciphering (*tien*) as attested in Sī-ma, and in its *a* interpr., which does not operate with any loan speculations and is proved by the Lü anecdote to go back to pre-Han times.

1505. *Wo k'i fa ch'u k'uang* 62.

A. Sī-ma reads 63 «I will start and go away». Since Cheng Hūan in his paraphrase likewise has 64, this was obviously both the Ku-wen and Kin-wen version, and B below is a corruption. Sun Yi-jang would read *fa* 65 as = 66 (i. e. the word wr. without radical, common in Chou time): «I will give it up and go away», adducing *Lun*: Wei tsī 67, in Cheng Hūan's version wr. 68. That, of course, is quite possible; but the combination «start and go away» is certainly more natural than Sun's proposal. — B. PK'ungs' version is as above: *k'uang*, and this has been variously explained: — *a*. PK'ung himself paraphrases: 69 («When I think of Yin's ruin, we (sc. the king and his house) have *fa* broken out (in sickness) and (produced madness =) become mad». — *β*. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *fa-ch'u* together: «We have manifested madness». — *γ*. Sun Yi-jang: *k'uang* means 70 'quickly'. — *δ*. Yü Sing-wu: there are already cases in the oracle bones in which 71 was wr. in the sense of 72 'to go', so that even version B, if it existed early, had the same sense as version A. This is clearly right.

1506. *Wu kia mao sun yü huang* 73.

A. Cheng Hūan says *mao* 74 means 75 'confused', and PK'ung, accepting this, interprets: «Our house is confused (in disorder), I withdraw to the wilds». *Mao* 74 really means 'very old' and hence also 'senile, dotard' (cf. F. below), confused in mind because of sensility. That this sense should here be extended to mean 'confused, disorderly' generally (my house is [dotard =] in disorder) is unlikely. — B. Since Ma Jung says: ministers and dignitaries are called *kia* 76 'houses', Kiang Sheng, accepting Cheng's expl. of *mao* (A above), interprets: «Our (houses =) feudal lords are either *mao* dotard or *sun yü huang* have withdrawn to the wilds». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *mao* in its ordinary sense. «Our house's old men have withdrawn to the wilds». Sun Sing-yen in a curious way takes *wu kia* «my house» as equal to 'I': «I am old and retire to the wilds», which of course is inadmissible. — D. Sī-ma Ts'ien (Sung shī *kia*) has a strongly aberrant formulation: *wu kia pao yü sang* 77. This has been interpr. variously: — *a*. The old and natural expl. is Sū Kuang's: «(I will start and go away), (and thus) my house will be preserved in the ruin (of Yin)». — *β*. Kiang Sheng, still with a view to Ma Jung's gloss (see under B), explains: «Our (feudal) houses are *pao* (keeping themselves =) remaining passive in the ruin». — *γ*. P'i Si-juei refers to Sī-ma's introductory words, that Wei-tsī was uncertain whether to leave or to stay and die for his king, and interprets: «(I will either start and go away, or) in the house keep steadfast *yü sang* unto death». Exceedingly forced. — E. Yü Yüe says *sun* 77a (\**swan*) is equal to *sün* 78 (\**dziwan*) which he defines as = 'to follow', and *huang* 79 is equal to *wang* 80; adopting the view of P'i above (D *γ*) he interprets:

細々草創之42.乃罔恒獲48維49今殷其淪喪50.今殷其典喪57典52國典53罔法54乃今  
55腴58淪喪57.淪58沒57.倫60.罔61.倫62我其發出狂63我其發出往64出往65發66廢  
67廢中權68發中權69發疾生狂70遽71狂72往73吾家毫遜于荒74毫55昏亂76家77.  
吾家保于喪77遽78馴79荒80亡81保82喪83老將知而毫及之84則武王之志荒矣85

»(I will either start and go away, or) my house being confused, I will s u n follow it y ü h u a n g in the destruction». And then Yü easily disposes of the Shī ki version (D) above: p a o 81 stands for m a o 74 because they are »similar in sound«(!); s a n g 82 means the same as h u a n g 79, and the s u n 77a that is lacking in Si-ma's text has evidently been lost through error(!). — F. Another interpr. It is really quite impossible to reconcile the Shu text with Si-ma Ts'ien's passage. Since Si-ma very often deviates strongly from the Shu, we cannot here, without corroboration from other early sources, consider his line to represent the Kin-wen version, but we have to concentrate on the A text. We have here a combination of m a o 74 and h u a n g 79, which recurs in Shu: Lū hing, both meaning there, as seen below, 'very old, senile, dotard'. For m a o 74, cf. Tso: Chao 1, phr. 83 »When an old man is on the point of becoming wise, senility comes upon him». For h u a n g 79 cf. Li: Yüe ki 84 »Then Wu wang's mind was senile». It would be strange indeed if, in our line above, we had h u a n g 79, though combined with m a o 'senile', in quite another sense (either: 'the wilds', or 'destruction, ruin', as proposed above). Wei tsī complains that the eldest of the house, who should be the pillars of the state and guides of the wicked king, are dotards: »The old men of our house have withdrawn in senility». — We compare:

Shu: Lū hing: W a n g h i a n g k u o p o n i e n m a o h u a n g t o t s o h i n g 85.

A. In Han-shu: Hing fa chī we find: 86. This slightly paraphrasing rendering shows that Pan Ku punctuated after h u a n g, and so did PK'ung. The latter took h u a n g = 87, thus: »When the king had enjoyed the state a hundred years, he was old and careless, but he calculated (the exigencies of the times) and made penal laws». Thus PK'ung followed Pan Ku in taking t o 88 as = 89 »calculating (the times)». The Ts'ing scholars generally believe that the Kin-wen text had this s h ī 90 (Sun Sing-yen even speculates: t o s h ī = »calculated what was good»), but since the rest of Pan's quotation deviates on several points from the Shu wording, his t o s h ī for the simple t o is likewise a paraphrase. On the other hand, Cheng Hūan in comm. on Chouli cites t o t s o s i a n g h i n g 91 »He made detailed penal laws», and again many Ts'ing scholars have believed that s i a n g 92 belonged to the original Shu text; but Pan Ku's quotation above, agreeing with PK'ung, shows that there should originally be no s i a n g. PK'ung's h u a n g 79 = 87 'careless' is quite bad, as recognized both by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: h u a n g has here its meaning of 'senile' as in Li: Yüe ki (see 84 above). Further, t o 88 obviously has no understood object (90) but directs the following phr. Thus: »When the king had enjoyed the state for a hundred years, he was very old and senile, but he (still) planned to make penal laws». — B. Su Shī (foll. by Legge) would punctuate after m a o: »When the king had enjoyed the state a hundred years, m a o he was very old; (but) h u a n g t o he grandly planned to make penal laws». This is tempting, since we had the phr. h u a n g t o in Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi): 93 »I extensively planned the land works». But the ancient interpr. (A) keeps together two words m a o h u a n g as a synonym-compound which are attested as being synonymous (see above) and it is therefore preferable.

K i n e r w u c h i k a o etc. see Gl. 1498.

1507. T'ien tu k i a n g t s a i h u a n g Y i n p a n g 94.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien has: 95. Thus: »Heaven (massively =) heavily sends down disaster and wastes the state of Yin». Cf. Ode 265, phr. 96 »Heaven heavily sends down death. T u 97 was \*tōk. — B. The PK'ung version reads as above; K'ung Ying-ta defines t u 98 'poison' as = 99: »Heaven cruelly sends down disaster»; acc. to Ts'ai Ch'en t u 98 would be a verb: »Heaven (hating =) in its aversion sends down disaster»; text par. to this in Tso: Hi 15. T u 98 was \*d'ōk. Possibly this \*d'ōk is only a phonetic loan char. for the

\**tók* of A (Hü Shen may already have held this view, since he defines *tu 98* as = 100 'thick, ample'); in any case that reading is well supported by the *Shi* par.

*Fang hing ch'en hü yü tsiu 1.*

These six char. do not exist in *Si-ma Ts'ien's* rendering; they break the context and are taken from two earlier lines (*siao min fang hing* and *ch'en hü yü tsiu*), which do not belong together. The *Ts'ing* scholars are evidently right in proposing that these 6 char. are erroneous and have been inserted through some lapsus.

1508. *Jang ts'ie shen ch'hi ch'hi hi ts'üan sheng yung yi jung tsiang shi wu tsai 2.*

As to *hi 3*, which *Cheng Hüan* defines as = 'one-coloured', it probably meant simply 'happy, auspicious', see *Gl. 1166*. *Si-ma Ts'ien* deviates too strongly from the *Shu* in this line to be of any aid.

A. *PK'ung* punctuates after *yung*, defining *yung 4* as = 5 'the contents of the (sacrificial) vessels', properly then »the (stuff) used (in sacrifice)»; and *tsiang 6* = 7. Thus: »They steal the Spirits' one-coloured and (bodily) faultless sacrificial animals and the (stuff) used (in sacrifice, i. e. grain), *jung* allowing each other *tsiang shi* to commit the eating (of them), *wu tsai* there being nobody to (lay disaster on them =) blame them». — B. *Ts'ai Ch'en* punctuates after *sheng* and interprets: »They steal . . . . animals, *yung yi jung* and consequently (the officers) (permit =) connive at it, *tsiang shi* they take and eat them, *wu tsai* there being no disaster (= punishment)». — C. *Kiang Sheng*: *jung 8* refers to king: »They steal . . . . animals, *yung yi jung* and then he receives them, (and they say:) *tsiang shi* if we are going to eat them, *wu tsai* there will be no disaster.» — D. *Chuang Shu-tsu*: *tsiang 6*, which has caused such strained explanations, is merely a short-form for 9, which *Chuang* says is a variant for *Shuowen's 10* and *Si-ma Ts'ien's* (*Feng shan shu*) *11 shang* 'to cook'. This is partly wrong, for 9 only occurs (*Chuang*: *Lie Yü-k'ou*) as variant for 12. But fundamentally the idea is right, for 6 may be a short-form for 13, which (inst. of *Chuang's 9*) is the real archaic graph for \**śiang / śiang / shang* 'to cook, to boil', a word well attested in bronze inscriptions (see *Grammata* p. 314). Further, *Chuang* takes *jung 8* in its sense of 'to adorn', cf. *Ode 62*, phr. 14 »Who likes to adorn oneself?». So far, very good. But *Chuang* then says that probably *wu tsai 15* was originally wr. 16 and that this is a corruption of *t'ien tsai 17* »disaster from Heaven», and he attaches the *kiang 18* from the next line here, which is very forced (see next gloss). With elimination of this last item, we obtain: »They steal the auspicious and faultless sacrificial animals of the Spirits of Heaven and Earth, *yung yi jung shang shi* and use them to (adorn =) make fine their (cooking and eating =) repasts, *wu tsai* without (fear of) disaster». — D is strikingly plausible.

1509. *Kiang kien Yin min yung yi ch'ou lien chao ti ch'ou pu tai 19.*

*Yung yi 20*: *PK'ung* paraphrases this 21; *K'ung Ying-ta* understands it thus:

王季國百年毫荒度作刑 8 穆王既荒命甫侯度時作刑 87 忽 88 度 89 度時 90 時 91 度作  
詳刑 92 詳 93 荒度土功 94 天壽降災荒殷邦 95 天篤下災亡殷國 96 天篤降喪 97 篤 98 毒  
99 酷毒 100 厚 1 方輿沈酗于酒 2 攘竊神祇之犧牲牲用以啓將食無災 3 犧 4 用 5 器  
實 6 將 7 行 8 容 9 饗 10 萬 11 醵 12 漿 13 蕞 14 誼適為容 15 無災 16 无災 17 天災 18 降 19  
降臨殷民用 20 饗 21 召敵 22 不怠 23 用 24 所用治者 25 饗 26 綱 27 晴 28 井 29 义 30 刈 31

»Those who are used for governing» i. e. the officials; Ts'ai Ch'en on the other hand: »That which one uses for governing» i. e. »The methods one uses for governing». It is better not to accept PK'ung's construction but translate verbally: »In (using =) applying government. . .».

**A.** With the modification above, PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en interpret thus: »When I look down on and survey the people of Yin, (I find that) in *yung yi* (using =) applying the government, *ch'ou lien* one (inimically =) tyrannically levies taxes, *chao ti ch'ou* one (attracts =) incurs hostility and enmity (untiringly =) incessantly». — **B.** Shiwen says that Ma Jung inst. of 22 \**d'ig / z'zu* / *ch'ou* had 23 \**d'ig / d'zu* / *ch'ou* 'dense, thick, ample'. Since this is not suitable in the second line, we may take it to refer only to the *ch'ou* in the first line; thus: »When I look down and survey the people of Yin, (I find that) in applying the government, one (amply =) heavily levies taxes, and one incurs hostility and enmity, (untiringly =) incessantly». — **C.** Shiwen further says that Cheng Hsuan read 22 like 24 (\**d'ig / d'zu* / *ch'ou*), and some scholars believe that this only means that Cheng took 22 as a loan char. for the 23 of Ma Jung's text (23 and 24 being homophonous). But Yü Yüe has another theory: Cheng really meant that 22 was a loan char. for 24, which *inter alia* can mean the »company» of 9 farmers in a *tsing* 25 (cf. Chao K'i's comm. on Meng: Tsin sin). In consequence, *yi* 26 must be a short-form for 27 'to mow'. The government had no right to levy taxes on the private fields of the 9 farmers, only on the *kung t'ien* 28, but now it tyrannically did so: »When I look down and survey the people of Yin, (I find that) *yung yi* using the (time of the) mowing *ch'ou lien* one on the private fields levies taxes». It seems more than doubtful whether this was really Cheng Hsuan's idea; in any case it is exceedingly far-fetched. — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu: The first word *kian* 29 belongs to the preceding line: 15, which ought to be 30 »Heaven's disaster descends». But this should be rejected, for it would then be *t'ien kian tsai* 31, according to hundreds of parallels. Chuang further interprets: »(When Heaven's disaster descends), *kien Yin min yung yi* I (survey =) see that the Yin people *yung* thereby *yi* corrects itself; but *ch'ou lien* the hostility (of the rulers) accumulates and *chao ti* attracts enmity (from the people), and yet *ch'ou pu tai* the hostility does not relax». An appalling construction. — **E.** Liu Feng-lu would carry *lien* to the following *chao*, reading *lien chao ti ch'ou* together: »one gathers and attracts hostility and enmity», referring to a *Shi* par. (Ode 255, phr. 32 »To heap ill-will upon yourself you consider a virtue»). Sun Yijang, approving of this, adds that since *tai* 33 has the phonetic 34, which again has the phonetic 35, *wu tai* 36 really should be 37 (a very unnecessary speculation). With *C* he takes 26 = 27. He punctuates and interprets thus: ». . . (I find that) *yung yi ch'ou* one applies (cutting =) attack and hostility, *lien chao ti ch'ou* and gathers and attracts hostility and enmity *wu yi* without end.» This is certainly no improvement. — **F.** Yü Sing-wu, basing himself on a speculation of Wang Kuo-wei's, thinks that *yi* 26 should be equal to a bronze-inscription graph which means 'to assist', and interprets *yi ch'ou* as = 38 »to assist hostility», whatever that may mean; and he proposes that *lien* 39 is wrong and should be *ts'ien* 40: »all attract» etc. — The earliest interpretation attested, that of Ma Jung (B), is both the simplest and the most plausible.

*Shang k'i lun sang* see Gl. 1504.

**1510.** *Chao wang ts'ich'u ti wo kiu yün k'o ts'ī* 41.

**A.** PK'ung: *k'o* 42 'to cut' here = 43 (to be cut =) 'to suffer': »I tell you, king's son, to go away, (it is) to follow the (proper) course; I formerly spoke (in favour of you), and I am pained for you (that you did not become king)». There is indeed a whole lot to be supplied that is not expressed, if we are to accept this interpr. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en

construes the second clause differently: »... when I formerly spoke (in your favour), I (cut =) injured you» (sc. making the present king hate you). This is hardly better than A. — C. Ma Jung: k' o 42 = 44. Further, we certainly need not follow the forced construction of ti 45 in A, but, since it simply means 'to advance, go forward', take it with ch' u as a binome. Sun Sing-yen expounds Ma Jung thus: »I tell you, king's son, to proceed; I long ago said that one would injure you». This is far better than A or B. K' o 42 mostly means 'to cut' in the sense of 'to carve, to engrave', but it also occurs in a more general sense, e. g. Sün: Li lun 46 »to cut off from the dead and add to the living». Just as k o 47 first means 'to cut' and then by extension 'to harm, to injure', so k' o 42 'to cut' would have the same extension here. Cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in ts'ê 48 »He is very (cutting =) cruel and of little clemency». On the other hand, 42 \*k'ak could (with Chu Tsün-sheng) be a loan char. for the homophonous 49 (\*k'ak) 'to vanquish, crush, get the better of', the meaning coming to much the same. We have 50 \*k'ak in the sense of 'to injure' in the Ta Yü Ting inscr.: 51 »You should not injure (maltreat) me, your lord». — D. Another version and interpr. even older than C we find in Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Pen sing). He has hai 52 inst. of k' o 42 and adds three char. which alter the whole sense; moreover he takes the passage together with a following line: (Chao wang tsī ch' u); Wei tsī y üe, wo kiu yün hai tsī wang tsī pu ch' u 53. Thus: »(I tell you, king's son, to go away); the Prince of Wei said: »I long ago said that the child (sc. Chou) among the king's son's did not stand out (as remarkable)». The impossibility of this is obvious; that wang tsī ch' u in the 1st line and wang tsī pu ch' u in the 3rd line should have entirely different meanings is, of course, excluded. — E. Kiang Sheng therefore rejects C as a whole, but accepts its hai 52 inst. of k' o 42: »I tell you, king's son, to proceed; I long ago told about the child» (sc. that he would ruin the state). — F. Chuang Shu-tsu has a construction of his own which is very eccentric; he punctuates: Chao wang tsī ch' u; ti wo kiu yün k' o tsī. And he takes kiu 54 to stand for 55 'calamity', and k' o 42 as wrong for hai 56, yün being an empty particle; he says ti 57 = 'to act, to do': »I tell you, king's son, to go away; we will make our calamity, on the days (kuei-) hai and (kia-) tsī». — G. Sun Yi-jang takes ti 57 to be equal to yu 58(!). Further, accepting an idea of Tsiao Sün's, he says k' o tsī 59 is wrong for 60. The words kai tsī 61 (\*kag-tsīag) are used, by a pun, for Ki tsī 62 (\*kiag-tsīag) in Han shu: Ju lin chuan (Meng Hi), and Tsiao concludes that our supposed Kai tsī 60 is equal to Ki tsī; thus: »I tell you, king's son, to go away: yu just as I long ago told Ki tsī (to go)». This adventurous expl. has been supported by Yü Sing-wu with some slight modifications. — The only sober interpr., which demands no supplying of unexpressed things, is C.

1511. Tsī tsing jen tsī hien yü sien wang, wo pu ku hing tun 63.

A. PK'ung (after Erya): tsing 64 = 65 'to plan, to ponder' (cf. Gl. 653) and he takes the line as the sequel of the Senior Master's speech: »May we ourselves ponder, and jen each of us himself bring forward (his decision) to the (Spirits of) the former kings; I do not (consider =) think of escaping». — B. Ma Jung inst. of tsing 64 reads ts'ing

公田 29 降 30 天災降 31 天降災 32 欽怨以為德 33 怠 34 台 35 已 36 無怠 37 無已 38 輔 39 離 39  
 殺 40 愈 41 詔王子出迪我舊云刻子 42 刻 43 病 44 侵刻 45 迪 46 刻死附生 47 割 48 深刻窮  
 恩 49 克 50 刻 51 女勿刻余乃辟 52 孩 53 (詔王子出) 微子曰我舊云孩子王子不出 54 舊 55  
 告 56 亥 57 迪 58 猶 59 刻子 60 亥子 61 亥茲 62 亥子 63 自靖人自獻于先王我不顧行 64 靖

66, defining this as = 67: »May we purify ourselves»; for the rest we do not know how Ma understood the line. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *tsing* 64 = 68 'to be quiet, to find peace in' (this is the ordinary sense of *tsing*, etym. id. with 69; and the 66 of Ma's version may very well, with Sun Sing-yen, be a short-form of 70, see Grammata, group 812: j'): »May we ourselves find peace in (our duty)», etc. (for the rest id. w. A). — D. Kiang Sheng, like A—C above, takes the Senior Master as the speaker, but reverts to *tsing* 64 = 65, yet turning it differently: »May you yourself ponder; (then) *jen* a man can himself (bring himself forward =) give an account of himself to the (Spirits of) the former kings». — E. Sun Sing-yen believes that the line is spoken by Wei-tsī in answer to the Senior Master; from his paraphrase it would seem that he punctuated: *tsī tsing jen*, *tsī hien* etc.: »May you yourself (sc. you who stay) pacify (Spirits and) men, may you yourself bring sacrifices to the former kings; I do not turn the head backwards, but I go away». — F. Sun' idea (E) that Wei tsī says the last line is very unlikely; in that case there should certainly have been a *Wei tsī yüe* before it. On the other hand, the idea that the Senior Master says he himself will stay (A, C) is not satisfactory, since it does not agree with the oldest version of the legend we have (*Shī ki*: *Chou pen ki*), acc. to which the Senior Master and the Junior Master, far from staying, took their sacred musical instrument and fled to Chou, just as Wei-tsī fled from the Yin. Our line has to be understood in logical sequence to the preceding. The Master says he has long been warning Wei Tsī that he would be injured and he exhorts him to go away; fearing that Wei-tsī will be ashamed of fleeing, he gives his opinion that this should not be considered: by escaping, he could serve the Spirits of the former kings. *Tsī* 71 as usual is reflexive: *ipse* — *ipsum*; just as a *Wang tsī sha* 72 means »the king himself killed himself», so here *tsī tsing* 73 means 'to give peace to oneself'. We punctuate: *tsī tsing jen*, *tsī hien* etc. Thus: »*Tsī king jen* the man who (brings peace to himself =) saves himself, *tsī hien* (presents himself to =) devotes himself to (the Spirits of) the former kings; let us not take into consideration that we abscond (sc. it is nothing to be ashamed of)».

#### Mn shī.

##### 1512. *Wo yu pang chung kün* 74.

Si-ma Ts'ien inst. of *yu pang* 74a 'friendly states' has 75 »possessing states», *yu* 'to have' and *yu* 'friend' being homophonous (both \**gǐŭg*, rising tone), but there is no reason to abandon the orthodox text, which the Ts'ing scholars support with a passage from Chouli: *Ta Tsung po*, where the king receives the feudal lords by a ritual shooting feast and they are called 76 »friends of old standing».

*Ya lü shī shī* cf. Gl. 1118.

##### 1513. *Wei kia chī so* 77.

A. PK'ung: *so* 78 = 79 'to exhaust, to make an end of': »It will be the (exhaustion =) destruction of the family». Cf. Tso: *Siang* 8, phr. 80 »We exhausted all your levies» (*Tu Yü*: *so* = *tsin*); *Yi li*: *Hiang shê li* 81 »You have taken arrows not (exhaustingly =) to the full number» (*Cheng Hüan*: *so* = *tsin*). Ts'ai Ch'en gives it a slightly different shade: *so* is equal to the binome *siao so* 82 'desolate', but this is not current in pre-Han texts. Sun Sing-yen, basing himself on *Shī ming*: 78 = 83, similarly defines *so* as = 84 'empty', but there is no text support for this. — B. Kiang Sheng: *so* 78 = 85 'to scatter', thus: »It will be the scattering of the family». He refers to *Li*: *T'an Kung* 86 »I have left the herd and live apart here», on which *Cheng Hüan*: *so* 78 = 85, meaning to live »in dispersion». — C. *Yü Yüe*: *so* 'to ransack' was a technical term in exorcising. In Chouli: *Fang siang shī* we have: 87 »Ransacking the houses, he drives away the epidemics», *so* here referring to the searching for baleful influences. Thus in our *Shu* line: »If the hen calls the morning (a bad omen), (there is

the ransacking of the house =) the house should be ransacked for baleful influences». Since we have on the one hand so shī 88, on the other hand so kia 89, Yü is evidently right.

1514. Hun k'i küe sī sī fu ta 90.

Hun k'i:

A. PK'ung: »He (darkened in mind =) disorderly rejects». Hun 91 in this sense of luan 92 is very common. — B. Wang Yin-chi: hun 91 (\**χmwən*) is a loan char. for min 93 (\**mīn*) (i. e. an original loan char. 94, without radical, has been wrongly filled out into 91 instead of the correct 93), which we have in the binome min k'i 95 in Tso: Chao 29, phr. 96: »If they destroy and reject them» (sc. their functions). The binome must necessarily be the same in both texts, and since 'destroy and reject' are more analogous constituents than 'disorderly reject', the former is preferable.

Sī sī 97:

A. PK'ung: sī 98 = 99 'to display, set forth'. Thus: »He destroys and rejects his (already) set forth sacrifices». Ts'ai Ch'en tampers with this: »his to-be-set-forth sacrifices» i. e. the sacrifices which he should set forth; sī sī, of course, cannot mean this. For sī 98 cf. Ode 282, phr. 100 »Assist us in setting forth the sacrifice». — B. Cheng Hün: sī sī is the name of a special kind of sacrifice. He here alludes to Li: Kiao t'ê sheng, which enumerates four kinds of offering the meat in sacrifices, of which the 2nd is sī 98, the bodies of the victims being presented raw but cut up. Thus: »He destroys and rejects his cut-up-meat sacrifices». Very unplausible.

Fu ta:

A. PK'ung: »He does not (respond =) show any gratitude». — B. Cheng Hün: ta = 1, thus: »and he does not ask (about them)» (i. e. he does not care about them). Kiang Sheng has followed this. But ta really can have no such meaning, and probably Cheng's gloss has been corrupted (Ts'ê fu yüan kuei quotes him as saying = 2 'to requite', which agrees with A).

1515. Hun (min) k'i küe yi wang fu mu ti pu ti 3.

For hun k'i = min k'i 'to destroy and reject', see Gl. 1514 above. For wang fu and mu ti, see Legge's note and Chavannes' satisfactory expl. MH I, p. 228. For wang fu 4, the stone classics of the 175 A. D. have jen fu 5, which is probably a mere error (6 for 7), since Si-ma has wang fu both here and in a quotation from the lost T'ai shi with the same phr. wang-fu mu-ti as here.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders the line thus: 8 »He destroys and rejects his house and state, and he yi sets aside his uncles and brothers, and does not employ them». This would seem to indicate that Si-ma had a text with kia kuo after küe, and a second küe 9 after yi 10. This is tempting, since the traditional hun k'i küe yi wang fu is awkward, as long as we take yi 10 to mean 'to set aside'. But after all the stone version has küe yi wang fu 11 just as well as the PK'ung version, so we dare not make an emendation after Si-ma. His pu ti 12 = 13 'not employ' simply means that he took ti 'to advance' as a transitive (causative) verb: »he does not (cause them to

65 謀 66 清 67 潔 68 安 69 靜 70 澹 71 自 72 王 自 殺 73 自 靖 74 我 友 邦 家 君 75 友 邦 76 有 國 77 舊  
故 朋友 78 惟 家 之 索 79 索 80 盡 81 悉 索 散 賦 82 取 矢 不 索 83 蕭 索 84 索 85 空 86 散 87 吾 離  
羣 而 索 居 88 以 索 室 歐 疾 89 索 90 索 求 91 昏 棄 厥 肆 祀 弗 答 92 昏 93 亂 94 泯 95 民 96 泯 棄  
97 若 泯 棄 之 98 肆 祀 99 肆 99 陳 100 相 予 肆 祀 1 問 2 報 3 昏 棄 厥 道 王 父 母 弟 不 迪 4 王 父  
5 任 父 6 任 7 王 8 昏 棄 其 家 國 遺 其 王 父 母 弟 不 用 9 厥 10 遺 11 厥 遺 王 父 12 不 迪 13.

advance =) promote them». — B. PK'ung says nothing of the difficult *yi 10*; and he explains *pu ti* as = 'he does not treat them according to the proper course' (*verbatim* then: »he does not course them», which is evidently impossible). — C. Yü Sing-wu would take the *jen 14* of the stone classics as the best reading and *wang 7* as a corruption due to similarity. He explains *jen 14* (\**njəm*) as a variant for *nan 15* (\**nəm*), adducing several early examples where *jen 14* is used for *nan 15*. But if, with Yü, *kü e yi jen 16* means *17* »Their (sc. the ancestors') (left-over males =) still living men», it is difficult to see how the following *fu mu ti* could be construed. — Yü Sing-wu is certainly right that *yi 10* means 'left over, still living', and then, with *pu ti* construed acc. to A, we obtain: »He destroys and rejects his (left-over =) still living uncles and brothers and does not promote them».

*Kin yü wei kung hing t'ien chī fa* see Gl. 1401.

**1516.** *Nai chī ts'i yen 18.*

A. PK'ung: »(Do not exceed 6 steps, 7 steps) and then stop and adjust (your ranks)». — B. Cheng Hün alludes to a passage in Tso: Ch'eng 16, where it is said that the martial excellence of Tsin consists in their loving equally *19* 'to keep order' and *20* 'to take leisure (rest)'; he believes that *chī ts'i* above refers to the rest (pause) and the 'making of order' (forming the ranks again), thus: »(Do not exceed 6 steps, 7 steps), then take a rest, and then range yourselves». A curious idea.

**1517.** *Shang huan huan 21.*

A. This is the reading of Si-ma's and PK'ung's. Cheng Hün: *huan huan* = 22, thus: »May you be martial». *Huan 23* in this sense is well attested (Ode 294 etc.). — B. Shuowen reads 24, defining this *huan 25* (homophonous with 23) as = 26 'a dog running', thus: »May you run swiftly». (Observe that Hū did not mean that 25 was a loan char. for 23 in the Shu line quoted: he would then have said: *tu jo* »read like»). For this sense there is no text par.

**1518.** *Ju hu ju p'i ju hiung ju pi 27.*

A. This is PK'ung's version: »Be like tigers, like leopards, like black bears, like brown-and-white bears». For *p'i* cf. Gl. 1034. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien reads: *ju hu ju pi, ju ch'ai ju li 28* (some versions have *ts'ai 29* instead but the Sung Po-na ed. has 30). Li, with Sū Kuang, must be a variant for *ch'i 31* or *32* or *33*, a beast-shaped mountain demon. In fact the Ou-yang school of Shu read either *31* (quoted in Shuowen) or *32* (quoted in comm. on Wsüan: *Si tu fu*), in both cases defined as = 'a fierce animal'. Thus: »Be like tigers, like brown-and-white bears, like wolves, like ch'i-beasts». — A contains the couple: *hiung - pi* which stylistically is a traditional combination in early Chou time, cf. Odes 189, 203, 261; but B is a riming phrase: *ch'i* (\**t'lia*): *pi* (\**pia*), which is certainly in its favour. Hū Shen in Shuowen quotes *ju hu ju p'i* in accordance with A, and so does Pan Ku in Han shu: Tsē Fang-tsin chuan. But Pan also knew of the B version (evidently through Si-ma), since he alludes to it in several places. It is in fact impossible to decide which of them best repr. the orig. Shu.

**1519.** *Fu ya k'o pen, yi yi si t'u 34.*

*Ya* (\**ngā* / *nga* / *ya*): The PK'ung version in all probability originally had 35 (so quoted in the T'ang work *K'uang miu cheng su*, by Yen Shī-ku), which could be read both \**ngio* / *ngiwo* / *yü* and \**ngā* / *nga* / *ya*, in the latter reading meaning 'to meet' and then id. w. 36 or 37 (see Gl. 37); and since PK'ung took it in the sense of 'to meet', 35 has been replaced in the text by 37, probably by Wei Pao. —

A. Si-ma Ts'ien writes 38, and Ma Jung likewise reads 39, defining it as = 40 'to stop, obstruct'. It is in fact not uncommon that 35 serves as short-form for 39 (Ode 35; Tso: Siang 4). Ma further defines *yi 41* as = 42 'to do, to work', and Wang Su expounds: »Do not stop those who are able to (run =) flee, so that they (can) *yi* do work in our



western land». — B. Cheng Hūan: *y ü* 39 means 'to maltreat', and *k' o* 43 'to crush' in the sense of 'to kill', thus: »Do not maltreat and kill those who flee, so that they (can) *y i* do (compulsory) service in our Western land». Cheng thinks of the Ode phr. 44 (Odes 255, 260) and says this is equal to 45 'to oppress, to maltreat', but that is quite wrong: *k' i a n g y ü* means 'violent and refractory', and this sense is not applicable here. — C. PK'ung: *y a* (35, 37) = 46 'to meet', in the sense of 'to meet and strike'; *y i* 41 means (to cause to work =) 47 'to employ', thus: »Do not meet (and strike) those who can flee, and thus employ the (righteous principles of) the Western land». An absurd interpr. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Do not meet (and strike) those who can flee, and thereby toil (your men from) the Western land». — E. Sun Sing-yen combines C (*y a* = 'to meet') and B (*k' o* = 'to crush, kill'): »Do not meet and crush those who can flee, so that they (can) *y i* do service in the Western land». — F. Yü Yüe: *y ü* 39 means 48 'to stop'; *p e n* 49 is loan char. for *f e n* 50 'to exert oneself'; *y i* 41 means 'to work for'. The line is an address to the allied troops to do their best for the Chou force: »Do not stop; you can exert yourselves in working for the Western land». This is very strained; moreover *y ü* means 'to stop' in the transitive sense of 'to obstruct', not intrans. 'to stop' = 'to stay'. — In following Si-ma as to *y ü* and Cheng Hūan for the rest, we obtain a concrete, simple and reasonable interpr.: »Do not stop and crush those who flee, so that they (can) serve in the Western land».

## Hung fan.

1520. Wei t'ien yin chī hia min 51.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien renders *chī* 52 by *ting* 53, and PK'ung expounds: »Heaven (darkly =) silently fixes the people here below». (Wang Su says *y in* 54 = 55 'deeply': 'hiddenly' = mysteriously, deeply). But for this sense of *chī* 52 = 53 there is no support whatever. K'ung Ying-ta suggests that Si-ma took it as loan char. for 56 (*tš'iet* / *chī*) and Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that Lu Tê-ming held the same opinion and therefore gave the char. the reading *tš'iet* / *chī* (the Ts'ie yün mss. also have this reading), in spite of its phonetic being 57 (*\*tš'ak* / *tš'ak* / *chī*). But *chī* 56 does not mean 53, and the theory has little value. When Yü Yüe says that Si-ma took *chī* 52 as loan char. for 58, this is likewise a mere guess. — B. The oldest interpr. is in Lü: Kün shou, in a taoistic diatribe about ignorance being the true knowledge, wisdom being hidden in the heart and invisible to the outside world. After quoting our Shu line, Lü says: 59. Here he takes *y in* and *chī* as two coördinated transitive verbs: »Heaven *y in* (obscures =) makes ignorant and (thereby) *chī* lifts up the people here below — to (obscure them =) make them ignorant is that by which it brings them forward». This taoistic meaning (which has been grossly maltreated by the comm. Kao Yu) is certainly not the true sense in our Shu line. But Lü is important in showing that he took *chī* 52 as = 60 'to rise, raise, lift' (with Erya). The char. 52 also means 'stallion' (Shuowen), hence the addition of rad. 'horse', but the sense is the same: 'the ascender', and Fu K'ien (2nd

不用 4 任 15 男 16 厥遺任 17 厥遺男 18 乃止齊焉 19 整 20 暇 21 尚桓桓 22 威武 23 桓 24  
尚桓桓 25 桓 26 犬行 27 如虎 28 如貌 29 如能 30 如顯 31 如虎 32 如顯 33 如豺 34 如離 35 財 36 豺 37 离 38 靖  
39 魑 40 弗 41 逐 42 克 43 奔 44 以 45 侵 46 西 47 土 48 御 49 誅 50 逐 51 不 52 禦 53 克 54 奔 55 禦 56 禦 57 禦 58 禦 59 禦 60 禦  
禦 61 禦 62 禦 63 禦 64 禦 65 禦 66 禦 67 禦 68 禦 69 禦 70 禦 71 禦 72 禦 73 禦 74 禦 75 禦 76 禦 77 禦 78 禦 79 禦 80 禦  
禦 81 禦 82 禦 83 禦 84 禦 85 禦 86 禦 87 禦 88 禦 89 禦 90 禦 91 禦 92 禦 93 禦 94 禦 95 禦 96 禦 97 禦 98 禦 99 禦

c. A. D.) says »it is read like 57 (\*tʰiək) 'to ascend'» which means that it is only a variant of that word (and should not, with Ts'ie yün and Shīwen, be read tʰiək / c h i). The sense of 'to rise, to raise, to lift' is thus well confirmed. — C. Ma Jung, Ying Shao and Kao Yu all define yin 54 as = 61 'to cover' and chī 52 = 60 (see B above) 'to rise, to raise, to lift', but in the extended sense of 62 'to bear, to create'. When Ying and Kao both paraphrase 63, I suppose they mean: »Heaven (covers, overshadows =) shelters and (raises =) produces the people here below». We can accept this, yet without the unnecessary extension of meaning, thus: »Heaven (covers =) shelters and raises the people here below». For par. with yin in this sense of 'to shelter' see Gl. 984. — D. Liu Feng-lu: yin 54 (\*iəm) and 55 (\*kōng) were »similar in sound», so yin chī is equal to 56 'to lower and to raise'(!).

1521. Siang hie küe kü 57.

A. PK'ung: »It (heaven) aids and harmonizes its (the people's) (dwelling =) living conditions», expounding that this refers to its resources for a continued subsistence. — B. Kao Yu (in comm. on Lü) and Ying Shao (in comm. on Han shu: Wu hing chī) suppose an understood »the king» as the subject and take kü 55 abstractly = 'to rest in, abide': »(The king) aids (Heaven) in harmonizing their abiding in (its good principles)». Very scholastic. Kin tsê ki si — for ki 59 'to kill' see BMFEA 18, p. 249.

1522. King yung wu shī 60.

A. This is PK'ung's version, which already was that of Cheng Hün (ap. comm. on Ode 195): »carefully to use the five conducts». — B. Pan Ku (Han shu: Wu hing chī and K'ung Kuang chuan) reads siu yung wu shī 61, siu 62 expl. by Yen Shī-ku as = 63 'to bring forward, bring forth' (common meaning). Thus: »To bring forth and use the five conducts». — The archaic graphs for king and siu were (in some variants) very similar, cf. king 64: siu 65 (see Grammata pp. 339 and 407), and a confusion was easy. The Ts'ing scholars as a rule have concluded that siu 62 (B) is an error for king 65 (A). But on the contrary it is the other way round, and B (the oldest text version attested) is preferable, for it is confirmed by a par. later in our chapter: 66 »Cause them to bring forth their (actions =) achievements», see Gl. 1458.

1523. Nung yung pa cheng 67.

A. Ma Jung, followed by Chang Yen (3rd c.) and Wang Su, take nung 68 in its proper sense of 'agriculture'. K'ung Ying-ta says they must have divided the line (nung yung — pa cheng »agriculture being employed, there being eight rules of government»), but that, of course, is not necessary: »For the agriculture (of the realm) to use eight rules of government». — B. Cheng Hün, foll. by PK'ung: 68 \*nōng / nuong / nung is loan char. for 69 \*nūng / nūwong / nung 'thick', thus: »Amplify to use the eight rules of government». — C. Wang Nien-sun: Kuang ya says nung 68 = 70 'to exert' and our nung yung is equal to mien yung: »Energetically to use the eight rules of government». Cf. Tso: Siang 13, phr. 71 »The small men exert their strength in serving their superiors» (Legge's: »They labour vigorously at their husbandry, to serve. .» is impossible; that would demand li nung inst. of nung li). Here nung li is so obviously id. with the common phr. nu li 72 that Wang believes 68 \*nōng and 73 \*no are two variations of the same word stem, which is unlikely. The nung in this sense is rather an extension of meaning: 'to work the soil': 'to toil'. Be this as it may, the interpr. here is evidently right, for just as in the preceding line siu yung 61 the siu 62 is a verb, so here in nung yung the nung should be a verb.

1524. Kien yung huang ki 74.

A. As to huang 75, Shang shu ta chuan renders it by wang 76 'royal', whereas all Han comm. define it by 77 'great'. 'August' will express both shades. Ki 78 is

already defined as = 79 'the middle (way)' by K'ung Kuang (1st c. B. C.). This meaning is safely attested (see Gl. 182, 1205), but in many cases where it has been proposed by commentators other meanings are preferable (see Gl. 671, 1040, 1058). Thus: »To establish and use the august (middle way =) correctness». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *ki* 78 in its commonest sense: 'the extreme point', thus: »To establish and use the august perfection» (so also Legge, Couvreur and Chavannes). — B may be quite plausible in itself, but there is no sufficient reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A).

1525. *Hiang yung wu fu wei yung liu ki* 80.

A. Ma Jung, foll. by PK'ung, imagines »Heaven» as understood subject, and takes *hiang* 81 'to approach' as a transitive-causative verb. Thus: »For (causing to go forward =) encouraging (people), (Heaven's) use of the five felicities, for scaring (people), (Heaven's) use of the six extremities (i. e. calamities)». Even in Legge's brushed-up formulation: »The hortative use of the five happinesses, the awing use of the six extremities», this interpr. remains very forced. — B. Another version earlier attested (ap. Han shu: Ku Yung chuan) has 82 inst. of 83 and reads 84; this *hiang* 85 being etym. s. w. a. 86 'to enjoy', thus: »enjoyingly to use the five felicities». In the corresponding *wei yung liu ki* »fearingly to use the six extremities (sc. calamities)», the two verbs combined seem to make poor sense. But »fearingly to use the 6 extremities» really means »with due awe to accept the six extremities (i. e. calamities)», which forms an exact counterpart to *hiang yung wu fu*.

T'ü yüan kia sê 87.

Sî-ma Ts'ien inst. of yüan 88 (\**giwan*) has yüe 89 (\**giwāt*) which tallies with the preceding lines and is preferable.

1526. *Kin yüe ts'ung ko* 90.

A. Ma Jung: »Metal is said to obey and change». Thus *ts'ung* and *ko* express the same thing in two formulations. Ma expounds: »to obey man's wish»; Kiang Sheng on the contrary: »to obey (the fire)». — B. Yü Yüe: Just as in the preceding *mu yüe k'ü ch'i* 91 there should be two contrasting meanings here: »Wood is said either to curve or to straighten (having no unalterable shape), metal is said to follow (its nature) or to change (i. e. have no definite state of aggregation)». — B is ingenious, but after all *ts'ung* 'to follow' as an ellipsis for 'to follow its nature' is very forced.

1527. *Yen yüe ts'ung* 92.

A. Tung Chung-shu (Ch'un ts'iu fan lu: Wu hing wu shi): »The speech is said to be (followable =) worth to be followed». This was accepted by Ma Jung and PK'ung. — B. Pan Ku (Han shu: Wu hing chi) *ts'ung* 93 'to follow' = 94 'to be compliant' (sc. with reason), 'reasonable'. *ts'ung* is indeed synonymous with *shun*, and *shun* very often has this sense of 'reasonable', e. g. Tso: Wen 14, phr. 95 »His speech is reasonable». Thus: »The speech is said to be (compliant =) reasonable». This was followed by Ts'ai Ch'en. Cf. Li: K'ung ts'i hien kü 96 »The spirit and will are compliant (reasonable)». This is a strong confirmation. — B is obviously preferable.

1528. *Sî yüe juei* 97.

居 57 強 60 敬 用 五 事 61 羞 用 五 事 62 羞 63 進 64 明 65 殺 66 敬 67 使 羞 其 行 68 農 用 八 政 69 農 69 疆 70 勉 71 小 人 農 力 以 事 其 上 72 努 力 73 努 74 建 用 皇 極 75 皇 76 王 77 大 78 極 79 中 80 嚮 用 五 福 威 用 大 極 81 嚮 82 畏 83 威 84 饗 用 五 福 85 饗 86 享 87 土 爰 綏 綏 88 受 89 曰 90 金 曰 從 革 91 木 曰 曲 直 92 言 曰 從 93 從 94 順 95 其 詞 順 96 氣 志 既 從 97 思 曰 睿 98 聖 藏 也 99 獻

A. This version, adhered to by all the Ku-wen champions (Ma Jung, Cheng Hsün, Wei Chao, Wang Su, PK'ung etc.), is already to be found in Si-ma Ts'ien (Sung shī kia); and that this was not a correction in Si-ma's text by some later hand follows from the fact that Mao Heng (2nd c. B. C.) in comm. on Ode 32 reveals that he had the same version; he says 98 »sage means penetrating (perspicacious)«, which alludes to our phr. 99 here. Thus: »The thinking is said to be penetrating«. — B. Another version (Kin-wen), equally early attested: Tung Chung-shu (Ch'un ts'iu fan lu: Wu hing wu shī) read sī y ü e j u n g 100, explaining it as meaning 'capacious' in the sense of 'large-minded, liberal' (common). Same version in Shang shu ta chuan, in Shuo yüan: Kün tso, in Kao Yu comm. on Ts'ê etc. Thus: »The thinking is said to be (large-minded =) liberal«. In expounding this Pan Ku (Han shu: Wu hing chī, hia), saying j u n g 1 = 2 'wide, liberal', quotes Confucius (Lun: Pa yi): 3 »If the one who is in a superior position is not large-minded . . .«. — The char. 4 and 1 are so similar that originally one of them must be a mistake for the other. It is very difficult to decide which one was the primary version. When in Yi Chou shu: Shī fa we find »j u e i 99 means s h e n g 5«, and in Kyü: Ch'u yü 6: »They called him (after death) the perspicacious and sage Wu-kung«, these passages clearly allude to our Shu chapter and prove that the A version already existed in pre-Han time. But on the other hand, as pointed out by Ts'ien Ta-hin and Chu Tsün-sheng, the B version is supported by the rimes: the whole passage here has a rimed formulation: m a o y ü e k u n g (\*kung): y e n y ü e t s ' u n g (\*dz'ung): shī y ü e m i n g (\*mǐ'ng): t ' i n g y ü e t s ' u n g (\*ts'ung): sī y ü e j u n g 1 (\*d'ung). (For the aberrant rime \*miǎng in the 3rd line cf. the »free« rime system studied in Karlgren: The poetical parts in Lao-tsi, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 1932). This phenomenon is really quite decisive in favour of the Kin-wen version (B). Cf. also Shu: Ts'in shī 7, which expresses the same idea.

1529. Ts'ung tso mou 8.

A. Ma Jung and Cheng Hsün: if the ruler has good hearing i. e. is willing to hear his subordinates, they will present their counsels. Thus: »Being perceptive in hearing produces (the presentation of) good counsels«. This is obviously excluded, since it fails in the parallelism with the rest: »Being respectful produces gravity, being clear-sighted produces wisdom« etc., in which the coupled terms are analogous in meaning. — B. PK'ung therefore: »Being perceptive in hearing produces deliberation«, i. e. the one who listens to various opinions in a case, can deliberate and form his own opinion. — C. Wang Yin-chi considers that even in B the two terms are not sufficiently analogous. He points out that Ho Yen 9 (3rd c. A. D.) in his King fu tien fu has 10, which is obviously an allusion to our Shu line, and he concludes that there must have existed an early version with 11. The char. 12 is now read m i n, but as proved in Gl. 866 it must originally have been read either \*mæg / mǝu / m o u or \*mwæg / muǝi / m e i, and Wang believes that 13 mǝg / (\*mǝu / m o u) is merely a loan char. for 12. He adduces Li: Chung yung 14, where Cheng Hsün records a variant version 15, the two characters thus being interchangeable. (In fact the phonetics 16 and 17 are interchangeable: in Ode 20 the word 18 is wr. 19 in the Han version). Further in Kyü: Tsin yü 20 »The cleverness and smartness of Yang-kuo Chī« we have this same combination of t s ' u n g and 12 (m i n =) m o u as in Ho Yen's poem, which attests to its being really a standing phr. in archaic Chinese. Thus: »Being perceptive in hearing produces (quickness =) smartness«. — C is quite plausible and even very tempting, especially with a view to the Kyü phr. adduced. But after all Si-ma already had 13, and since this, in the B interpr., makes excellent sense without any loan char. speculations, there is really no sufficient reason for abandoning it.

Jī y ü e s i n g c h ' e n see Gl. 1215.

1530. Huang kien k' i y u k i, lien shī w u f u, yung f u s i k ü e s h u min, wei shī k ü e s h u min y ü j u k i, s i j u p a o k i 21.

We have already stated in Gl. 1524 that the ancient definition of *ki* 22 as = 23 'the middle way, the correctness' is preferable to the later interpr. 'perfection'.

A. All the comm. from Ma Jung and onwards have punctuated as above, explaining: »When the august one firmly establishes the correctness he possesses, he brings together those five felicities and largely bestows them upon his people; then the people takes correctness (in =) from you (or: rests in your correctness), and bestows upon you (makes it possible for you) to preserve the correctness». The weakness of this interpr. is evident. In the line: *wei shī k'ue shu min yü ju ki*, the three words *yü ju ki* 24 is paraphrased by Ma Jung: 25 »in (i. e. from) you take the correctness», which contains a verb *ts'ü* 'to take' which is not in the text, and this is allowable only if *ki* is made a verb: (they) *yü ju* in you *ki* (»are middled» =) become corrected — which is very unfortunate, since it would mean that the first and third *ki* are the noun 'correctness', whereas the second would be a verb 'to become corrected'. It is no better, with Ts'ai Ch'en and Legge, to take *yü* 26 as a pregnant verb: »(they) *yü* dwell in (rest in) your correctness». — B. Another interpr. We should punctuate after the second *si*: *wei shī k'ue shu min yü ju. ki si, ju pao ki*. The idea of the whole passage is that the *wu fu* five felicities are a practical outcome of the king's *ki* correctness; when he *si* bestows the felicities on the people, they *eo ipso* *si* become endowed with his *ki* correctness; and this having thus become universal, he can preserve it. Thus: »When the august one firmly establishes the correctness he possesses, he (thereby) brings together those five felicities and largely bestows them upon his people; then the people with your correctness becomes endowed, and you (can) preserve the correctness».

1531. *Wei huang tso ki* 27.

A. PK'ung curiously takes *huang* here as a general adverb without reference to the idea of »august» (sc. belonging to the king) which it has all through this section: »Then (the whole world) will grandly (make correctness =) be correct». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »It is that the august one (makes =) creates the correctness».

1532. *Er k'ang er sê yüe yü yu hao tê ju tsê si ch'ifu* 28.

K'ung Ying-ta says that Cheng Hün's and Wang Su's versions had not the word *tê* 29; if so, they were faulty, for the passage is rimed: *sê* (\**ɕiək*): *tê* (\**tək*): *fu* (\**pʰük*).

A. PK'ung: *er* 30 = 31 'you' (common, see Gl. 936 and particularly 1536 and 1548 below), interpreting: »You should make quiet your mien (i. e. be modest); and (if some) say: »what we love is the virtue», then you shall give them happiness (i. e. emoluments)». K'ung Kuang-sen reminds that Erya has an entry *k'ang* 32 = 33 'empty' (properly: 'husk'): »You should make empty your mien». This is hardly any improvement. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *er* as the ordinary particle; moreover he paraphrases as if the second *er* did not exist: »And (if) with tranquil mien (some) say: what we love . . . » etc. *Er k'ang er sê* of course cannot be construed like that. Legge tries to save Ts'ai's idea by coördinating *k'ang* and *sê* as verbs: »When they *k'ang* are pleased *sê* and

作聖 100 思曰 容 1. 容 2. 寬 3. 居上不寬 4. 皆 5. 聖 6. 謂之 聖武 7. 其心休休焉其如有容  
8. 聽作謀 9. 何晏 10. 克明 克哲 克聰 克敏 11. 聰作敏 12. 敏 13. 謀 14. 人道 敏政 15. 人道 謀政  
16. 每 17. 某 18. 梅 19. 棟 20. 羊舌職之聰敏 21. 皇建其有極 敏時五福用敷錫厥庶民惟時厥  
庶民于汝極錫汝休極 22. 極 23. 中 24. 于汝極 25. 于汝取中正 26. 于 27. 惟皇作極 28. 而康而  
色曰予攸好德汝則錫之福 29. 德 30. 而 31. 汝 32. 康 33. 虛 34. 時人斯其惟皇之極 35. 是人此

look so, yüe saying» — a very curious attempt. Chavannes similarly: *s'il en est qui, paisibles et contents, dissent*; how *sê* could mean «contented» is difficult to see. — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen revert to the A idea of *er*, but make the king the speaker: «You should make (tranquil =) serene your mien and say: «what I love is the virtue»; and then you should give them happiness (i. e. emoluments, offices)». — C alone will do.

**1533.** *Shī jen sī k'i wei huang chī ki* 34.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 35, whatever that may mean. K'ung Ying-ta and many later expounders save themselves by introducing a verb which does not exist in the Shu text, e. g. K'ung: 36 «Those men thus will (make =) effectuate the principle of the great correctness» — the verb *wei* 'to make' being freely added. (Legge: «Those men will in this way advance to the perfection of the sovereign — the 'advance' being freely invented). — B. Kiang Sheng, who has honestly faced the difficulty and does not want to smuggle into the text a verb that becomes fundamental to the construction, proposes that *k'i* 37 means 38 'to hope for and exert oneself' (37 would then be a short-form for 39), thus: «What those men thus will be bent on is the august one's correctness». This seems a rather desperate expedient. — C. Another interpr. Kiang is right that somewhere there must be a verb as key to the whole sentence. *Wei* 40 is attested to mean 'to think of' (Erya *wei* = 41), e. g. Ode 245 phr. 42 «And then we lay plans, we think it over». So it means in our line above: «Those men thus will think of the august one's correctness». That *Sī-ma Ts'ien* has 43 inst. of 40 is no obstacle; as pointed out by *Yen Shī-ku* in *K'uang miu cheng su*, the *Kin-wen* version always has 43 for the 40 of the *Ku-wen* version, so the two are interchangeable graphs. This construction of the phrase is strongly supported by a par. later on in our chapter. There we have *shī jen sī k'i ku* 44 «Those men then will commit offences». Just as *ku* here in *sī k'i ku*, so our *wei* should be a verb in *sī k'i wei*. For another Shu case of *wei* 40 = 'to think' see Gl. 1587.

**1534.** *Wu nüe k'iong tu, er wei kao ming* 45.

This is the *Ku-wen* version. The *Kin-wen* version inst. of *k'iong tu* had *kuan kua* 46, the meaning being practically the same.

A. Ma Jung: «Do not oppress those who are (solitary =) helpless and alone, while fearing those who are high and illustrious». — B. Cheng Hsüan believes that *wei* 47 (*·iwar*, falling tone) stands for *wei* 48 (*·iwar*, even tone), which is merely another aspect of the same word stem. Thus: «Do not oppress those who are helpless and alone, but (you should) overawe those who are high and illustrious». No reason for abandoning the oldest interpr. (A).

*Shī siu k'i hing* etc. see Gl. 1458.

**1535.** *Fan küe cheng jen ki fu fang ku* 49.

*Cheng jen* 50 does not, with PK'ung, mean 'straight (correct) men', but (with *Ts'ai Ch'en* = officers) properly: «The principal men» (the leaders, the superiors), see Gl. 539. *Wang Yin-chī* (*King yi shu wen*) has a very full documentation on this point. —

A. PK'ung takes *ku* as a transitive verb: «(All the principal men) when *fu* they have been remunerated (with offices), they *ku* should be treated with goodness». For *ku* as loan char. for 'good' (common), see Gl. 491. — B. *Ts'ai Ch'en*: When they have been remunerated, then they (can be required to) be good». *Sun Sing-yen* (and Legge and Couvreur) more simply: «When they have been remunerated, then they will be good». Cf. Gl. 491. — C. Kiang Sheng: *ki* 51 = 52 'to exhaust'; *fang* 53 = 54 'regular'; thus: «All the principal men (sc. leading officers), exhaustively remunerate them with regular (good =) emoluments». A very forced interpr.

**1536.** *Ju fu neng shī yu hao yü er kia, shī jen sī k'i ku* 55.

A. PK'ung explains *yü er kia* by *yü kuo kia* 56, which shows that he correctly

took *er 57* = 'you', as in an earlier line. He does not explain the difficult *y u h a o*, but K'ung Ying-ta supplies this by expounding: *58* »to have friendliness towards your state«. Finally PK'ung has a strange expl. of the last line: »Those men then will *k u* allege guilt (and go away)«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *59* »If you cannot cause them to be concordant with your house, those men then will *k u* commit offenses«. Couvreur has understood Ts'ai thus: »If you cannot cause them to have harmony (concord) in your families« — all the families of the people really belonging to the king and therefore called »your families«(!). — C. Legge reads *h a o* in falling tone, and explains *er k i a* as = »their families« the *er* being taken as merely a pause or rest of the voice(!). Thus: »If you cannot make men have what they love in their families«. Grammatically utterly erroneous. Chavannes in part is influenced by Legge: »Si vous ne pouvez pas faire qu'ils trouvent leur avantage dans l'état«. — D. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: »If you cannot cause them to have friendliness towards your house, those men then will commit offences«, which comes very near to B.

**1537.** *Y ü k 'i w u h a o t ê*.

The *t ê* here did not exist in Sî-ma Ts'iens version, nor in Cheng Hsüan's. It has been wrongly introduced by PK'ung on the analogy of *y ü y u h a o t ê* a few lines earlier. *T ê* is in fact not admissible, since the line should end with *h a o* (\**χóg*), which rimes with *kiu* 'fault' (\**g'îóg*). Thus: »As to those who are not good«.

**1538.** *K 'i t s o j u y u n g k i u 60*.

This follows upon: »As to those who are not good, even though you give them happiness (i. e. emoluments) . . .«.

A. Cheng Hsüan paraphrases: *61*. »In acting for you they will use wickedness«, Cheng expounding that they will cause alienation between ruler and people. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: *61*, thus: »In acting for you they will employ wicked ones« (Legge and Couvreur understand Ts'ai thus: »They will cause you to employ wicked ones«, i. e. themselves [C.: *illi facient ut tu adhibeas improbos*]; I do not believe that this was Ts'ai's idea). — C. Chavannes: »Leur conduite ne fera que vous (donner la réputation d')avoir mal agi«. It is difficult to see how this could be reconcilable with the text. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A).

**1539.** *W a n g t a o t a n g t a n g 62*.

A. The oldest interpr. is Kao Yu in comm. on Lü: Kuei kung, where our Shu line is quoted: *t a n g t a n g* = *63* 'smooth and easy', which is based on Mao's comm. on Ode 101, phr. *64* »The road to Lu is smooth and easy« (Mao: *t a n g* = *63*). Thus: »The king's way is smooth and easy«. — B. PK'ung: *t a n g t a n g* means *65*, thus: »The king's way is (opened up =) wide-open«. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *t a n g t a n g* = *66*, thus: »The king's way is wide and far-reaching«. *T a n g 67* is well attested in the sense of 'grand, extensive', see Gl. 921. — Since Mao's definition 'smooth and easy' of *t a n g* as epithet to 'way, road' is the earliest attainable (2nd c. B. C.), we had better follow it (A).

其惟大之中36是人此其惟為大中之道37其38期勉39期40惟41思42載謀載惟43繼  
44時人斯其45無46虞47獨而畏高明48鯀49畏50威51凡厥正人既富方穀52正人  
53既54盡55方56常57汝弗能使有好事而家時人斯事58於國家59而60有好善於汝  
國家61不能使其和好於而家62其作汝用咎63其動作為汝用惡64為汝用咎惡之人65  
66王道蕩蕩67平易68魯道有蕩69開闢70廣遠71蕩72王道平平73平74采75辨76辨

## 1540. Wang tao pien pien 68.

The char. p'ing 69 is a corruption of pien 70, equal to 71 or 72, cf. Gl. 1212 and 1217. Hence Shi ki, k. 102, Tsan, quotes 73, var. 74. The phr. therefore means, with PK'ung, 75 'well-arranged', not, with Ts'ai Ch'en, 'even and easy'.

## 1541. Huei k'i yu ki, kuei k'i yu ki 76.

A. Cheng Hün: »If you bring together those who have correctness, then they will turn to the one who has correctness (sc. yourself)«. — B. PK'ung: »If you bring together the correctness you possess, (all in the world) will turn to the correctness«. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Gather round the (king's) correctness, turn to the (king's) correctness«. — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

## 1542. Huang ki chi fu yen, shi yi shi hün, yü ti k'i hün 77.

The line is introduced by a yüe 78, which hardly should be translated »he said« — it is merely a »namely, thus«.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien inst. of h u a n g 79 has w a n g 80, and for the second h ü n he has s h u n 81. From Ma Jung's paraphr. it is evident that his text agreed with Si-ma's. He interprets: »W a n g the king k i c h i exhausts it (i. e. carries it through completely) and f u y e n propagates and preaches it; s h i y i he makes that (sc. the correctness) the constant norm, s h i h ü n that he teaches (to the world), y ü t i k ' i s h u n and (then) with the Sovereign (sc. Heaven) there will be compliance«. This is very bad, for k i 82, which throughout this chapter is a noun meaning ('the middle way' =) 'correctness', is here all of a sudden taken as a transitive verb = 'to exhaust' (with c h i 83 as object). But so far Ma is undoubtedly right that w a n g 80 (or h u a n g 79) does not here form a binome with the following k i, as it did in several earlier passages, but is a noun and subject, for to our w a n g k i c h i f u y e n 84 here corresponds, in the next line, f a n k ü e s h u m i n k i c h i f u y e n 85, so that our w a n g (h u a n g) balances s h u m i n 'the people'. — B. PK'ung takes h ü n in both cases as = s h u n 81. In fact, h ü n can mean 'to instruct, to teach', but also 'to be instructed, to let oneself be taught, to be docile, compliant'. Thus: »(As to) the propagation and preaching of the august correctness, s h i y i if one makes that a constant norm, s h i h ü n (all people) will comply with that, it is compliant with the Sovereign (sc. Heaven)«. A very clumsy way of construing this difficult passage. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en takes both h ü n as = 'to instruct', first as a noun: 'instruction, teaching, lesson', and secondly as a verb: »The king's propagation and preaching of the correctness, that is the (eternal) norm, that is the lesson, by the Sovereign (God) it is taught«. That is all very well, but Ts'ai, who here takes h u a n g as a possessive genitive: »the king's (teaching)«, and the k i c h i as an objective genitive: »(the teaching) of the correctness« (Couvreur: imperatoris — summae virtutis — explicata expositio) cannot at all apply that construction to the balancing case in next line (s h u m i n k i c h i f u y e n), which is fatal, since the parallelism is strict. — D. Another interpr. With Ma above (A), h u a n g (or w a n g) is a noun and subject. Word for word: »The king — the correctness's propagation and teaching, that he makes his norm, that he complies with, and with the Sovereign (God) he will then comply; all the people — the correctness's propagation and teaching, that they comply with, that they carry into practice, and thereby they will come near to the glory of the Son of Heaven«. This interpr. expresses effectively the fundamental parallelism between the lines. For s h i 86 as an anteposed object resuming an earlier phr., a very common construction (15 cases in the Odes alone, see Gl. 845), cf. e. g. Ode 2, S h i y i s h i h u o »that I cut, that I boil«.

## 1543. Yi yüe cheng chi, er yüe kang k'o, san yüe jou k'o 87.

A. Cheng Hün: k'o 88 = 89, expounding: »The first is called to be (straight =) just (neither too hard nor too weak); the second is called to be hard but capable (of being



soft); the third is called to be soft but capable (of being hard)». A cursious interpr. Chavannes tries to improve it without abandoning the definition *k'o = neng* 'able': *kang k'o* »la faculté d'être sévère». But this will not do, for then it should be *k'o kang*. — B. PK'ung: »The first is called to (be able to) correct (people's crookedness); the second is called to (vanquish, dominate =) rule with hardness; the third is called to rule with softness». — C. Sun Sing-yen: the »three virtues» refer to *jen tao* 'the principle of man', *t'ien tao* 'the principle of Heaven' and *ti tao* 'the principle of Earth'. *K'o* means (after Ma Jung) *sheng 90* 'to predominate'. Thus: »The first is called straightness (the principle of man); the second is called the hardness predominating (the principle of Heaven); the third is called the softness predominating (the principle of Earth)». — D. Yü Yüe: the three virtues refer to one's influence on others, and just as in *kang k'o* and *jou k'o* the first word is an adverbial phrase and the second a transitive verb, so it should also be in *cheng chi*: »The first is called: by straightness to correct (others); the second is called: by hardness to (conquer =) govern (others); the third is called: by softness to govern (others)». This is very ingenious; but since we had only a few lines earlier *wang tao cheng chi 91* »The king's way is straight», where *cheng chi* is the ordinary binome of synonyms, it would be very bold to analyse it here as meaning 'by straightness to correct'. — After all interpr. C., which in part at least is based on Ma Jung, the earliest comm. attainable, is the most simple and plausible if we only free it from the cosmogonic speculation: »The first is called straightness (the strict mean); the second is called hardness predominating; the third is called softness predominating».

**1544.** P'ing k'ang cheng chi 92.

A. Cheng Hün: »For a peaceful (state), (one uses) straight (men to govern it)» — B. PK'ung: »In peaceful (times), there is straightness (used for governing)». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: »For (treating) the peaceful ones there is the straightness (the strict mean)».

**1545.** K'iang fu yu kang k'o 93.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien already had 94 »For (treating) the violent and unfriendly, there is the hardness predominating». — B. Another interpr. K'iang fu yu is rhythmically faulty; we should have two syllables on the analogy of the preceding p'ing k'ang 95 and the following sie yu 96. Probably our yu 97 in k'iang fu yu has erroneously slipped in from the next line, and the original text had k'iang fu 98, in which fu 99 is short-form for 100 \*b'iwat / b'iat / fu, as in Yao tien 1 »Oh, he is offensive, Wei tsi 2 »One offends the aged elders». Thus: »For (treating) the violent and offensive ones, there is the hardness predominating». This text corruption must have taken place very early (before Si-ma Ts'ien).

**1546.** Ch'en ts'ien kang k'o, kao ming jou k'o 2.

Tso: Wen 5 (foll. by Si-ma Ts'ien) reads: ch'en tsien 4 and Han shu: Ku Yung chuan reads tan tsien 5.

A. Ma Jung: ch'en 6 = 7 'hidden, secret', and ts'ien 8 = 9 'to lie down hidden',

73 王道便便 74 辨辨 75 辨治 76 會其有極 歸其有極 77 皇極之數言是彝 是訓于帝其訓  
78 曰 79 皇 80 王 81 順 82 極 83 之 84 王極之數言 85 凡厥庶民極之數言 16 是 87 一曰正直  
二曰剛克 三曰柔克 88 克 89 能 90 勝 91 王道正直 92 平康正直 93 彊弗友剛克 94 彊不友  
剛克 95 平康 96 變友 97 友 98 彊弗 99 弗 100 弗 1 吁弗哉 2 弗其考長 3 沈潛剛克 高明柔  
克 4 沈漸 5 湛漸 6 沈 7 陰 8 潛 9 伏 10 漸 11 剛德 12 溫和 13 俊朗 14 湛退 15 中 16 我沈

interpreting: »For (treating) those who keep hidden and lie concealed (sc. with seditious plans)». Chavannes (with P'ei Yin) keeps closer to Sī-ma's variant reading: »A l'égard de celui qui agit d'une manière cachée et qui *ts'ien* 10 accumule graduellement (les mauvaises actions)». — **B.** In Tso: Wen 5 somebody criticizes a dignitary for his hardness, quotes our Shu line, and says the man is always on the hard side. But, he continues, »Heaven has *k a n g t ê* 11 the hard nature, and yet it does not obstruct the (change of the) 4 seasons» (i. e. it can still be soft). This has given PK'ung his clue: *ch' en ts'ien* (the sinking and retiring) that is Earth, and *k a o m i n g* (the high and bright) that is Heaven; but even though Earth is soft, it can produce hardness (metal and stone); and even though Heaven is hard, it can still show softness in not obstructing the seasons. Thus: »The sinking and retiring can have hardness; the high and bright can have softness». And he adds that this is an innuendo, that the (weak ones =) ministers should be able to show hardness towards the king, and the (hard one =) king show softness towards the ministers. All so much scholastics. — **C.** Tu Yü, in comm. on Tso, refers the line to the control over one's own character, not the treatment of others: »The sunk and swamped ones (the weak ones) should by hardness conquer (themselves); the high and bright ones should by softness conquer (themselves)». — **D.** Chang Shou-tsie (T'ang time): *ch' en ts'ien* means 12 'mild', *k a o m i n g* means 13 'prominent and bright', thus: »For (treating) the mild ones (who are in office), one must be able to show hardness; for (treating) the prominent and bright ones (in office) one must be able to show softness». It is difficult to see how *ch' en ts'ien* could come to having this sense. — **E.** Ts'ai Ch'en: *ch' en ts'ien* means 14 'deep and retiring', meaning such as do not come up to the *ch u n g* 15 correct mean; *k a o m i n g* means 'lofty and brilliant', such who exceed the correct mean. Legge formulates this: »For the reserved and retiring, there is the strong rule, for the lofty and intelligent, there is the mild rule»; whereas Couvreur turns it thus: »il faut gouverner avec fermeté ceux qui croupissent dans l'indolence, et avec douceur ceux qui se distinguent par leurs talents et leurs bonnes dispositions». — **F.** Another interpr. *Ch' e n* 6 means 'to sink' (transitive and intransitive), and sometimes in the sense of 'to sink in, plunge in, to be soaked in'. This may refer more particularly to »wine» as in Shu: Wei tsī 16 »We are plunged in and mad with wine»; Mo: Fei Huang hia 17: »I have plunged and soaked Chou of Yin in wine»; Shī ki: Sung shī kia 18 »Chou was plunged and soaked in wine». For this 6 (*\*d'iem / d'iem / ch' e n*) there is a variation (another aspect of the same stem) 19 *\*təm / tām / t a m*, e. g. Kuan: Sī ch'eng 20 »Plunged and soaked in wine»; Ode 256, phr. 21 »Excessively steeped in wine» (Lu version 22). Or the word may refer more generally to »pleasure» or »vice», e. g. Ode 256, phr. 23 »You are bent on being steeped in pleasure» (cf. Shu: Wu yi 24, with another graph for the same word stem). Observe that in our Shu line above we have the same variants: 6 ↔ 19 as in Ode 256. On the other hand, 8 *\*dz'iem / dz'iam / ts'ien* primarily means 'to plunge in the deep», as in Ode 184, phr. 25 »The fish plunges in the deep» (for more ex. see Gl. 1099). And again 10 read *\*tsiam / tsiam / tsien* means 'to dip down into, to moisten, to soak', e. g. Sün: K'üan hüe 26 »Soak it in manure». All these *-m* words are cognate and form one great word family. It seems evident that the phrase, whether written *ch' en ts'ien* 3 (*\*d'iem-dz'iem*) or *ch' en tsien* 4 (*\*d'iem-tsiam*) or *tan tsien* 5 (*\*təm-tsiam*), is a binome meaning 'to plunge in, to steep, to soak', since both members have that sense. For the phonetic variation of the binome, cf. Gl. 98, 334, 832. It is a constantly recurring theme in the earliest texts that the leaders are »plunged» in wine or pleasure, and that is obviously the sense here. Thus: »For (treating) those who are plunged and soaked (sc. in wine and pleasure), there is the hardness predominating, for those who are high-standing and (bright =) enlightened there is the softness predominating».

1547. Wei pi yü shī 27.

A. Ma Jung says *yü shi* 'jade food' simply means 28 fine food, and Cheng Hsüan 29 'a complete array of precious dishes'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: 'the precious food' is what the subjects present to the ruler, thus: 'It is the ruler who eats the precious food (given in tribute)'. Legge turns this into: 'who receives the revenues of the empire'(!). — C. Sun Sing-yen: 30 (\**ngiuk* / *ngiwok* / *yü*) stands for 31 (\**xiók* / *xiuk* / *hü*) — for the same speculation by Yüan Yüan on an ode line, see Gl. 920 — and this again is equal to 32 \**χóg* / *χáu* / *h a o*, thus: 'good food'. A phonetically impossible theory. — D. Chang Ping-lin adduces Chouli: Yü fu, which says 33, which both Cheng Chung and Cheng Hsüan take to mean: 'When the king fasts, he (the *yü f u*) furnishes the jade to be eaten' saying it was pulverized and eaten. That this was a taoistic practice in Han time is well attested, but there are no pre-Han text ex. (except a line in Ch'u: Li sao, which could be interpreted to that effect) and Sun Yi-jang sums up various reasons for believing that it simply meant: 'He furnishes the meal jades' in the sense of the jade utensils or jade-adorned utensils used in serving the food. Whichever interpr. is right, it seems quite possible that our Shu line (with Chang Ping-lin) has this sense. But after all it is here a question of Royal prerogatives and the use of jade utensils could certainly not have been forbidden the princes and dignitaries, nor the eating of jade (if such existed in pre-Han time), since jade-cicadas laid in the corpse's mouth was by no means restricted to the king's use. — E. It seems unlikely that 'jade food' i. e. 'precious food' simply means that the ruler had fine and complete food; it must refer to his power, his activity, just as in the preceding phrases his dispensing of favours and punishments. It seems reasonable to conclude that it refers to the ritual eating of certain special dishes in the Ming-t'ang 'Hall of Brightness', which inaugurates and sets in motion the seasons of the year, one of the most solemn and religiously important functions of the king, see Li: Yüe ling. Thus: 'It is the ruler who eats the precious food (the ritual food)'.

1548. Hai yü er kia, hiung yü er kuo 34.

A. Cheng Hsüan: 'It is injurious to your house and baleful to your state' — addressed to the king: the luck will leave your 35 house, and calamity strike your state. — B. Wang Su: *kia* refers to the 'dignitary houses', thus: 'It is injurious to your (great feudal) houses, and (hence) baleful to your state'. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: '(The dignitaries) will be injurious in your houses, and (the feudal lords) will be baleful in your states'. — The oldest interpr. (A) is by far the simplest and most natural.

1549. Min yung tsien t'ê 36.

A. Ma Jung: *t'ê* 37 = 38 'wicked': 'The people thereby become (transgressing =) offensive and (erring =) wicked'. *T'ê* properly means 'error, to err'. — B. In Han shu: Wang Kia chuan the line is paraphrased by Wang Kia (end of 1st c. B. C.): 39. Kiang Sheng says that this means: 'The people become deviating and (doubting =) distrustful' i. e. disloyal, by Wang expressed in *pu yi* 'not united'. It is true that Mao Heng in gloss on Ode 256 defines *tsien* 40 as = 41 'to deviate, to err', but there it really means 'to be untruthful', see Gl. 958. And in Ode 152 Mao says *t'ê* 37 = 42, but in fact there 43 means 'His fine demeanour is without fault' (Mao freely: not to be doubted, faultless). Thus the support for B is very poor (it is interesting, on the other hand,

酗于酒<sup>1</sup> 既沈<sup>2</sup> 沈<sup>3</sup> 沈<sup>4</sup> 紂于酒<sup>5</sup> 紂<sup>6</sup> 紂<sup>7</sup> 紂<sup>8</sup> 紂<sup>9</sup> 紂<sup>10</sup> 紂<sup>11</sup> 紂<sup>12</sup> 紂<sup>13</sup> 紂<sup>14</sup> 紂<sup>15</sup> 紂<sup>16</sup> 紂<sup>17</sup> 紂<sup>18</sup> 紂<sup>19</sup> 紂<sup>20</sup> 紂<sup>21</sup> 紂<sup>22</sup> 紂<sup>23</sup> 紂<sup>24</sup> 紂<sup>25</sup> 紂<sup>26</sup> 紂<sup>27</sup> 紂<sup>28</sup> 紂<sup>29</sup> 紂<sup>30</sup> 紂<sup>31</sup> 紂<sup>32</sup> 紂<sup>33</sup> 紂<sup>34</sup> 紂<sup>35</sup> 紂<sup>36</sup> 紂<sup>37</sup> 紂<sup>38</sup> 紂<sup>39</sup> 紂<sup>40</sup> 紂<sup>41</sup> 紂<sup>42</sup> 紂<sup>43</sup> 紂<sup>44</sup> 紂<sup>45</sup> 紂<sup>46</sup> 紂<sup>47</sup> 紂<sup>48</sup> 紂<sup>49</sup> 紂<sup>50</sup> 紂<sup>51</sup> 紂<sup>52</sup> 紂<sup>53</sup> 紂<sup>54</sup> 紂<sup>55</sup> 紂<sup>56</sup> 紂<sup>57</sup> 紂<sup>58</sup> 紂<sup>59</sup> 紂<sup>60</sup> 紂<sup>61</sup> 紂<sup>62</sup> 紂<sup>63</sup> 紂<sup>64</sup> 紂<sup>65</sup> 紂<sup>66</sup> 紂<sup>67</sup> 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as a proof of the influential position the Mao commentary on the Odes already had at that early time). — No reason to abandon A.

**1550. Nai ming pu shī 44.**

A. PK'ung, followed by Ts'ai Ch'en, takes *ming* in its ordinary sense of 'to order, to command': 'They are ordered to take tortoise oracle and to take milfoil oracle'. In consequence, when the line continues: *yü e yü, yü e tsi* etc. 45, he supplies: (the configurations on the tortoise shell have an appearance so that) they are called 'rain' and 'clearing' etc. In other words, the lines on the shell resemble 'rain', 'clearing sky' etc. But this interpr. breaks down when we come to the 6th and 7th (the milfoil) *yü e cheng yü e hui* 46 'they are called *cheng* and *hui* (the technical names of the lower and upper trigrams respectively of the hexagram): here there are no configurations that look like *cheng* and *hui*. Thus PK'ung's interpr. cannot be carried through in the whole passage. Moreover we know from the ample oracle bone materials that the lines on the shells and bones could not possibly be said to resemble 'rain' or 'clearing sky' etc. — B. Cheng Hün: *ming* 47 is common in the sense of 'to name', to give a *ming* 48 'name', 'to denominate', e. g. Tso: Huan 2, phr. 49 'They gave him name, calling him K'iu' (very common). Thus: 'Then one makes denominations for the tortoise and milfoil oracles: they are called (oracles about) 'rain', clearing up' . . . ; and (they are called) *cheng* (lower trigram) and *hui* (upper trigram)'. — C. Wang Yin-chi: The phrases *ming kuei* 50 'to announce the inquiry to the tortoise' and *ming shi* 'to announce the inquiry to the milfoil' are technical terms, occurring e. g. in Yili: *Shi sang li* and in Chouli: *T'ai pu* (In Tso: Wen 18 we have the synon. phr. *ling kuei* 51, in Shu: *Kin t'eng* 52). This is the meaning here: 'And then one announces the inquiries to the tortoise and the milfoil; they are called (inquiries about) rain, about clearing sky . . . ' etc. This interpr. is tempting. But again, when it comes to the 6th and 7th, it is not applicable: 'One announces the inquiries to the milfoil . . . they are called (inquiries about) *cheng* the lower trigram and *hui* the upper trigram'; this makes no sense. — In fact B, which interprets *ming* 47 as = 'to denominate, denomination', tallies with the fact that we know, from an early text, that (the 6th:) *cheng* and (the 7th:) *hui* were really denominations, technical terms for the lower and the upper trigrams of the hexagram. Tso: Hi 15: 'The *cheng* lower trigram of the hexagram *ku* is 'wind', the *hui* upper trigram, is 'mountain'. This confirms B, which was also accepted by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen.

**1551. Yü e yü yü e tsi yü e meng yü e yi yü e k'o 53.**

For *tsi* 54 Sī-ma Ts'ien has the var. 55, same meaning. For *meng* 56 both Sī-ma and Cheng Hün had *wu* 57 and Wang Su and K'ung Ying-ta the variant 58 'fog'; hence the *meng* 56 of the current text is evidently a corruption introduced by Wei Pao in the 8th c. In the same way, both Hū Shen, Cheng Hün and K'ung Ying-ta had 59 instead of 60, the latter again introduced by Wei Pao after PK'ung's comm.

A. Shuowen defines *yi* 59 (\**diäk / iäk / y i*) as = 61 'to turn round, to whirl', quoting our Shu line and adding: 'rising clouds half existing, half not existing', i. e. 'intermittent'. For the first sense ('to whorl') there is no text support whatever. The second meaning 'intermittent, disconnected' (clouds) Hū Shen has evidently construed by considering 59 as a loan word for 60 (\**diäk / iäk / y i*) 'by relays': 'clouds by relays' would be intermittent clouds. PK'ung has seized upon this and adds that *k'o* 62 means 'the oracle lines 63 crossing each other'. *K'o* has no such meaning, but he bases himself on Wang Su, who says that *k'o* 'to vanquish' here means that the oracle lines 'invade and enter upon each other'. Legge has tried to make sense of all this nonsense, translating: 'The appearance of) rain, clearing up, cloudiness, want of connection and crossing'(!). Couvreur has at least endeavoured to carry through the 'weather' theme: '(Les apparences)

de la pluie, d'un ciel qui redevient serain, d'un ciel entièrement couvert, d'un ciel semé de nuages séparés, d'un ciel dans lequel les nuages se croisent». — B. Cheng Hūan likewise, since y ŭ, tsi and w u obviously refer to the weather, tries to make the remaining two describe weather phenomena. He says y i 59 means 'bright, brightness' and k 'o 62 means 64 miasmas attacking and crushing each other, thus: Rain, clearing up, darkness (fog), brightness (bright weather) and (miasmas) vanquishing (each other)». In the whole phonetic series of 65, however, there is not the slightest example of any meaning »bright» (Chu Tsün-sheng believes Cheng meant that y i 59 was loan char. for t s ê 66 'moist, glossy', hence 'bright') and the expl. of k 'o is, of course, impossible. — C. The earliest version known has neither y i 59 nor y i 60 but t 'i 67 (ap. Si-ma Ts'ien) or t i 68 (ap. Cheng, gloss on Ode 105) or t 'i 69 (ap. K'ung Ying-ta's comm. on that ode) — evidently the original text had simply 68 without radical (Chou fashion), and the early scholars were uncertain which elucidating radical they had to supply, Si-ma deciding that 68 stood for 67 'to weep, tears' (his line runs, with an inversion, 70). The word t 'i 67 has caused later comm. great misgivings, since it deviates so badly from the A text, and Si-ma Cheng (T'ang time) boldly decides that 67 (\*t'iar / t'iei / t 'i) »should be read like y i 71» (he means: like 59 \*d'äk / äk / y i), which of course is excluded. Si-ma Ts'ien certainly meant tears, and therefore Sū Kuang had a version of his text that wrote 72 'tears'. Chavannes, however, has not dared to accept this, but agrees with the theory that Si-ma's 67 is an »error» for 59, for which he accepts Cheng Hūan's unfounded definition »bright (weather)». — D. Wang Yin-chi, unhampered by the ancient speculations, realized that all five do not refer to the weather but that k 'o 62 refers to victory, which he confirms by a passage in Tso: Siang 28, where they took tortoise oracle about a coming battle, and the answer was k 'o »victory». This, in fact, is conclusive, and we can then also accept the earliest interpretation (Si-ma Ts'ien's) about the preceding t 'i: »They are called (oracles about) rain, clearing up, fog, tears (i. e. calamity) and victory (triumph)». In short, the three first refer to weather (so important in the oracle bone materials we possess) and the second two to misfortune and fortune. But there remains the enigma of the y i 59 or y i 60 of the A text. Evidently here again the original text had simply 65, without radical (Chou fashion), and the question is how to fill it out by elucidating radicals. Hū and Cheng filled it out into 59, PK'ung believed this was a loan char. for 60. From the analogy of the C text we conclude that the char. should be 73 (\*täg / tuo / t u) 'destruction', variant 74, which we had earlier in our chapter (75 »whereby the constant norms were destroyed»; Ode 258, phr. 76 »He wastes and destroys the earth below»). The sense then comes very near to that of version C: »Rain, clearing up, fog, destruction and victory». — It is undecidable which version best represents the original Shu.

1552. Pu w u c h a n y u n g e r y e n t 'ê 77.

Si-ma Ts'ien reads c h a n c h i y u n g 78 and has the variant 79 for 80.

A. Ma Jung takes c h a n 81 to mean 82 'milfoil oracle', as opposed to p u 83 'tortoise oracle', and he evidently punctuated after e r, obtaining a good parallelism and rhythm, yet with y e n t 'ê as a kind of additional phrase to the second member: p u w u »The tortoise oracles are 5, c h a n (c h i) y u n g e r the applications of the milfoil oracles are 2

11 名 12 命之曰 13 允 14 命龜 15 允龜 16 命于元龜 17 曰雨曰霽曰蒙曰驛曰克 18 霽 19 濟 20 蒙 21 霽 22 蒙 23 霽 24 蒙 25 驛 26 行 27 克 28 相交錯 29 侵 30 蒙 31 澤 32 涕 33 第 34 涕 35 曰雨曰 36 濟曰涕曰霧曰克 37 亦 38 涕 39 驛 40 數 41 彝倫攸斁 42 斁數下土 43 卜五 44 占用 45 衍武 46 占之用 47 武 48 武 49 占 50 筮 51 卜 52 推衍其爻之義以極其意 53 應 54 三人占 55 兆 56 五

(sc. the lower upper trigrams), *y en t'ê* with extensive (changes =) combinations (of them). *T'ê 80* means 'to aberr, to deviate', hence 'to change'. It has been objected that in early texts *ch an 81* means 'the pronouncement' in a prognostication generally, this not being limited to the milfoil oracle but pertaining to the tortoise oracle as well, as already in our next line. That is true, but it is quite conceivable that the author here took it in a narrower sense; it is indeed almost imperative to refer the phr. 'the *pu* are 5, the *ch an ch i y un g* are 2', to the preceding line, which gives 5 tortoise oracle terms and 2 milfoil oracle terms. — **B.** Cheng Hün punctuates *pu wu ch an ch i y un g*, *er y en t'ê*, and interprets: 'pu the tortoise oracles are *wu ch an ch i y un g* the applications of the 5 prognostications (about 'rain' etc. as above); *er* 2 are the (elements in) *y en t'ê* the extensive changes' (i. e. the lower and upper trigrams, combined in many ways). From the point of view of parallelism and rhythm, this is inferior to **A.** — **C.** Wang Su follows **A** as to the first two lines, but explains the final *y en t'ê*: it means 84 'One enlarges upon the meaning of the hexagrams in order to exhaust their purport'. K'ung Ying-ta accepts this, yet referring the phrase not only to the hexagrams but to the tortoise oracles as well. *T'ê 80* can certainly have no such meaning directly (yet cf. **E** below), so we should then have to construe (with K'ung): 'Y en one enlarges upon (the meaning of) *t'ê* the changes'. — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en follows **C** closely, but explains *t'ê 80* with its normal meaning 'to err, error': 'The tortoise oracles are 5, the applications of the milfoil oracles are 2, (by them all) *y en t'ê* one enlarges upon (extensively explains) errors (of men)'. — **E.** Kiang Sheng: 80, 99 (\**t'ak / t'ak / t'ê*) is loan char. for 85 \**t'æg / t'â i / t'ai* 'apparition, attitude, manner', explaining: 'p u in regard to the tortoise oracles, *wu ch an ch i y un g* there is the application of the 5 explaining pronouncements; *er* in regard to the two (i. e. milfoil oracle elements: lower and upper trigram) *y en t'ê* one enlarges upon their (attitudes =) meanings'. A forced construction. — The oldest interpr. is simple, rhythmically good, and suits the context.

#### 1553. *San jen chan 86.*

'When 3 men prognosticate'. The commentators have all kinds of speculations. PK'ung: the Hia, Yin and Chou had different ways of performing both the tortoise and the milfoil oracles, and for safety's sake the Chou kings employed all three modes simultaneously(!). Cheng Hün refers to Chouli: T'ai pu, which says that the Great Diviner had 3 kinds of 87 tortoise signs, called *y ü ch a o 88* jade signs, *w a ch a o 89* tile signs and *y ü an ch a o 90* (whatever that may mean); and that he had three kinds of milfoil divinations, acc. to the three manuals Lien-shan 91, Kuei-tsang 92 and Chou Yi 93 (the present Yi king). Hence there were '3 men' for each branch, etc. Ts'ai Ch'en rightly brushes all this aside, insisting that we should read no more into the Shu passage than the text contains. Cf. Tso: Ch'eng 6, where our Shu line is quoted only to prove that it is always best to follow the majority.

#### 1554. *Ts'i sun k'i feng ki 94.*

**A.** The earliest attested interpr. is to take *feng 95* in its ordinary sense of 96 'to meet', thus: 'Your sons and grandsons will meet luck'. So the line was already understood in late W. Han time (Han shu: Wang Mang chuan), and by most Eastern Han scholars (Ma Jung: Tien yin, Ts'ien fu lun: Meng lie, Lun heng: Pu shi) and this was accepted by PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en. It would be tempting to find a support for this in a phrase from Shu: Kin t'eng 97, which is quoted 98 in Lun heng: Pu shi (see Gl. 1575 below). But this, of course, cannot be decisive. — **B.** Ma Jung: *feng 95* = 99 'great'. We do not know how Ma took the line as a whole (whether he read *ta ki* 'great luck'), but Wang Nien-sun, Kiang Sheng, Sun Sing-yen and others all rightly insist that we should punctuate after *feng*, the final *ki* = 'It is auspicious' forming a clause by itself, as repeatedly in the following lines. Thus: 'Your

sons and grandsons will be great; it is auspicious». This is strongly confirmed by the rimes: 100 \*dz'ung: 1 \*d'ung: 95 \*b'ung. Feng = 'great' is well attested: Li Ju hing, phr. 2 »a garment with large sleeves; Sün: Fei shī er tsī 3 »His garment was large; Ch'u: T'ien wen 4 »His descendants became great and prominent». The Ts'ing scholars suggest that 95 \*b'ung / b'iwong / feng is then cognate to 5 \*p'ōng / p'ung / feng 'abundant'. It seems much more likely that it is closely cognate to 6 \*piung / piwong / feng, which is well attested in the sense of 99 'great', see Gl. 1074a (7 is phon. in both 6 and 95). — The rimes and the construction par. for ki are decisive in favour of B.

1555. Yü e yü yüe yang yüe yü yüe han yüe feng yüe shī wu chē lai pei 8. Sī-ma Ts'ien has the same text.

A. PK'ung punctuates after shī 9, interpreting: »They are called rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind and their seasonableness; when the 5 come in a complete way . . .». — B. Since the earliest comm. only discuss the 5 (rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind), Fu Sheng in Ta chuan combining them with the »5 conducts» above, and Cheng Hūan with the »5 elements» above, the Ts'ing scholars carry yüe shī 10 to the second line, taking shī 9 as equal to 11 (common), thus: »When those 5 come in a complete way». But the yüe 12 is then very embarrassing: on the one hand, it continues in a natural way the preceding enumeration: yüe yü yüe yang . . . yüe shī, which is all in favour of A; on the other hand, if carried to the second line, it has to be interpreted differently from all the preceding yüe: either as the initial particle, or, with Chavannes: »(the Prince of Ki) said» — both very awkward. Tuan Yü-ts'ai has tried to find a way out: the original text had no yüe, but only shī 9 = 11; witness Li Yün, 2nd c. A. D. (Hou Han shu k. 87), who quotes 13, where 14 (\*d'ǐg) is a variant for the homophonous 11. Consequently, Tuan says, Sī-ma originally had 15 and his present yüe shī wu chē 6 is a correction after PK'ung. And Sī-ma's version, thus reconstituted, should be given preference. — Be Tuan's speculation about Sī-ma's text as it may; the decisive point is that in all the subsequent lines there is shī 9 = »seasonal» as qualification of all the 5 »verifications» (rain, sunshine etc.), which amply and definitely confirms A, whatever Sī-ma's ideas may have been.

1556. Yü e yü 7.

B. This is PK'ung's version, by him defined as = 8 'ease and amusement' Yü 9 (\*d'io / iwo / yü) in this sense is common. But no other early version has this. — B. Sī-ma Ts'ien, Pan Ku, Wang Ch'ung, Cheng Hūan and Wang Su all had yüe shu 10 (\*s'io / s'io / shu) »slowness, laziness, indolence». Fu Sheng (Shang shu ta chuan) read 11, where this 12 (\*d'o / d'uo / t'u) is loan char. for 13 (\*s'io); cf. Chouli: Kung jen 14 »The smoothing of the knots (in the wood) should be slow», likewise with 12 loan for 13. — The orig. text evidently had simply 15 without radical (Chou fashion) and this has been filled out into 13 by some school or schools, into 9 by another school. But we should follow the earliest attested (B), which was generally accepted in Han time.

1557. Wang sing wei suei, k'ing shī wei yüe, shī yin wei ji 16.

A. Ma Jung: »The king, in (inspecting =) controlling, is (like) the year (comprising all his subordinates, like the year's comprising all the 4 seasons); the dignitaries and noble-

兆 89 瓦兆 90 原兆 91 連山 92 歸藏 93 周易 94 子孫其逢吉 95 逢 96 遇 97 乃并是吉 98 乃逢是吉 99 大 100 從 1. 同 2 逢掖之衣 3 其衣逢 4 後嗣逢長 5 豐 6 封 7 丰 8 日雨日暘日燠日寒日風日時五者來備 9 時 10 日時 11 是 12 日 13 五氏者來備 14 氏 15 五是者 16 日時五者 17 日豫 18 遯豫 19 豫 20 日舒 21 日茶 22 茶 23 舒 24 斷木以茶 25 予 26 王省惟歲卿

men are (like) the months (having only a partial sway and being controlled by the year); all the many lower officials are (like) the days (having very limited functions, and being controlled by the months).» We could, of course, also construe: *wang sing* what the king controls is (comprehensive like) the year (Chavannes: «Ce qui fait l'objet de l'administration du roi est comme l'année»); but then the sequel: *k'ing shī wei yüe* etc. would have to be taken as a very awkward ellipsis. The idea of this interpr. is that where there are disturbances in the seasons, it shows a wrong distribution of power between higher and lower functionaries. But though accepted by PK'ung, it is very unnatural and far-fetched. — B. Chang Shou-tsie (T'ang time): «What the king scrutinizes is the year (as to its natural phenomena), the dignitaries and noblemen the months, the many lower officials the days» (sc. for verifications of their government). Ts'ai Ch'en accepts this, and it forms a logical introduction to the sequel. For *shī yin* see next gloss.

### 1558. *Shī yin* 17.

A. PK'ung: «The many lower officials». — B. Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan t'ang tsi lin 6: 4 b, repeated in Kuan t'ang pie tsi, pu yi p. 1) has a very extravagant theory about *shī yin* 17. He starts from Sun Yi-jang's theory that the *nei shī* 18 «Scribe of the Interior» had the alternative title *tso ts'ê* 19 «maker of brevets», and tries to support that with bronze inscriptions. This carries him further, so that the same official would also have the titels *tso ming* 20, and also the title *tso ts'ê nei shī* 21. This latter combination should have warned Wang that *tso ts'ê* is not a real title — a pleonasm like *tso-ts'ê-nei-shī* would be meaningless if the two were synonymous — but a phrase meaning 'to make a brevet' (see in detail Gl. 1794). Now there are some inscriptions where we have *nei shī Yin* 22, and though this is quite analogous to numerous inscr. cases where *nei shī* is followed by a name (*nei shī Wu* 23, *nei shī Sien* 29 etc.), Wang here surmises (with no other proof than his own belief) that *Yin* 25 is not a name but means 'chief' and that *nei shī yin* again is a title for the «principal scribe of the interior». He believes this is the same as another inscr. phr. *tso ts'ê Yin* 26, which would be an alternative title (here again *tso ts'ê* is in fact no title at all and does not belong together with the following *Yin*: the text runs [*Shī Ch'en Ting* inscr., Grammata inscr. 161] 27 «The king ordered *tso ts'ê* to make a brevet, and *Yin* made a brevet [*ts'ê ming*] for *Shī Ch'en*»). This speculation has carried him further, so that when in Ode 263 and in several bronze inscriptions we have the name *Yin shī* 28, this would in fact not be a name but yet another alternative title for the *nei shī yin* «principal scribe of the interior». And in another inscription *ming yin* 29 is one more alternative for the same official. Again, when we have, in Ode 191, the name *Shī Yin* 17 «Master Yin», this acc. to Wang is after all no name but means «The *shī* Master and the *yin* principal scribe», being two different officials(!). This would likewise be the meaning of *shī yin wei jī* 30 in our Shu line here. Wang Kuo-wei thus arrives at the almost ludicrous result that the principal scribe could have 9 different titles in early Chou time: *nei shī*, *tso ts'ê*, *tso ming*, *tso ts'ê nei shī*, *nei shī yin*, *tso ts'ê yin*, *yin shī*, *ming yin* and *yin*. But even so, Wang is not satisfied. Since in Shu: Ta kao we have the *Yin shī* 28 («The [local] officials»), which Wang believes means «principal scribe», and since in Shu: To fang there is the phr. 31 («You officials and [common] people of the Prince of Yin»), this latter would be a corruption and should be *Yin hou Yin shī* 32 «You principal scribe of the Prince of Yin» (which in fact would make sheer nonsense in the context there!). — From the context in our Shu line above it is obvious that the *shī yin* 17 were men of lower status than the preceding *k'ing shī* dignitaries and noblemen, and they are obviously the same who are called *po yin* 33 «the hundred officials» in Shu: Ku ming. *Shī* 34 = 35 'numerous, many' is very common.



**1559.** Shu min wei sing etc. 36.

**A.** PK'ung interprets: »The common people are (like) stars; there are stars which favour wind, there are stars which favour rain (sc. so also the people has its predilections) through the course of sun and moon there is winter and summer (sc. there are regular laws, and so all citizens should follow their proper norms); when the moon follows (particular) stars, there is (too much) wind and rain (sc. so, when the government follows the people's desires, there is disorder)». This scholastic speculation was accepted and further expounded by Chavannes MH IV, p. 230. — **B.** Another interpr. The phrase is obviously parallel to the previous Wang sing wei suei, k'ing shī wei yüe, shī yin wei ji, see Gl. 1558 above: »What the king scrutinizes is the year, the dignitaries and noblemen the months, the many lower officials the days». Here we have the sequel: »What the common people (scrutinizes) is the stars; there are stars which favour wind, there are stars which favour rain; (due to) the course of sun and moon there is winter and summer; according as the moon follows the (various) stars, there is wind and rain» (sc. the people can judge the indications in the sky and so participate in the »verifications»).

**1560.** Sī yüe yu hao tê 37.

**A.** Cheng Hūan paraphrases: 38 »The people all love those who have virtue»; since this is not compatible with the wording of the text, Wang Su and PK'ung turn it more precisely (y u 39 = 40): »That which is loved being the virtue» = »love of virtue». In either case h a o is read in falling tone = 'to love'. — **B.** Yü Yüe quotes a Han inscription (Chang Piao pei): 41 »The good virtue was cultivated», where y u 39 is obviously a short-form for 42 'to cultivate'. He concludes that this may be an allusion to our Shu line, and that some early school took the phr. to mean siu hao tê 43 »the cultivation of a fine virtue» (h a o read in rising tone). — The construction acc. to A is very unnatural: y u h a o , tê. The idea »love of virtue» should simply have been expressed by a h a o tê. B, which explains the first word in a natural way, is clearly superior.

**1561.** Hiung tuan chê 44.

Pan Ku (Han shu: Wu hing chī) says hiung means death of men, t u a n death of animals and ch ê death of plants and trees; or, alternatively, he says, hiung means premature death: when an elder brother loses a younger brother it is called hiung, when a father his son, it is called ch ê. Cheng Hūan explains that hiung means to die before dentition, t u a n to die before taking the cap of manhood, and ch ê to die before marriage. PK'ung, on the other hand, takes hiung = 'to be unlucky', t u a n to die before 60 years of age and ch ê to die before 30. Ts'ai Ch'en is certainly right in insisting that the words should not be pressed like that; they simply mean: 'unluckily to be broken short', i. e. »premature death».

**1562.** Yü e ngo 45.

**A.** The oldest interpr. can be gleaned from Fu Sheng: Shang shu ta chuan, who says that when »the outer appearance 46 is not respectful, its extreme result is ngo 47», which thus means 'ugliness', and so it has been understood by Cheng Hūan and PK'ung. Pan ku (Han shu: Wu hing chī) proposes this alternatively, adding that the ugliness may be due to bodily punishments(!). — **B.** Pan Ku (*ibid.*) alternatively explains it by »wicked-

士惟月師尹惟日 17. 師尹 18 內史 19 作冊 20 作命 21 作冊內史 22 內史尹 23 受 24 先 25 尹  
26 作冊尹 27 王呼作冊尹冊命師展 28 尹氏 29 命尹 30 師尹惟日 31 惟爾殷侯尹民 32 殷侯  
尹氏 33 尹尹 34 師 35 衆 36 庶民惟星 37 四曰攸好德 38 民皆好有德 39 攸 40 所 41 令德攸  
42 修 43 修好德 44 凶短折 45 曰惡 46 貌 47 惡 48 我其為王綍 49 綍 50 綍 51 敬 52 二公

ness» and Ts'ai Ch'en follows this. P'i Si-juei insists that this is preferable, since »wickedness» would balance the *yu* (s*i*u) *hao tê* »cultivation of a fine virtue» among the felicities immediately before, whereas among them there is no counterpart to any 'ugliness'. But there is really no strict parallelism between the two series (one of 5, one of 6). In fact the 6 »extremities (calamities)» all describe conditions which make life hard to a man and »ugliness» fits in much better than the moral »wickedness». Moreover the »cultivation of a fine virtue» among the »felicities» refers rather to the cultivated mode of demeanour, which makes life happy to a man (one of the »felicities») than to the moral goodness itself. — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr. (A).

#### Kin t'eng.

1563. *Wo k'i wei wang mu pu* 48.

Si-ma Ts'ien (Lu shi kia) for 49 has the variant 50, a common phenomenon (see Gl. 757).

A. PK'ung (after Erya): *mu* 49 = 51, thus: »We shall for the king respectfully take tortoise oracle». This sense of *mu* is not very well attested; it means rather 'dignified, solemn' (see Gl. 757), thus: »We shall for the king solemnly take tortoise oracle». — B. Cheng Hsian paraphrases: 52 »The two princes wished to go to Wen Wang's temple and take tortoise oracle». This shows that he read *wang mu* together = »the royal ancestor of the *mu* odd series», i. e. Wen Wang — Wen Wang was *mu* »of the odd series», whereas Wu Wang (the sick king) was *ch'a o* 53 »of the even series», as attested in Shu: Tsiu kao: *nai mu k'a o Wen wang* 54 »Your dead father of the odd series, Wen Wang» (for full details see Gl. 1102). Thus: »We shall take tortoise oracle from (the royal ancestor of the odd series =) the dead father». This is quite plausible in itself, but later on in our chapter we have: *wo k'i wu mu pu* 55 »Let us not solemnly take tortoise oracle» (see Gl. 1582), which shows that *mu pu* belong together and are a standard phrase.

1564. *Wei k'o yi ts'i wo sien wang* 56.

A. Cheng Hsian: *ts'i* 57 = 58 (common). Thus: »One cannot distress our former king (sc. Wen Wang)». — B. PK'ung: *ts'i* 57 = 59, expounding: 60. K'ung Ying-ta has understood him thus: »(The king) cannot by dying (approach =) go to our former king», but that was certainly not PK'ung's idea. The line is Chou Kung's refusal to the proposal of the two princes, and PK'ung meant: »One cannot approach our former king (sc. with this death affair)». It is true that *ts'i* can mean 'near-standing', in the sense of 'closely related, a relative', but that construction of it here is strained. Sun Sing-yen therefore interprets: »One cannot (treat-as-near =) be particularly familiar with (and consult only) our former king (Wen Wang)» — we should consult all the ancestors. Liu Feng-lu turns the »near» idea in yet another way: »You (two princes) cannot (be near to, be familiar with =) take the oracle from our former king» — you are not his near kin, as I am myself. — The earliest interpr. (A) which takes *ts'i* in one of its commonest meanings: we must not disturb and distress the dead king by going to his temple (I have another way out: the following scene with self-dedication) is sufficiently plausible.

1565. *Kung nai ts'i yi wei kung* 61.

A. PK'ung: *kung* 62 = 63 'business, work', thus: »The prince then made it into a work for himself», i. e. took the work upon himself. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien (Lu shi kia) has: *kung nai ts'i yi wei chi* 64 »The prince then proffered himself as a pledge» (sc. to the Spirits). But later on in our chapter Si-ma has the line repeated and then in the wording of the orthodox text: *ts'i yi wei kung*. This has caused Kiang Sheng, who generally prefers Si-ma's version to PK'ung's, in this case to follow B. Wang Sien-k'ien, on the other hand, insists that the second passage in Si-ma has been altered after PK'ung, and should still properly be read *ts'i yi wei chi*. — C. Sun Sing-yen has

tried to reconcile the two versions. He points out that Erya: Shī ku says kung 62 and chī 65 both mean ch'eng 66, and since they thus are synonymous, the kung of A must mean the same as the chī of B, i. e. 'to pledge, a pledge'. Now the Erya entry is really no proof, for kung means ch'eng 66 in the sense of 'achievement', whereas chī 65 means ch'eng 66 in the sense of 67 'good faith, evidence of good faith, hostage, pledge' (see Gl. 802, 951). But Sun is very near to the truth. We may confidently assume that the original Shu text had simply kung 68, without radical (Chou fashion), and that this was enlarged into 62 by Han scholars who took it to mean 'business, work, task', with A above. But Si-ma has not understood it so, but as = 'to proffer', in which sense the char. is usually enlarged into 69, and interpreted the line: 'The prince then proffered himself'. This is why he paraphrased it by chī 65 'to proffer as a pledge' in the first instance, but kept the kung 68 (= 69) in the 2nd instance, where it has then been later completed into 62 in the wake of PK'ung. For kung 69 = 'to proffer, to present' cf. Tso: Ting 13, phr. 70 'The 500 families presented by Wei'; Li: Shē yi 71 'Yearly they present and offer scholars to the Son of Heaven' (etc., common): 1566. Chī pi ping kuei 72.

A. Cheng Hūan, foll. by PK'ung, says chī 73 is the ancient char. for chī 74 'to place'. The Ts'ing scholars try to confirm this by Lun: Wei tsī 75 'He (placed erect =) planted his staff (in the ground)', for which the stone classics of 175 A. D. have 76 'He laid his staff'. This is in no way conclusive. It only shows that the orig. Lun text had simply 72 without radical (Chou fashion), and that some Han scholars filled this out into 73 and others into 74. The two words are by no means identical. The 73 \**d'jak* / *éjak* / *shī* (Ts'ie yün and Shiwen) or alt. \**d'jak* / *d'i* / *chī* (Ts'ie yün and Shiwen) means 'to place erect, to plant, fra. *dresser*', e. g. Chouli: T'ien p'u 78 'to hold upright the banners' (dresser le drapeau); here chī cannot possibly mean 'to lay down'. 74 was \**tjak* / *li* / *chī* 'to place, to lay, to put down'. Cheng Hūan, with his theory, interprets: 'He laid down pi jade discs (on the altars)', but we might just as well interpret: 'he placed erect pi jade discs (on the altars)' — the round discs (with a hole in the centre) standing vertically, in a stand. In either case, if the pi were to be on the altars, pi must be taken in the plural: jade discs. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien has tai pi 79 (repeated in Han shu: Wang Mang chuan). Tai 80 (\**tæg*) means 'to carry on the head' and Chavannes translates: *il portait sur la tête le jade rond*... But Yi lin: Sü chī wang reads tsai pi 81, and this tsai (\**tæg*) can be absolutely synon. with the chī 73 of our A text (which strongly supports 73 as against 74), e. g. Tso: Huan 16, phr. 82 'Shou-tsī raised his banner and went in front'. Now tai and tsai are so similar characters that they are often confused in Han time (Ode 292: Mao version tsai pien 83, Han version tai pien 84, etc.) and we may suspect that either Si-ma's tai is a scribe's error for tsai, or Yi-lin's tsai a corruption of tai. The former is more probable, since tsai 85 agrees with the meaning of version A ('to hold upright'), whereas 'to carry on the head a pi disc' is very little convincing. But even so, if chī 73 (A) and tsai 85 (B) both mean 'to place erect, to erect,

欲祀文王廟卜 53. 昭 54. 乃繆考文王 55. 我其勿繆卜 56. 未可以威我先王 57. 威 58. 憂 59. 近  
60. 未可以死近我先王 61. 公乃自以為功 62. 功 63. 事 64. 公乃白以為質 65. 質 66. 成 67. 誠 68.  
工 69. 貢 70. 衛貢五百家 71. 歲獻貢士於天子 72. 植壁東珪 73. 植 74. 置 75. 植其杖 76. 置其杖  
77. 直 78. 植旌 79. 戴壁東圭 80. 戴 81. 戴壁 82. 禹子戴其旌以先 83. 戴弁 84. 戴弁 85. 戴 86. 執 87.

*dresser*', there remains the question whether (with Cheng and PK'ung) the jade was placed on the altar (then in an upright position) — in that case 3 jade discs for the 3 altars; or it was held upright by the officiant — in that case it was one jade disc. In fact, the latter is much more probable: both the *pi* jade and the *kuei* jade were carried by the officiant in the rites. Indeed the *pi* jades were held just as well as the *kuei* jade: Chouli: Tien juei describes how at the great reunions of the feudatories in the king's court (where they above all assisted in the sacrifices) the first 3 ranks *kung*, *hou*, *po* held 86 *kuei* rectangular jades (of different kinds), and that the following two ranks, *tsi* and *nan*, held 86 *pi* jade discs (of different kinds). Even more instructive is Tso: Chao 13, where a prince of Ch'u, for choosing an heir apparent among his sons, sacrificed to *k'ün wang* 87 all the mountains and rivers of his state: 88 »All round he with a *pi* jade disc appeared before (the altars of) all the Distant Ones»; and afterwards he buried the *pi*, letting the son who found it become his successor. Here there were many altars (*pien* »all round») but only one *pi*, which was not deposited but carried by the officiant from altar to altar, and then buried. Thus: »He held upright a *pi* jade disc and he grasped a *kuei* rectangular jade. — C. Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Ch'en K'iao-tsung would abide by Cheng Hsün's idea that the *pi* were deposited. And since *tsai* 85 can mean simply 'to place on' (common), and *tai* 80 is merely a variant for *tsai*, version B would mean, just as well as A (in Cheng's interpr.): »He put down (on the altars) the *pi* jade discs». But then it would seem curious that he deposited the *pi* but grasped (held in the hand) the *kuei*, and therefore they propose that *ping* 89 (*\*piǎng*) is short for 90 which is the s. w. a. *ping* 91 (*\*piǎng*) 'a handle'. A »handle» for the *kuei* would here mean some kind of stand on which it was placed on the altar. Thus: »He put down the *pi* jade discs and he (»handled») = put on stands *kuei* rectangular jades (on the 3 altars)». An exceedingly far-fetched theory. — Since *chi kuei* 92 'to grasp a *kuei*' and *chi pi* 93 'to grasp a *pi*' are common phr., and since *ping* frequently indicates the same mode of grasping (holding in the hand), e. g. *ping yüe* 95 'to (grasp) hold the battle-axe' (Ode 304), *ping pi* 96 'to grasp the pen' (Kyü: Tsin Yü 9), it would be strange indeed if our *ping kuei* here meant something quite different. And this being so, the balancing *chi pi* (or *tsai pi*) certainly, with B, meant: »to hold upright the *pi*».

**1567. Shī nai ts'ê chu 97.**

A. Cheng Hsün takes *ts'ê* as a noun and *chu* as a verb: »The scribe then *ts'ê* after the tablets *chu* read the prayer». This is an awkward grammatical construction. — B. PK'ung takes *ts'ê* as a verb and *chu* as a noun: »The scribe then put on tablets the prayer». Grammatically much better. — C. Shuowen has a char. *ts'ê* 98 defined as = 'to announce', and Sun Sing-yen believes that our 99 stands for this: »The scribe then announced (to the Spirits) the prayer». No text par. whatever.

**1568. Kou li nüe tsi 100.**

A. PK'ung simply says *li* 1 (properly meaning 'sharp') = 2 'danger, dangerous' and *nüe* 3 = 4 'violent'. But then there are two possibilities: — *α*. He may have meant — as Ts'ai Ch'en has it — the line as one phrase: »He has met with a (sharp =) dangerous and violent sickness». But that is rhythmically poor: *yü — li nüe — tsi*. — *β*. Hence K'ung Ying-ta prefers to interpret PK'ung differently: *yü li* he has met with (sharpness =) danger (sc. to his life) and *nüe tsi* is violently sick». As a construction that is better. The definition *li* 1 = *wei* 2 'danger' (so also Kuang ya) recurs in Wang Pi's gloss on Yi: Kua 1. — B. Another interpr. *Li* 1 is common as a variant for *li* 5 'epidemic sickness', and since it is here precisely a question of sickness, it would be strange indeed if this were not the meaning. Thus: »He has met with an epidemic sickness and is violently ill». Cf. Yi Chou shu: Shī hün 6 »The people have much epidemics and sicknesses»;

Kuan: Wu hing 7 »The growing grain dies and the people become sick»; Tso: Chao 1, phr. 8 »epidemic» (var. 5); Lie: Huang-ti 9 »sickness». — C. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases: 10, with the variant y en 11 for t s u 12. »He has fatigued himself and is . . . sick». Li 1 can also be a short-form for li 13 »to stimulate, to be stimulated, to exert oneself», and so Si-ma has understood it: »He has met with exertions» = »he has fatigued himself. Very far-fetched. That the n ü e in n ü e t s i »(oppressive =) violent sickness» of the Shu is rendered by t s u 12 »to obstruct» or y en 11 »to soak, to delay» is obscure. Sun Sing-yen explains that t s u 12 means »precipitous», hence »dangerous»; h i e n (\*χliam) is a synonym: »precipitous, dangerous», and 11 (\*iam) is merely a loan char. for this. This is, of course, a poor and desperate expl. Though we do not know which was Si-ma's proper reading (t s u or y en), the meaning will be much the same: »He has an (obstructive =) cumbersome sickness», or: »a (delaying =) long-drawn sickness.» We should abide by the orthodox Shu text, with the B interpr.

1569. J o e r s a n w a n g s h i y u p ' e i t s i c h i t s ê y ü t ' i e n 14.

A. Ma Jung reads 15 \*p'iaŋ / p'jwi / p'ei = »great» (common) and PK'ung follows this, paraphrasing so as to show that he understood: »If you three kings really [have the debt of a great son towards Heaven =] owe a great son to Heaven» (sc. if he must die). This suits the context admirably, the sequel being: »substitute me, Tan, for So-and-so's person». The only difficulty is s h i 16; with this interpr. it must be an adverbial phrase = »really». It is then a short-form for 17, cf. Shu: Ts'in shi 18, in Li: Ta hüe quoted 19 (var. 20). T s ê (c h a i) 21 »debt» is common, e. g. Tso: Ch'eng 2, phr. 22 »He remitted the debts». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes t s ê 21 = »responsibility» (common), thus: »If you 3 kings really have the responsibility for the great son towards Heaven». This is quite plausible in itself but suits the context less well than A, see the sequel. — C. Si-ma Ts'ien inst. of p'ei t s i 23 reads f u t s i 24, and many comm. have thought that the 15 \*p'iaŋ / p'jwi / p'ei of version A was merely a loan char. for the 25 \*b'üŋ / b'üu / f u of version C. But if so, there are still a great many possibilities. — α. K'ung Ying-ta takes f u t s ê 26 with its common meaning of »to carry a dept, to owe», thus: »If you 3 kings really (carry the debt of a son towards =) owe a son to Heaven». That is all very well, but it simply skips y u 27 and thus fails in construing the line grammatically. — β. Si-ma Cheng: »If you 3 kings f u carry t s i c h i t s ê the responsibility for the son y ü t ' i e n towards Heaven». Same fault as the preceding, in skipping the y u. — γ. Kungyang: Huan 16 has a term 28 f u t s i meaning »to be sick» said of a prince, and Po hu t'ung (as quoted in K'ung Ying-ta's comm. on Li: K'ü li; the present P. h. t. has lost the passage) says a king's sickness is called p u y ü 29 (as in our Shu line above), a prince's sickness is called f u t s i 30. The analysis of this phrase is obscure and debated, but its meaning is certain from the context in Kungyang. Undoubtedly some ancient school took f u t s i 30 of Si-ma's text in this sense (p u y ü and f u t s i matching each other, which shows that they had our Shu passage in mind). Thus: »If you 3 kings have t s ê responsibility for f u t s i the sick one towards Heaven». Yü Yüe, however, has another idea. The f u t s i cannot refer to the sick king, since f u t s i refers to princes, whereas p u y ü refers to kings; hence it must refer to the dead »three kings» who, though called »kings»,

87. 羣望 88. 乃徧以望見於羣望 89. 東 90. 棟 91. 柄 92. 執珪 93. 執璧 94. 東鉞 95. 東箠 96. 史乃册  
祝 97. 筭 98. 册 99. 遺厲虐疾 1 厲 2 危 3 虐 4 暴 5 癘 6. 民多厲疾 7. 苗死民厲 8. 厲疫 9.  
疫厲 10. 勤勞阻疾 11. 淹 12. 阻 13. 勵 14. 若爾三王是有丕子之貴于天 15. 丕 16. 是 17. 寔 18. 是  
能容之 19. 寔能容之 20. 實能 21. 負 22. 己 貴 23. 丕子 24. 負子 25. 負 26. 負責 27. 有 28. 負茲 29. 不

had really never been more than princes. Thus: »If you 3 kings really have any sickness duties (i. e. duties incumbent on somebody to care for you when you are sick) in Heaven». An absurd attempt. —  $\delta$ . Chu Hi: »If you 3 kings really shall have (somebody to) carry a son's duties (towards you) in Heaven». —  $\varepsilon$ . Tuan Yü-ts'ai: *fu 25* means *31* 'to turn the back on' (common): »As to you 3 kings, since *shī he* (sc. Wu wang) (has the turn-back-on-children blame towards Heaven =) has the guilt towards Heaven of turning the back on his children (sc. the people)», i. e. of dying. This is strained and suits the context badly. —  $\zeta$ . Liu Feng-lu punctuates *jo er wang shī yu, fu tsī* etc., taking *yu 27* as loan char. for *yu 32*; *fu tsī* = 'sickness', with  $\beta$  above. Thus: »As to you 3 kings *shī yu* you should protect him; the responsibility for the sick (prince) rests with Heaven»; which is rather nonsensical. —  $\eta$ . K'ung Kuang-sen punctuates after *wang*: »You 3 kings, if he (Wu wang) has *fu-tsī chī tsê* a sick prince's blame vis-à-vis Heaven», i. e. if he has become guilty towards Heaven and hence become sick (»by modesty» Chou Kung says *fu tsī* and not *pu yü*, as if Wu wang were merely a prince and not a king!). —  $\theta$ . Cheng Hün: *p'ei 15* is equal to *pu 33* (the graphs are in fact interchangeable, the archaic graph *33* regularly serving for both *pu 33* and *p'ei 15* in the Chou inscriptions) and *tsī 34* is a verb meaning 'to treat as children, to cherish'. Thus: »If you 3 kings (do not save him), *shī* then you will have the (blame =) guilt towards Heaven of *pu tsī* not cherishing your children». A very funny idea, that *jo er san wang* »if you 3 kings» could be a brachylogy for: »if you 3 kings do not save him»! — If the *15* (\**p'ïg*) of the A version has been deemed a loan char. for the *fu 25* (\**b'ïg*) of version C, it is just as plausible to say that the *fu 25* of C is a loan char. for the *p'ei 15* of A, and accept this latter as the proper reading. Of all the various interpretations related above, the first (A) best interprets the text as it stands, without any loan speculations or elliptical constructions, and it suits the context best of all.

**1570.** Yü jen jo k'ao neng to ts'ai to yi 35.

**A.** This is PK'ung's version, interpr. by him: »I have been good and obedient to my father, I am capable of having much talent and much skill». Ts'ai Ch'en finds it unreasonable that in addressing his three forefathers he says »obedient to my father», so he takes *k'ao 36* to mean *37* 'forefathers', a meaning which *k'ao* certainly has not. The combination *neng to ts'ai* »I am capable of having much talent» is, of course, a very unnatural pleonasm. — **B.** Si-ma Ts'ien renders the line: *Tan k'iao neng to ts'ai to yi 38* »I, Tan, am clever and capable; I have much talent and much skill». Here *k'iao-neng* forms a natural binome, and obviates the bad pleonasm in the second part of A above. The Ts'ing scholars agree that the original text probably simply had *39*, without radical (Chou fashion, cf. that in the inscr. of T'ung Kuei *40*, W. Chou time, *39* is used for *36*) and that this has been understood as and filled out into *k'ao 36* in the A school and into *k'iao 41* in the B school. But with the latter there are several possibilities. —  $\alpha$ . Kiang Sheng is the most radical. In *jen jo k'ao neng 42* of the A text, the two words *jen jo* are erroneous and should be eliminated, the phrase to be corrected into *k'iao neng 43*, in accordance with text B. Yet the *A jen jo k'ao neng*... is attested earlier than PK'ung; we have it in the 1st c. A. D. (Lun heng: Si wei), and Tuan Yü-ts'ai's conclusion that the Lun heng text has been corrected after PK'ung is very arbitrary and improbable. —  $\beta$ . Sun Sing-yan, who does not want to alter a traditional text unnecessarily, says *jen jo k'ao neng 42* means *44* »I am good and compliant, clever and capable, I have much talent and much skill», and Si-ma Ts'ien has simply skipped the first two words, as he often does. —  $\gamma$ . Wang Nien-sun: *jo 45* is equal to *er 46* »I am good and clever, ...». He gives two text par., which after all could be explained differently. But it is true that *jo* sometimes simply means »and» (though more often »or»), e. g. Shu: Shao kao *47* »I present it to the king

and the princes, and it is not excluded that it has this sense here. — *δ*. Yü Yüe goes several steps further: not only is *j o 45 = 46 er* with *γ*, but also \**nəng 48* is but a variant for *46 \*niəg* (many text par. in Wang Yin-chi: King chuan shi ts'i k. 6). Moreover in the char. *ning 49* 'smart' the upper part is *jen 50*, hence *50* here is but a short-form for *ning*, and the whole line is equal to: *yü ning er k'iao er to tsai... 51* »I am smart and clever and have much talent«. It has not struck Yü how exceedingly unlikely it is that *er 46* should have been replaced by two different loan characters (*j o* and *nəng*) in the same line. By playing with the text as some of these Ts'ing scholars do, arbitrarily substituting one thing for another *ad libitum*, we could arrive at practically any result we wished. — *C*. Chuang'Shu-tsu reverts to the *A* text and interpunctuation, but (with *B γ*) takes *j o 45 = 46*, and he says *jen 50 = 52* 'to keep alive' and *k'a o 36 = 'old'* (common), thus: »I am still living and old, I can have much talent, much skill«. Evidently he alludes to a line in *Li: Chung-ni yen kü 53* »that is whereby one shows goodness to the Spirits«; here *Cheng Hsuan* sure enough says *jen* ('to show goodness to') = *52* 'to keep alive'. The par. is hopeless for Chuang's purpose. — *D*. Yü Sing-wu: In the *Chou* inscriptions there is no difference in graph between *k'a o 36* and *hia o 54*; *k'a o 36* very often means 'filial'. Here (with *j o 45 = 46*, acc. to *B, γ*) the line *yü jen j o k'a o* (the *A* text version being preferable) means: »I am good and filial«. — It is quite clear that the oldest interpr.: that of *Si-ma*, who rendered the first part by *k'iao nəng 43*, is best, since it has a very natural binome, matching the following to *ts'ai to yi* admirably (the *A* reading is vitiated by the *nəng* having to be hanged on to the following to *ts'ai*). The *k'iao nəng* having thus been accepted, the cautious and conscientious interpr. of *Sun Sing-yen (B β)*, who does not tamper with the text unnecessarily, is certainly best.

1571. *Pu j o Tan to ts'ai 55*.

*A*. All the ancient comm.: »He (the king) not like me, Tan, has much talent«. — *B*. *Sun Sing-yen* will not believe that *Chou Kung* spoke disparagingly of the king, so he would read *pu 33* as *p'ei 15*: »He grandly, just like me, Tan, has much talent« — but he has got the charge here below, so he cannot leave this earth. *Sun* fails to appreciate the charming simplicity with which *Chou Kung* tries to persuade the Spirits to prefer his life to the king's.

1572. *Fu yu si fang 56*.

*A*. *Ma Jung*: »To spread (the good principles) and assist the (regions of) the four quarters«. — *B*. *Wang Yin-chi*: *fu 56a* means 'extensively, vastly, everywhere' (for text ex. see Gl. 1037), thus: »Everywhere to assist the (regions of) the four quarters«. — *C*. *Yü Yüe*: *y u 57* is really a vulgar char. and the orig. graph for the word 'to assist' was simply *58*. But here this *y u* (\**giüg*, falling tone) is only a loan char. for *59* (\**giüg*, rising tone). In *Kung-yang: Süan 15*, phr. *60* »The *Ti* barbarians did not help him« *59* is loan for *58*, and here we have the opposite (in fact, the original character probably was simply the »phonetic«, without radical). Thus the line is equal to *61* »Extensively to possess (the regions of) the four quarters«. *Wang Kuo-wei* supports this by adducing a par. in the inscr. on the famous *Yü Ting: 62*.

豫 30 負子 31 背 32 右 33 不 34 子 35 予 仁若 考能多材多藝 5 考 37 祖考 38 旦 巧能多材多藝  
 39 巧 40 同 41 巧 42 仁若 考能 43 巧能 44 仁若 巧能 45 若 46 而 47 旅王若公 48 能 49 依 50  
 仁 51 予 依而 巧而 多材 52 存 53 所以 仁鬼神 54 孝 55 不若 旦多材 56 敷佑四方 57 敷 58 佑 59  
 右 57 有 60 狄人不有 61 善有天下 62 匭有四方 63 今我即命于元龜 64 命龜 65 然 爲見書

## 1573. Kin wo tsi ming yü yüan kuei 63.

A. PK'ung (foll. by all later comm.): »Now I will ming be commanded yü yüan kuei by the great tortoise», i. e. I will take your orders through the tortoise. — B. Ming kuei 64, here ming yü kuei, was a current technical term meaning »to announce an inquiry to the tortoise», see Gl. 1550 C. There is no reason whatever why it should not have its proper sense here: »Now I will announce the inquiry to the great tortoise». Cf. also Gl. 1594 below.

## 1574. K'i yüe kien shu 65.

A. Ma Jung (and Wang Su as quoted in comm. on Shī ki) says: y ü e 66 = 67. Chavannes has understood this so: a tube for keeping the oracle documents; thus: »He opened the bamboo tubes (sc. receptacles for written slips) and looked at the documents». This was probably never Ma's meaning, cf. B. below. But none the less it is a very plausible explanation, bamboo tubes having always been used in China as receptacles. And y ü e 66 'flute' certainly fundamentally means 'tube', just as k u a n 68 = 'tube' and 'flute'. Observe that in Lao 5 we have it in the sense of an air tube from a bellows to blow upon a fire. — B. Cheng Hüan (and Wang Su as quoted by K'ung Ying-ta) explains the two words k' i y ü e 69 by 70, expounding further: 71 »He opened the store-room for the oracle documents with a k u a n key». Since Cheng was a pupil of Ma Jung's, it seems certain that Ma (see A above) never meant k u a n = 'tube', but that he defined y ü e = t s' a n g p u c h a o s h u k u a n 67 'the key which locked up the oracle documents' (so Wang Yin-chi and others have understood Ma). It is true that Siao Erya says y ü e 66 is equal to k i e n 72 'a lock', or 'a bolt', and if that were right, the line would make sense: »He opened the lock (the bolt) (sc. of the store) and looked at the documents». But in fact Siao Erya is wrong. Y ü e 66 does not mean 'lock' but 'key'. This is quite clear from Li: Yüe ling: 73 »One repairs the locks (bolts) and pays attention to the keys». Even to day the word is current in the sense of 'key', now in the binome 74. This is really an extension of meaning from the fundamental sense of 'tube', the key inserted in the lock having the shape of a tube. But since this is so, the B interpr. becomes impossible, as pointed out by Wang Yin-shi: you can »open a lock» but you cannot 75 'open a key'. It is, on the other hand, grammatically unallowable to explain k' i y ü e 75 as = 76 »to open with a key», as Cheng has done. We should then rather have to take k' i as a causative verb: 'to cause to open': »He made the key open up (the store)», which is too strained. — C. Shuowen defines y ü e 66 as a kind of writing tablets or slips, and Wang Yin-chi, foll. by Sun Sing-yen, thinks this is the meaning here: »He opened up the (package of) writing slips and looked at the documents». The difficulty is here that there are no safe pre-Han ex. of this meaning. Wang quotes a passage in Li: Shao yi which is traditionally interpreted thus: »H u writing tablets, s h u 78 documents, dried meat, parcels wrapped in reeds, bows, mattresses, mats, pillows, small tables, spikes, staffs, luths, tubes encasing sharp weapons, t s' ê 79 divining stalks, y ü e 66 flutes, these all were carried with the left hand above (the right)». Wang insists that t s' ê y ü e would be more naturally coupled if we understood: »divining stalks and writing slips» than the heterogeneous: »divining stalks and flutes». This is far from convincing, since so disparate objects are enumerated in the series, and moreover, if y ü e had meant 'writing slips' it ought to have come at the beginning, after h u 'writing tablets' and s h u 'documents'. Thus his theory remains unsupported. — D. Shuowen has a char. y ü e 80 defined as = 81 'the lower »male» part of a bar', meaning a vertical stick going from the middle of a door bar to the earth and propping up the bar. Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that our y ü e 66 is a loan char. for this (homophonous) y ü e 80 (both \*ngiok). And Tuan concludes that in the Yüe ling passage above y ü e is likewise this vertical stick, not a key. Thus here: »He opened the (vertical) bar stick and looked at the



documents». But there are no other pre-Han text ex. The word y ü e 80 is earliest known as a colloquial Han-time word (Fang yen 5), though it is there identified with the k i e n 72 'lock' or 'bolt'. — The only interpretation supportable with pre-Han text par. is after all A, since B 'he opened the key' makes no sense, as justly emphasized by Wang Yin-chi.

**1575.** Nai ping shī ki 82.

A. This is the PK ung version: »They likewise (made this auspicious =) indicated this as auspicious«. — B. The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: Pu shī read: 83, and this must also have been Si-ma Ts'ien's version, since he paraphrases it by 84 »he met with auspiciousness«. In this version, however, the sh ī 85 is awkward to construe, and the A version is grammatically better. It might be imagined that the B version is supported by an analogy in Hung fan above: tsī sun k'ī feng ki 86. But that line is no real parallel, for, as explained in Gl. 1554 above, it must be punctuated and explained quite differently: tsī sun k'ī feng, ki »Your sons and grandsons will be great; it is auspicious«. In the light of that line, our present B line should rather be explained: »They greatly (made this auspicious =) indicated this as auspicious«, which would explain the sh ī 85 better than is possible with Si-ma's interpr. (Yü Yüe's theory that B's f eng 87 \*b'üung is but a loan char. for 88 \*piěng = 89 \*b'üeng is phonetically unacceptable). In any case the ping 'likewise' of version A suits the context best.

**1576.** Yü siao tsī sin ming yü san wang, wei yung chung shī  
t'u, tsī yu shī, neng nien yü yi jen 90.

**A.** All the expounders have thought that this was a continuation of Chou Kung's speech, which has involved them all in great difficulties. Sī-ma Ts'ien thus replaces yü siao tsi »I, the little child« by »(I) Tan«, i. e. Chou Kung.

**A.** PK'ung: »I, the little child, have just now obtained an order from the three kings, that to a distant end he (sc. the king) will plan (for Chou's principles); now what is to be (waited for =) expected is that he shall be able to think of our One Man's (affairs)». An appalling construction. — **B.** Si-ma Ts'ien renders the latter half thus: 91, thus replacing *t'si yü shi* 92 by *t'si tao* 93. Kiang Sheng here arbitrarily says that Si-ma's reading is »preferable», and he carries *t'si tao* to the preceding: *wei yung chung shi t'ü si tao*: »to a distant end I plan for these principles», which construction makes the *shi* 85 very unnatural. Chavannes has mistranslated Si-ma's text (»je viens de recevoir l'ordre des trois rois qui est de prolonger jusqu'à la fin ce qui est projeté; cela explique que [les trois rois] peuvent veiller sur notre homme unique»). Tuan Yü-ts'ai has a curious speculation that Si-ma's *tao* 94 would paraphrase a *yü* 95 which would stand in his Shu text inst. of PK'ung's *yü* 96 (it is then impossible to construe the following *shi* 97). In fact Si-ma simply paraphrased *t'si yü shi* 98 »What I now expect is . . . » by *t'si tao* 99 »Now I (say =) think that . . . ». Ts'ai Ch'en has realized this and construes our Shu line very close to Si-ma's rendering: »I, the little child, just now have obtained an order from the three kings; for a distant end I (plan =) hope; what I am now waiting for (expecting) is that they shall be able to think of our

66. 篇 67. 藏卜兆書管 68. 管 69. 格篇 70. 開藏之管 71. 開兆書藏之宜以筮 72. 鍵 73. 脩鍵開慎  
 管篇 74. 鑰匙 75. 格篇 76. 格以篇 77. 勿 78. 書 79. 筮 80. 開 81. 開下牡 82. 乃并是吉 83. 乃逢是吉  
 84. 過吉 85. 86. 子孫其逢吉 87. 逢 88. 并 89. 效 90. 于小子新命于三王惟永終是圖茲攸侯能  
 念于一人 91. 惟長終是圖茲道能念于一人 92. 茲攸侯 93. 茲道 94. 道 95. 猷 96. 攸 97. 侯 98. 茲

One Man». Sun Sing-yen very nearly accepts this, yet with the modification (after Kiang Sheng) that *sin ming* 100 means, not »I just now have obtained an order» but »renewing (myself, sc. by purification) I have obtained . . . » a curious idea. — C. Tuan Yü-ts'ai: *tsi yu shi* 92 = 1 »Here I therefore am waiting» (sc. that he will get well and I die). Yu 96 = *yung* 2 has no text support. — D. Yü Yüe: »I have now received an appointment from the three kings, and for a distant end I am planning» means that he had got the answer that he himself would live on as well as the king. — E. Another interpr. All the preceding interpretations are more or less awkward — the best being undoubtedly Ts'ai's — and all suffer from the great fault that *yü yi jen* 3, which regularly means »I, the One Man» (cf. P'an Keng 4: »speak slanderingly of me, the One Man»), has to be taken as = »our One Man». The very existence of this phrase at once reveals that the whole line is Wu Wang's answer to Chou Kung's report. The phr. *sia o t si* 5 »I, the little child» is likewise a standing phrase used by the king, recurring in that function a few lines later, see Gl. 1583. Chou Kung said: »According to the (oracle) content (pronouncement), the king will have no harm». (The king said): »I, the little child, anew have obtained an appointment from the three kings (i. e. a new spell of life); for a distant end I shall plan; what I now expect is that they will (think of =) care about me, the One Man». In this way the whole passage becomes lucid, logical and simple. That the words »the king said» are missing is no obstacle. They often do. Even a great style master like Mencius sometimes skips such introductory words, e. g. Liang Huei wang, shang: *yü e, wu yi yi ye; yi jen yü cheng, yu yi yi hu* »He (the king) said: there is no difference; (Mencius said:) to kill by weapon or by government, is there any difference?» Here »Mencius said» has to be supplied.

#### 1577. *Wo chi fu pi* 6.

A. The oldest interpr. attainable is that revealed by Mo-tsi: Keng chu: »Anciently, Chou Kung Tan disapproved of Kuan Shu, resigned his position as *san kung* one of the 3 highest dignitaries and dwelt in the east in Shang and (Kai =) Yen». This shows that Mo took *pi* 7 as short-form for 8 'to avoid, to withdraw' (very common), and that he understood our passage thus: »If I do not withdraw, (I shall have nothing to answer our former kings; Chou Kung dwelt in the east two years)». Ma Jung and Cheng Hsüan adopt this idea, Cheng adding that Chou Kung waited for the king's investigation. The disadvantage of this interpr. is that it takes »he dwelt in the east two years» to be a quiet retirement, whereas other, more detailed pre-Han sources clearly indicate Chou Kung's stay in the east as a warlike expedition. Yi Chou shu: Tso Lo kie narrates how a great many eastern states (Sü, Yen etc.) rebelled and how, after Wu Wang's burial, Chou Kung went east on a great expedition, to Wei and Yin, forced Kuan Shu to suicide and captured Ts'ai Shu. And already in the venerable Ode 157 we find: 9 »When Chou Kung marched to the East, the states of the four quarters, them he corrected». That there should have been two spells of residence in the East: one warlike expedition and one quiet retirement, is not plausible. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien understands *pi* 7 in the same way as A, i. e. as = 8, but construes differently: »That I have not withdrawn (sc. but managed the government) is (because) I (otherwise) would have nothing to answer our former kings» (sc. I have the responsibility). — C. Shuowen has a char. *pi* 10 (rad. 11) = 12 'to correct', quoting our Shu line: 13. *Pi* 7 is common in the sense of 'to correct, to regulate'. Thus: »If I do not correct (them), I shall have nothing to answer our former kings; (Chou Kung dwelt in the East for two years . . .)». Kiang Sheng would modify this into: »If I do not correct (the slander)», which is certainly no improvement. PK'ung defines *pi* 7 as = 14: »If I am not lawful» in the sense of »If I am not applying the law (to them)», which comes much to the same. — A and C are best in the context, since they both logically and better than B connect our phr. with the following. A has to cede to C,

because it does not tally with our only W. Chou source, Ode 157, which indicates the »dwelling in the East» as a warlike expedition.

1578. Chou kung kũ tung er nien, tsê tsuei jen sī tē 15.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien takes tsuei jen as referring to the rebellious princes, thus: »Chou kung dwelt in the East for two years, and then the criminal men (sc. the slanderers) were apprehended». — B. Cheng Hūan curiously imagines that tsuei jen refers to Chou Kung's partisans in the capital: »Chou Kung dwelt in the East for two years (sc. waiting for punishment from the king), and then the (criminals =) men accused of crime (his adherents) were apprehended (by the king)». — A agrees with the pre-Han traditions, see Gl. 1577.

1579. Yi yi wang 16.

A. This is Si-ma Ts'ien's and PK'ung's version: »and presented it to the king». — B. Cheng Hūan reads 17 in order to please the king». — No reason to abandon the earliest version.

1580. Wang yi wei kan tsiao Kung 18.

A. This is the orthodox version: »The king still did not dare to blame the prince». Tsiao 19 in this sense e. g. in Lü: Yi sī. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien reads hūn 20 inst. of tsiao 19. Later scholars have tried various ways to explain away this: either that it is simply a »faulty character»; or that some scribe had abbreviated 19 into 21, which then was corrupted into 20; or that this 19 is a corruption of a 22 which Tsiyün says is a variant of sin 23 (so Tuan Yü-ts'ai; hence: »The king still did not dare to trust the prince»). We might add, that if 20 must necessarily be a corruption, it would be natural to believe it to be a corruption of the similar 24 'to vilify': »The king still did not dare to speak ill of the prince», which would come near to the meaning of A. Sun Sing-yen, however, accepts the reading hūn 19, and says hūn is here equal to shun 25: »The king still did not agree with the prince». I fail to see the use of all these speculations. Hūn 20 means 'to teach, to lecture', and here it is Si-ma's paraphrase of tsiao: »The king still did not dare to (lecture =) upbraid the prince», a quite good paraphrase of the A text.

1581. T'ien ta lei tien yi feng 26.

Wang Yin-chi adduces a score of Han-time quotations which all have lei yü yi feng 27. This is therefore certainly a preferable reading.

Tuei yüe sin yi cf. Gl. 1055.

1582. K'i wu mu pu 28.

The glosses mostly define mu as 'respectful'; it seems better to render it by 'dignified, solemn', see Gl. 757.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien paraphrases this as a rhetorical question: 29, Thus: »Shall we not (in future) solemnly divine?», sc. in order to make no more such mistakes. — B. PK'ung: »Let us not solemnly take tortoise oracle» — the matter is already clear. The negation wu, usual with imperative, speaks in favour of B.

1583. Wei chen siao tsī k'i sin yi, wo kuo kia li yi yi chī 30.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien reads: wei chen siao tsī k'i ying 31 (without any sin 32). 33 \*ngiǎng / ngiung / ying and 34 \*ngiǎk / ngiok / yi are two aspects of the same word stem 'to go to meet, to go out towards, against'. Si-ma believed that at the time

假使 99. 茲道 100. 新命 1. 於此用特 2. 用 3. 予一人 4. 讒言予一人 5. 予小子 6. 我之弗辟  
7. 辟 8. 避 9. 周公東征 10. 辟 11. 刑 12. 治 13. 我之不辟 14. 法 15. 周公居東二年則罪人斯得  
16. 以貽王 17. 以怡王 18. 王亦未敢誚公 19. 誚 20. 訓 21. 詠 22. 詆 23. 信 24. 誚 25. 順 26. 天大雷電  
以風 27. 雷雨以風 28. 其勿穆卜 29. 自今以後其無繆卜乎 30. 惟朕小子其新逆我國家禮亦

of the omen Chou Kung was already dead. His line has been variously understood: *a.* Sun Sing-yen thinks that he took ying 33 = 34 in the sense of 'to go against': »I, the little child, have gone against (sc. the proper rites and thus caused the omen), with the rites of our royal house we shall yi chī put it to right», referring to Po hu t'ung: Sang tsang which, quoting these Shu lines, narrates how the king buried Chou Kung with the rites of a king. Since Sī-ma has ying 33 and not yi 34, this is an unlikely interpr. — *β.* Chavannes translates: »I, the little child, will go to meet him», but concludes that since he was dead this only refers to some sacrifice by which he would »meet» his spirit. — *γ.* Fu Sheng in Ta chuan already had another opinion. He describes how the king goes to bury Chou Kung not in Ch'eng Chou but in Pi, where Wen Wang's grave was. The line: »I will go to meet him, the rites of our Royal house also justify this» thus refers to the solemn bringing home of the corpse. This idea was current in Han time: Ku Yung (end of 1st c. B. C.) says (Han shu: Ju lin chuan) that Ch'eng Wang buried Chou Kung with 35 »changed rites» (finer rites than normal), and Po hu t'ung as quoted under *a* alludes to the same tradition. — *B.* The Ku-wen school is of the opinion that Chou Kung was still living at the time of the omen, and Ma Jung has this text: wei chen siao tsī ts'in ying etc. 36 »I, the little child, will in person go and meet him, the rites of our Royal house also justify this». So the episode was understood by Mao Heng (2nd c. B. C.) in comm. on Ode 159, and Yüe tsüe shu 3 has the same story that the king went in person to meet Chou Kung. — *C.* Cheng Hūan reads wei chen siao tsī sin ying 37 (PK'ung as above sin yi 38, same meaning): »I, the little child, shall renew myself (sc. alter my conduct) and meet him». Very scholastic. The original graph may simply have been 39 (without radical, Chou fashion) and the Han scholars have filled it out according as they understood the context, Ma Jung into ts'in 40, Cheng Hūan into sin 41. — *A γ* and *B* both give the same translation and we may leave the vexed question open whether Chou Kung was met as a corpse or as a living person.

#### 1584. Wang ch'u kiao 42.

*A.* Sī-ma interpreted thus: »The king went out and made the kiao (suburban) sacrifice» (sc. to Heaven), for he adds that after this the favour was granted to Chou kung's state Lu to make the kiao sacrifice, which was really a Royal prerogative. Lu's exceptional right to the kiao sacrifice is alluded to *passim* in the rituals (Li: Liyün etc.). PK'ung follows this. — *B.* Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Kan lei) interprets: »The king went out to the suburbs (to look at the omen)». Ts'ai Ch'en improves this into: »When the king came out to the suburbs (sc. on his way to meet Chou Kung), (Heaven rained etc.)». — Ts'ai's interpr. is directly indicated by the context.

#### Ta kao.

#### 1585. Yu ta kao er to pang 43.

*A.* This is PK'ung's version, and he paraphrases: 44 »(Following the great) way (= principle) I tell you, (princes of) the numerous states». The definition yu 45 = 46 'way' is very common in the early comm.; the word (wr. 45 or 47) frequently means 'a plan, a consideration', hence also 'a norm, principle, method, way' and, as a verb, 'to plan, to consider', cf. Gl. 577. But PK'ung has inverted the position of the ta 'great' in thi Shu line. — *B.* Ma Jung's version had ta kao yu 48 (var. for 45), and Cheng Hūan had 49. This sequence is attested in a paraphrase by Wang Mang (middle Han time, ap. Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan). In Shu: To fang and To shī we have repeatedly yu kao er 50, with yu kao as a binome (synon. with a kao kao 60 'to inform and tell' in Shu: To fang). Erya says yu 45 = 61 'to speak, to tell', probably referring to these Shu ex., and the extension of meaning is easy

to discern: 'to plan, to consider: to reason, to discourse, to expound'; thus: **«I will greatly tell and discourse to you»**. (In the other Shu ex. inverted: **«I will discourse and tell you»**). When Chang Ping-lin would take the *tao* 46 of the glosses as 62 'to lead, to guide', he spoils the binominal nature of *yu - kao* and *kao - yu* (with nearly synonymous members). Even more so does Wang Yin-chi, who would take *kao yu* 63 = 64 to mean 65 'to tell to' and the *yu kao* 66 with the words inverted to be text corruptions. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en follows the A text version, and says *yu* 45 is an interjection: **«Oh, I will tell you (princes of) the numerous states»**. It is solely the wording and word sequence in this line which has given rise to this idea, for there is no text support for it elsewhere. And in the moment we find that the sequence *yu, ta kao* is probably a corruption, the earlier attested version being different, this feeble support is lost.

*Fu tiao t'ien* 'the merciless Heaven', see the detailed discussion in Gl. 429.

*Kiang ko yü wo kia* see Gl. 1234.

1586. *Pu shao yen* 67.

A. Ma Jung punctuates after *yen* and explains: **«(Heaven sends down injury on our house), not a little, and extends it»**. — B. PK'ung punctuates after *sha o*, and carries *yen* to the following line: **«(Heaven . . . . house), not a little; yen hung 68 extensively and greatly»** . . . etc. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en, with the A punctuation: **«without the slightest delay»**.

1587. *Hung wei wo yu ch'ung jen* 69.

A. PK'ung (who carried the preceding *yen* 70 here: *yen hung wei wo*) paraphrases *wei* 71 by 72 'to implicate, entangle', which shows that he read 73 'to bind' (the char. 71 and 73 are largely interchangeable in the Shu): **«They (the injuries) extend and become large and entangle me, little young man»**. — B. Wang Su (foll. by Yen Shī-ku and Ts'ai Ch'en): *wei* 71 = 'to think' (common), thus: **«I greatly think of how I, little young man . . .»** (connecting with the following). For *wei* in this sense, Shu text par. in Gl. 1533. — C. Kiang Sheng: *hung* 74 is an empty 'particle', simply to be skipped. He quotes a line in *To fang*: 75 as a par., but there is no reason whatever why *hung* should be a 'particle' in any of these lines. Many Ts'ing scholars had a predilection for explaining obscure words as 'particles'. — D. Sun Sing-yen: *hung* 74 stands for *hung* 76, which in *Erya* is defined as = 77 'to change'. In fact in Shu: *K'ang kao* 78, Cheng Hsuan reads 76, interpreting it 79: **«He on behalf of (the king) greatly announced the work to be done»**. The *Erya* entry may have had this in view, but since there are no conclusive and unambiguous text par., this is of little value. There is no word-stem ending in *-u ng* which has the meaning of 'to change, alter, substitute'. PK'ung, who naturally takes *hung ta* as a synonym-binome, is far more convincing: **«He grandly announced the work to be done»**. In our present line: *hung wei* etc., a meaning 'on behalf of' would be even more unnatural. — B is simple and plausible.

1588. *Si wu kiang ta li fu* 80.

A. Wang Mang (in *Han shu*: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases *fu* by 81, and PK'ung,

宜之 31. 惟朕小子其迎 32. 新 33. 迎 34. 逆 35. 變禮 36. 惟朕小子親迎 37. 惟朕小子新迎 38. 新  
逆 39. 策 40. 親 41. 新 42. 王出郊 43. 獻大告爾多邦 44. 順大道而告 45. 獻 46. 道 47. 猶 48. 大告  
49. 大告 50. 獻 51. 獻告爾 52. 諸告 53. 言 54. 尊 55. 告 56. 獻 57. 告 58. 告 59. 告於 60. 獻告 61. 不少 62. 延洪  
63. 洪惟我幼冲人 64. 延 65. 惟 66. 惟累 67. 維 68. 洪 69. 洪惟圖天之命 70. 鴻 71. 代 72. 乃 73. 洪大告  
治 74. 代 75. 兩無疆大歷服 76. 服事 77. 無窮大數 78. 服行其政 79. 天之歷數在爾躬 80. 列次

punctuating after *li*, explains: the descendant succeeds to the ancestors' 82 boundlessly great (numbers, series, sequence =) succession, and 83 manages the government. PK'ung undoubtedly is influenced by Lun: Yao yüe: 84. Si-ma Ts'ien interprets this latter as: »Heaven's calendaric numbers rests with your person» (you have the task of determining the calendar), but Ho Yen (middle of 3rd c. A. D.) says *li shu* 'the successive numbers' means 85 'the sequence' thus: »Heaven's succession rests in your person», and so PK'ung has understood that line and our *li 86* = *li shu* here. Thus: »I have succeeded to the boundlessly great (sequence =) succession (inheritance), and *fu* shall manage it» (sc. the government). — B. K'ung Ying-ta has a curious speculation: *kiang* 'limit' refers to the boundaries of the realm, the latter being »boundlessly great», and the *ta li* 'great number' refers to the »30 generations and 700 years» which had been predicted for the Chou(!). Thus: »I have succeeded to a boundless (realm) and a great number (of future generations for the dynasty), and *fu* shall manage it». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *fu 87* refers to the 88 'five dependencies' of the realm: »I have succeeded to the boundlessly great (sequence =) succession and the dependencies». — D. Sun Sing-yen takes (after Wang Mang) *fu 87* as = 89 'affair, work, task' (common) and makes *wu kiang ta li* attributes to *fu* as principal word: »I have succeeded to (tasks without bounds and in great numbers =) boundless and greatly numerous tasks». For *li 86* or 90 (the two char. are largely interchangeable) = 91 in the sense of 'number', cf. Kuan: Hai wang: »(A man eats so and so many *sheng* of salt, a woman so and so many...) *ts'i k'i ta li 92* »these are the greatest numbers (highest figures)». — E. Sun Yi-jang: Kuang ya says *li 86* = 93, and *li fu* therefore means: »to (practise =) manage the affairs», thus: »I have succeeded to boundlessly and greatly to manage the affairs». — The choice can only be between D and E, which are both plausible. But D is certainly preferable since *wu kiang* (boundless) and *ta li* 'of great numbers' are two analogous epithets to *fu*, and make an excellent rhythm: *wu kiang — ta li — fu*.

#### 1589. *Fu tsao ch'ê 94*.

A. PK'ung: 95 (\**dz'ôg / dz'âu / tsao*) = 96 (after Erya) 'to make, to create': »I do not achieve wisdom» (and lead the people to tranquillity). — B. Wang Mang (ap. Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: 97 »I have not (met with =) found wise (men)» (sc. to help me). Wang thus took 95 \**dz'ôg* as a loan char. for 98 \**tsôg / tsâu / tsao*. — C. Wu Ch'eng reads 95 \**ts'ôg / ts'âu / ts'ao*: »I do not (go to =) pursue wisdom». — D. Another interpr. *Tsao 95* 'to achieve' is an almost technical term meaning 'perfected' (»gebildet») in the sense of educated, formed in the polite arts: *tsao shi 99* 'a perfected nobleman' (Li: Wang ch'i) is a gentleman fully formed by the school education, see Gl. 817, with a *Shi* par. Thus: »I am not perfected and wise». Cf. Shu: Kün Sh'i: *kou tsao tê 100* »old and of perfected virtue». — We compare, later in our chapter:

*Yü tsao t'ien yi yi ta t'ou kien yü chen shen 1*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after *t'ien yi*, and defines (as above) *tsao* by *wei 96*: »I (do =) perform Heaven's service; *yi ta* it has left to me a very great (task), and thrown difficulties on my person». The construction of *yi ta* as a separate clause is, of course, quite impossible. Ts'ai Ch'en turns it slightly differently: *yü tsao* »What I do, *t'ien yi* Heaven sets the task (for me)», with *yi 2* as a transitive verb = 3. This is certainly no improvement. — B. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) renders it: 4, with *tsao 98* inst. of 95, as above, and with *kie 5* inst. of *t'ou 6*. Yen Shi-ku then thinks the line should here be punctuated after the 2nd *yi*, thus: *yü tsao t'ien yi yi*: »I have met with Heaven's task's being left (to me); the great solving of the difficulties lies with my person». This construing of the text is very strained. When Ma Jung here says *tsao 95* = 7, it is possible (with Tuan Yü-ts'ai) that

y i 7 is a corruption of the similar t s a o 98, in which case Ma would have thought that 95 is a loan char. for 98 (in acc. with Wang Mang). But his gloss is very uncertain. — C. Sun Yi-jang says t s a o 95 means simply t s o 8: »I (make =) am a Heaven's servant»; but he does not explain the awkward remainder. — D. Yü Sing-wu: y i y i 9 is a corruption of k i k ' i e n 10, and 11 is simply an enlarged form of 12 which means y ü 13 and k ' i e n 14 is short for 15; thus: »I meet with that Heaven 16 gives me reproof». (!) — E. Another interpr. The line should be punctuated as in B, but there is no reason for assuming a loan (95 for 98), with Wang Mang. The line means: »In performing Heaven's service I have been remiss, and greatly thrown difficulties on my person». Y i 7 in the sense of 'neglectful, remiss' is common, cf. Shu: Shao kao 17 »May he not neglect the aged elders; »Yi: Kua 11, phr. 18 »Not to be remiss in regard to the distant; Meng: Liang Huei wang 19 »to neglect one's parents», etc.

Shu: Wen hou ch' ming: Min yü siao ts' i s' i t s a o t ' i e n p ' e i k ' i e n 20.

A. Wang Su and PK'ung: t s a o 95 = 98 »Pitiable am I, the little child, when succeeding (to the throne), I have met with Heaven's greatly blaming (me)». K ' i e n 21 'error, fault' would then be construed as a transitive verb = 'to find fault with, to blame'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: s' i t s a o means 22 »In the beginning of my succeeding (to the throne), Heaven greatly blamed (me)». T s a o sure enough means 'to initiate, to create', but as a noun = 'the beginning' it is far from convincing. It is no better to turn it like Couvreur: »When I *succedere coepi* started to succeed (on the throne)». — C. Another interpr. It is not at all necessary to take t s a o 95 to be a loan char. The line means: »Pitiable am I, the little child; when succeeding (to the throne) I have committed great errors towards Heaven». T ' i e n is thus an objective genitive: t ' i e n c h' i k ' i e n »error towards Heaven». For such a construction with objective genitive (common), cf. for instance Meng: Kao ts' i, hia 23 »They were sinners against the three kings».

1590. K ' i y u n e n g k o c h' i t ' i e n m i n g 24.

A. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: 25 »How can I go and know Heaven's commands». K o 26 'to come to, to go to' is common. — B. PK'ung paraphrases k o c h' i by 27, and he may have meant no more than A above (w a n g 28 'to go') by his c h' i 29 'to arrive, to come'. In any case K'ung Ying-ta paraphrases it 30 »How can I attain to knowing». But in fact k o 26 has (with Ts'ai Ch'en) yet another shade of meaning: »to come all through, to penetrate, to understand perfectly, to comprehend', as shown by a Li par., see Gl. 1481 above. Thus: »How should I be able to comprehend and know the commands of Heaven». — C. Chang Ping-lin: k o 26 means h i a 31 'far, distant': »How should I be able far-reachingly to understand the commands of Heaven». It is true that 26 \*klāk / kək / k o 'to come, to go to' and 32 \*kă / ka / k i a 'to come, to go to' (synonymous but not identical, nor even cognate) are often interchanged as variants in early texts, but this of course cannot prove that k o 26 (\*klāk) could serve for a 31 \*g'd / ya / h i a. There is but one possible support: Tso: Chao 7 has 33, which Tu Yü interprets: »My uncle has ascended, to be reverent» (in the service of

26 歷 27 服 28 五服 29 事 30 曆 31 數 32 此 其 大 曆 33 行 34 弗 造 哲 35 造 36 為 37 予 未 遭 其 明  
哲 38 遭 39 造 士 40 弗 造 德 1 予 造 天 役 遭 大 投 艱 于 朕 身 2 役 3 使 4 予 遭 天 役 遭 大 解  
難 于 朕 身 5 解 6 投 7 遭 8 作 9 役 遭 10 役 遭 11 後 12 及 13 與 14 遭 15 譴 16 與 以 譴 貢 17  
無 遭 考 18 不 遭 19 遭 其 親 20 閔 予 小 子 嗣 造 天 丕 愆 21 愆 22 嗣 位 之 初 23 三 王 之 罪  
人 24 其 有 能 格 知 天 命 25 其 能 往 知 天 命 26 格 27 至 知 28 往 29 至 30 至 于 知 31 避 32 假 33

etc.), the ordinary meaning of *k' o* 34; but some Ts'ing scholars believe that it means »My uncle has ascended far away» (synon. with 35). If the latter is right, and there was a word \*36 \**k'läk / k'vk / k' o* = 'far away', the 26 of our text could, with Chang, be a loan char. for it. But all this is much too uncertain.

**1591.** Fu fen fu ts'ien jen shou ming 36.

**A.** PK'ung paraphrases fu fen 37 by 38 'to spread and practise the great principles', 39 (\**b'iwän / b'iuän / fen*) being well attested in the sense of 'great', as in P'an Keng 40 »And so I make grand this great (undertaking)», see Gl. 1482. Thus: »I (must) spread the great (principles) and (spread =) extend the mandate received by the former men (i. e. princes)». On the analogy of the P'an Keng par. we had better modify this into: **I shall extend the great thing (sc. the realm) and extend the mandate received by the former men (i. e. princes)». — B.** Ts'ai Ch'en (in the wake of Su Shī, see Legge's note) would read 39 \**pj'ir / pjig / pi* 'ornated': »I (must) spread the elegant (institutions) . . » etc. A curious idea. — **C.** Wang Mang (Han Shu: Tsé Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases so as to show that he skipped the first fu 41: He takes fen 39 as = 42 in the sense of pen tso u 43 'to run about' (in service) and fu as equal to 44, the line thus becoming: 45. Now all the comm. have believed that our chapter was spoken by Chou Kung on behalf of the king, and that the introductory words wang jo yüe »The king spoke thus» should mean: »The king says», Chou Kung reporting his message. Wang Mang was of the same opinion, and understood: »I will pen (hurry on service =) eagerly serve and fu be near to (the one to whom) the former men have given the mandate». This is very strained. And there is, in fact, not the slightest support for the traditional opinion that the discourse was made by Chou Kung (which goes back to the Shu sū). The discourse throughout has a tenor of a king himself speaking and wang jo yüe certainly means: »The king spoke thus». — **D.** Kiang Sheng tries to preserve Wang Mang's fen 39 = pen 42 and his fu 41 = 44 but carries the two words fu pen 46 to the preceding: »I go and seek where I can cross [the water]» 47), thus: »I go and seek fu pen such who will attend and serve me chen yu tsi when I cross». Even worse, if possible, than C. — **E.** Sü Miao (ap. Shīwen) would read fen 39 (\**b'iwän*) as a short-form for 48 (\**b'iwän*) 'eager'. How he understood the line is unknown, but Chuang Shu-tsu takes up his idea about fen: the speaker here suddenly exhorts the princes and officers: »Expand your eagerness and extend the mandate received by the former men». This suits the context very poorly. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin: fu fen 37 means »I will display the tortoise», see Gl. 1482 above. But as stated there, fen is not attested in that sense in pre-Han texts, and the meaning does not suit the context here. — **A** in its modified form, which gives a good meaning without any loan char. speculations, is strongly supported by the P'an Keng par. 40, which even in the construction of the phr. is very similar.

**1592.** Tsī pu wang ta kung 49.

**A.** PK'ung: »Now I do not forget the great (work =) task». — **B.** Wang Yin-chī quite arbitrarily would read wang 50 as 51: »I shall not ruin the great work». He proposes the same in Tsiu kao: yung pu wang kia 52, where it is even less suitable.

**1593.** Yü pu kan pi yü t'ien kiang wei yung ning wang yi wo ta pao kuei 53.

**A.** PK'ung punctuates after yung: I dare not (shut against =) raise obstacles to Heaven's sending down the application of its severity; the tranquillizing king (= Wen Wang) has handed down to me a great precious tortoise», etc. For pi 54 'to shut (a door)' = 'to obstruct' cf. Tso: Chao 1, phr. 55 »Do not let there be anything that blocks up and obstructs (sc. the fluids in the body)», etc. (common). Kiang Sheng modifies this by punctuating after wei, and, after Cheng Hüan, he says ning wang



means a king who 56 has received the mandate. Ning 57 'peace' would then mean more generally 'bliss, happiness': a 'favoured king'. This is rather far-fetched. It would seem better to refer to the dead king's serenity, freedom from care: »The serene (dead) kings». (Sun Yi-jang proposes that since Wen 58 in bronze inscriptions is sometimes written with a 'heart' 59, the ning is an error for wen: Wen Wang; that is very ingenious, but after all the archaic graphs for wen and ning are not sufficiently similar to warrant this emendation, cf. *Grammata* p. 246 and 347). Thus: »I dare not raise obstacles to Heaven's sending down its (severity =) inflictions; I have used the great precious tortoise handed down to me by the serene (dead) kings». — B. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) takes 54 \**pied / piei / pi* as loan char. for 60 \**pjar / pji / pi* 'to compare', skipping yü 61. He punctuates after pi: »I dare not compare myself (to my predecessors); Heaven sends down its majesty, and tranquilizes the (king =) king's house; it has given me a great precious tortoise». Since the loan idea is very unsatisfactory, Sun Sing-yen tries to improve it by interpreting: yü p u k a n pi 54 »I dare not obstruct (the glory of my predecessors)», and he says yü 61 is = 62, the initial particle. This cannot save the B disposition of the lines.

1594. Shao t'ien ming tsi ming 63.

A. PK'ung paraphrases 64: »in order to continue Heaven's brightness, and to (approach =) conform to its commands». K'ung Ying-ta, realizing that »to continue Heaven's brightness» is rather nonsensical, fills it out: »to continue Heaven's bright (commands)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: shao 65 means 66 'to act as mediator, to connect': In order to transmit Heaven's bright (commands), tsi I went (to the tortoise) and ming was told». The following passage being the pronouncement of the oracle. — C. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) understood the line thus: »In following up Heaven's bright (meaning), I have (gone to =) accepted the mandate». This was accepted by Kiang Sheng. — D. Sun Yi-jang: shao 65 = 67 'to aid', which practically coincides with B. Further tsi ming 68, here as in Kin t'eng, means 'to announce an inquiry to the oracle', being a technical term, see Gl. 1550 C and 1573. The whole subsequent passage then relates what the king said to the tortoise. Thus our line: (I have used the precious tortoise handed down to me by the serene [dead] kings), to transmit Heaven's bright (will); I announced the inquiry, (saying)». Sun is obviously right.

1595. Yin siao t'ien 69.

A. Cheng Huan: t'ien 70 = 71 'a small state', thus proposing that in the word t'ien itself there would be the sense of 'small', siao t'ien thus being synonymous: »Yin is very small». No text par. — B. Ma Jung: t'ien 70 = ch i 72 'to come, arrive'. This making no sense, Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that ch i 72 is a corruption of chu 73, see C next. If so, the mistake is early, for Kuang ya has repeated Ma's t'ien = ch i. — C. Wang Su: t'ien 70 = 73, thus: »The small ruler of Yin». This really means that Wang Su took it to stand for 74 (the rad. 75 being wrongly added) tien, which frequently means 'to govern, to rule over', e. g. Ts'ê: Ch'u ts'ê 76 »to rule over the eastern

叔父陟恪<sub>34</sub>恪<sub>35</sub>登遐<sub>36</sub>敷<sub>37</sub>賁<sub>38</sub>敷<sub>39</sub>前<sub>40</sub>人<sub>41</sub>受<sub>42</sub>命<sub>43</sub>敷<sub>44</sub>賁<sub>45</sub>布<sub>46</sub>行<sub>47</sub>大<sub>48</sub>道<sub>49</sub>賁<sub>50</sub>用<sub>51</sub>若<sub>52</sub>茲<sub>53</sub>賁<sub>54</sub>敷<sub>55</sub>賁<sub>56</sub>奔走<sub>57</sub>傳<sub>58</sub>奔<sub>59</sub>傳<sub>60</sub>前<sub>61</sub>人<sub>62</sub>受<sub>63</sub>命<sub>64</sub>傳<sub>65</sub>賁<sub>66</sub>予<sub>67</sub>惟<sub>68</sub>往<sub>69</sub>求<sub>70</sub>朕<sub>71</sub>攸<sub>72</sub>濟<sub>73</sub>憤<sub>74</sub>茲<sub>75</sub>不<sub>76</sub>忘<sub>77</sub>大<sub>78</sub>功<sub>79</sub>忘<sub>80</sub>亡<sub>81</sub>承<sub>82</sub>不<sub>83</sub>忘<sub>84</sub>在<sub>85</sub>王<sub>86</sub>家<sub>87</sub>予<sub>88</sub>不<sub>89</sub>敢<sub>90</sub>閑<sub>91</sub>天<sub>92</sub>降<sub>93</sub>威<sub>94</sub>用<sub>95</sub>寧<sub>96</sub>王<sub>97</sub>遺<sub>98</sub>我<sub>99</sub>大<sub>100</sub>寶<sub>101</sub>龜<sub>102</sub>閑<sub>103</sub>勿<sub>104</sub>使<sub>105</sub>有<sub>106</sub>所<sub>107</sub>廢<sub>108</sub>閑<sub>109</sub>受<sub>110</sub>命<sub>111</sub>寧<sub>112</sub>文<sub>113</sub>受<sub>114</sub>比<sub>115</sub>于<sub>116</sub>魯<sub>117</sub>紹<sub>118</sub>天<sub>119</sub>明<sub>120</sub>即<sub>121</sub>命<sub>122</sub>以<sub>123</sub>繼<sub>124</sub>天<sub>125</sub>明<sub>126</sub>就<sub>127</sub>其<sub>128</sub>命<sub>129</sub>而<sub>130</sub>行<sub>131</sub>之<sub>132</sub>紹<sub>133</sub>紹<sub>134</sub>介<sub>135</sub>助<sub>136</sub>即<sub>137</sub>命<sub>138</sub>殷<sub>139</sub>小<sub>140</sub>朕<sub>141</sub>朕<sub>142</sub>小<sub>143</sub>國<sub>144</sub>至<sub>145</sub>主<sub>146</sub>與<sub>147</sub>不<sub>148</sub>肉<sub>149</sub>與<sub>150</sub>主<sub>151</sub>東<sub>152</sub>地<sub>153</sub>敷<sub>154</sub>

lands». (Shuowen in this sense has the specialized char. 77, which, however, occurs in no texts). — D. Ts'ai Ch'en (after Kuang ya): t'ien = 78 'ample' (Shuowen = 79 'much') thus: »Yin is of little ampleness (prosperity)», i. e. a poor state. For t'ien 'ample', cf. Shu: Tsiu kao 80 »You are not (ample =) excessive in wine». See also the Tsiu kao line discussed below. In Tso: Chao 7, phr. 81, Tu Yü defines t'ien as = 78 'ample': »Though Cheng is not (ample =) prosperous; but in fact wu t'ien here is synon. with the pu t'ien in E below and means »has no goodness» (= is no good). — E. Sun Sing-yen: there is a very common phr.: 82 pu t'ien 'no good', in which t'ien means 83 'good', e. g. Tso: Hi 30, phr. 84 »our no-good and unworthy city»; and our phr. sia o t'ien 'of little goodness' is an analogous phrase, thus: »Yin being (of little goodness) worthless». — F. Sun Yi-jang: t'ien 70 (\*t'ian) is loan char. for 85 \*d'ian / d'ien / t'ien 'to injure, destroy, (cf. Gl. 124), and this would mean here: »Yin is a small (injury =) defect», referring to the 86 'flaw' in a later line. — Both C, D and E are possible (hardly F), but after all C makes the simplest and best sense. It is quite natural to assume that the original text had only 74 (without radical, Chou fashion) and that this has been enlarged into 70 by the Han-time philologists who erroneously attributed to it one or other of the meanings of the char. t'ien 70. There may even be a touch of contempt in the choice of word: Lu-fu is not called hou 'prince' of Yin but simply tien 'the governor, the ruler', sent by the Chou to govern Yin's small remaining dominion. — We study here:

Shu: Tsiu kao: Tsi sien t'ien chi yung tsiu 87.

A. PK'ung: »They should tsi sien purify themselves and t'ien amply provide the wine for use» (t'ien = 78). — B. Ma Jung is quoted in Shiwen as saying sien 88 = 89, which makes no sense and which (with Sun Sing-yen) is surely a corruption for 90 Shuowen = 'to wash (vessels)'. Thus: »They should themselves sien wash (sc. the vessels) and t'ien make it ample (sc. the food) and bring forward the wine to be used». So expounded by Sun Sing-yen, who take sien and t'ien as two coördinated verbs (Kiang Sheng: »They should themselves wash [the vessels] and t'ien in a good way bring forward» etc. is less good). In fact this was already the opinion of Hü Shen, since Shuowen has: t'ien 70 = 91 'to set forward dishes ample and many', which in all probability refers to our Shu line here. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: »You shall yourselves (wash =) purify and t'ien (make good =) make strong and bring forward the wine to be used». It seems improbable that the word sien 'to wash' could be used for clarifying spirits.

1596. T'ien kiang wei chi wo kuo yu ts'i 92.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien foll. by PK'ung believes that this refers to Wu Wang's death and the treachery of the princes; thus: »When Heaven (now) sends down its (severity =) inflictions, he (the prince of Yin) knows that our state has a flaw». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »(Though) Heaven has sent down its inflictions (on the house of Yin), (yet) he knows . . . » etc. — A is logically much better.

1597. Yü e yü fu, fan pi wo Chou pang 93.

A. PK'ung: »He (the prince of Yin) says: We shall come back (sc. into power); and he (on the contrary = contrary to what should be expected =) even despises our Chou state». Cf. Tso: Chao 16: »Though we all observed the rites, 94 they would still despise us». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »He says: I will restore (the Yin realm), and he will fan bring back and pi make a border city of our Chou state». — C. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê-fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases so as to show that he read the whole as one phrase: »(Heaven, sending down inflictions, knows that our state has a flaw, and that the people are not tranquil, but) it says: yü I (sc. Heaven) fu-fan repeatedly pi have helped the Chou state». Fu-fan 95 would thus be an inversion of the common fan-fu 96 'to reiterate'. How pi could mean 'to help' has worried the Ts'ing scholars. Chuang Shu-tsu, for instance,

believes that the text originally had 98, which stood for t' u 99 'to plan for' = 'to help'. — A and B, which take the line as logically following up the preceding, are much better than C. And though both A and B are plausible, we have no reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A), well supported by an exact text par.

**1598.** Kin ch' un kin yi jī min hien yu shī fu 100.

For 1 \**χῑῑn* / *χῑvn* / hien '(exhibited =) conspicuous, prominent' in the Ku-wen version, the Kin-wen version (ap. Shang shu ta chuan) had 2 \**ngia* / *ngiē* / y i 'model', the meaning being much the same: worthy men. The Ts'ing scholars have insisted that the phonetic similarity between \**χῑῑn*: \**ngia* explains why both mean 'prominent men'; but in both cases independently it is through extension of meaning: \**χῑῑn* 'to present, exhibit, make conspicuous', and \**ngia* 'correct norm, model, a model man', cf. Gl. 1327. — A. PK'ung, followed by most later comm., has punctuated: kin ch' un, kin yi jī, min hien yu shī fu »Now they (the rebels) are moving, and now on the next-following day there have been worthy ones among the people, ten men . . . » This is very unsatisfactory. — B. Yü Yü: the phr. yi jī 'the next day' was orig. written 3 or 4 and as a loan char. variant for this there cropped up 5. Our text thus certainly originally had the graphs 4, »corrected» into 5 by Wei Pao (so conclusively Tuan Yü-ts'ai). PK'ung (A) of course believed that 4 meant »the next-following day». But in fact we should punctuate: kin ch' un kin yi, jī min hien yu shī fu. Ch' un 6 means 'to move and crawl', said of insects; the char. yi 7 properly means 'to fly' (Shuowen), and though we have no earlier text ex. than a poem by Mei Sheng (early 2nd c. B. C.), the combination in our phrase confirms the meaning: »Now they (the enemies) crawl, now they buzz about». Jī 8 thus belongs to the following line, and it means 'recently' (= 9), cf. Tso: Wen 7, phr. 10 »Recently Wei has not been concordant»; Tso Siang 28, phr. 11 »Recently when he passed here», etc. (other ex. in Ch'eng 16, Siang 3, Chao 4, Chao 7, Chao 16, Chao 20 etc.), and Yü draws the legitimate conclusion that the Tso author here follows the style pattern of the Shu. Thus: »Now they (the enemies) crawl about, now they buzz about; but recently, there have been ten worthy men among the people . . . ». This is strikingly convincing.

**1599.** Yü yi yi yü 12.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: »They have come to help us Chou». The final yü meaning 'to go' (common e. g. in the Odes), he must have understood the line thus: »Us helping, they have gone». But then the first yü is wrongly placed; it should be yi yü 13. — B. From Wang Mang's paraphrase (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan), which contracts this and the following line strongly, it is clear that he correctly understood the first yü as subject and he renders 14 yi by 15 'respectfully', a well-attested meaning (see in detail Gl. 433). Thus: »I respectfully go with them».

**1600.** Mining wu t' u kung 16.

A. PK'ung punctuates: mi ning wu, t' u kung = »to mi ning still wu the war t' u kung and plan for merits». He defines mi 17 as = 18 'to pacify,

厚 17 多 80. 不膜于洒 81. 鄭難無膜 82. 不膜 83. 善 84. 不膜散邑 85. 珍 86. 疵 87. 自洗膜致用洒  
88. 洗 89. 盥 90. 盥 91. 設膳膜膜多也 92. 天降威知我國有疵 93. 曰于復反鄙我周邦 94. 天降  
譴我 95. 復反 96. 反復 97. 鄙 98. 苗 99. 圖 100. 今姦今翼日民獻有十夫 1. 獻 2. 儀 3. 翌日 4. 翊  
日 5. 翼日 6. 姦 7. 翊 8. 日 9. 近日 10. 日衛不睦 11. 日其禍此 12. 于翼以于 13. 翼于 14. 翼 15.  
敬 16. 敬寧武圖功 17. 敬 18. 撫 19. 武 20. 繼 21. 寧武 22. 寧王 23. 不可不成 24. 寧考圖功 25. 于不

tranquillize' (after Erya), taking *mi-ning* as a binome. — **B.** Wang Mang (in Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) took *wu 19* in the sense of *20* 'to continue' (after Erya). The line would then be: *mi ning* to establish peace *wu t'u kung* and continue the planned work». *Wu 19* really means 'footprints, to follow in the footsteps of', hence 'to continue', see Ode 243, stanzas 1 and 5. — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: *mi ning* do not belong together but *ning Wu 21* form a phr. meaning *Wu Wang, king Wu*, analogous to the *ning wang 22* we had above. (Liu Feng-lu had already realised that *wu* meant neither 'war' nor 'continue' but *Wu t'u kung* »Wu Wang's planned works»; but he still took *mi-ning* together). It is quite certain that Sun is right. We have several conclusive parallels further on in our chapter: *pu k'o pu ch'eng nain ning k'ao t'u kung 23*: »You cannot but achieve your *ning k'ao* serene (dead) father's planned work»; *yü pu kan pu ki tsu ning wang t'u shi 24* »I dare not but go to the end with and finish the serene (dead) king's planned affairs». (Here Wang Yin-chi would take *ki 25* as = 'quickly' which is less plausible than to take, with PK'ung, *ki tsu 26* as a binome of two analogous words: »go to the end with and finish»); *ts'ien ning jen t'u kung* »the past serene (dead) men's planned work». On these analogies it is evident that *ning Wu t'u kung* belong together. There remains the word *mi 17*. With Chang Ping-lin and Wang Kuo-wei it means *27* 'to finish, to achieve'. Thus: »To achieve the serene (dead) Wu's planned work».

This interpr. necessitates a discussion. As stated above, Erya says *mi 17 = fu 18*. Now this is very ambiguous, since *fu* can have many meanings. In our line here PK'ung and later comm., as already stated, all have taken *mi = fu* in its frequently occurring sense of 'to pacify, tranquillize', and Cheng Hsian in comm. on Chouli: Siao chu likewise says *mi = 28* 'to tranquillize'. But then we have other Shu cases:

*a.* Ta kao (later): *mi ning wang ta ming 29*.

**A.** Whereas Wang Mang simply renders *mi 17* by *fu 18* without revealing how he understood the latter, PK'ung here takes *mi 17 = 18* in quite another sense: *fu = 30* 'to follow, to accord with', as in Kao Yao mo 31 »Follow the five periods». Thus: »To (follow =) accord with the serene (dead) king's great mandate». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, on the other hand, paraphrases it by *fu ts'un 32* and Kiang Sheng by *fu ting 33*, thus: »To (tranquillize =) stabilize the serene (dead) king's great mandate».

*β.* Shu: Lo kao: *Yi wei k'o mi kung kung 34*.

Shuowen, quoting this line, says *mi 17 = 18* (like Erya above). **A.** Here PK'ung says *mi = fu shun 35*, meaning the same as *fu sü 30* above. »I have not been able to (follow =) accord with the prince's work». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en renders *mi* by *36* (same meaning as in *a* above): »I have not been able to stabilize the prince's work». Cheng Hsian here likewise says *mi = 28* 'to tranquillize' (Wu Ch'eng has a curious speculation that 'to tranquillize' would here mean 'to honour and reward', see Legge's note; Wang Yin-chi would divide the line differently, carrying *kung kung* to the next line, but, as Hsü Shen already realized, the par. with our line above [*mi ning Wu t'u kung*] determines our line to be: . . . . *mi kung kung*).

*γ.* Shu: Li Cheng: *Shuai wei mi kung 37*.

**A.** PK'ung here takes *mi 17 = fu 18* in the sense of 'to pacify': »He followed (Wen Wang's) tranquillizing work» (pacifying the people). The *wei 38* is then very awkwardly placed. Ts'ai and Kiang the same. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: *shuai 39* is a »particle» (cf. Gl. 1406): »He (tranquillized =) safely settled the work».

It stands to reason that though the char. *fu 18* has two meanings 'to tranquillize' and 'to follow', the word *mi 17* must not have those two different meanings simply because Erya defines *mi 17* as = *18*. In fact, in spite of Erya, the char. *mi 17* seems to have had neither. Chang Ping-lin and Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan t'ang tsi lin) propose that *17*

\**mǐǎr* / *mjiǝ* / *mi* is simply a variant for the homophonous 40 \**mǐǎr* / *mjiǝ* / *mi* = 41 'to carry through to the end, to achieve', a well-attested word. This is very plausible and obviates all the forced and heterogeneous explanations above. Thus:  $\alpha$  (29) »To achieve the serene (dead) king's mandate»;  $\beta$  (34) »I have also been unable to achieve the prince's work»;  $\gamma$  (37) »He followed and achieved the work».

1601. Yü fa Yin pu po ch'en 42.

A. PK'ung: The line refers to Wu Keng Lu-fu, son of the last Yin king. Ch'en 'servant, subject' refers to his position as a prominent subject of the Chou king. Thus: »I shall go and attack the fugitive and thrown-out (king's servant =) grandee of the Yin (house)».

— B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »I shall go and attack the fugitive and thrown-out ministers of Yin».

— No reason whatever for abandoning the oldest interpr. (A), which is logically superior.

1602. Yü e yü siao tsī k'ao yi pu k'o cheng wang hai pu wei pu 43.

A. PK'ung: »I, the little child, k'ao have inquired (sc. from the oracle) and yi respectfully attended (to the principles); (if) they (the rebels) cannot be attacked, wang hai the king will be harmed; pu wei pu I (cannot) go counter to the oracle».

— B. Wang Mang (Han Shu: Tsé Fang-tsin chuan): »(You say that) they (the rebels) are my, the little child's, k'ao elders, yi they should be revered and should not be attacked; why does the king not go counter to the oracle?» (The last line is turned quite differently by Wang Mang, and the interpr. given above is that of Kiang Sheng, hai 44 being taken as = 45, as often).

— C. Ts'ai Ch'en, basing himself on Cheng Hün in a gloss on a similar phr. later in our chapter (see below), says: k'ao yi means 46, thus: »We, the little children, and (the old respectful ones =) the old men who respectfully attend to the affairs (all say) that you should not attack; why does the king not go counter to the oracle?».

Couvreur tries to improve this: »We, the little children, and the old assistants».

— D. Sun Yi-jang: k'ao yi 47 means »the respected elders». More precisely »the old and revered ones», the rebel princes being in fact the king's uncles. Cf. Tsiu kao: 48 »to serve their old men and seniors». But yi 49 in fact means 'respectful, reverent' (see Gl. 433) and k'ao yi would thus rather than »old and revered ones» mean »old and reverent ones», which does not suit the context.

— E. Chang Ping-lin: yi 49 (\**giǝk*) is a loan char. for k'o 50 (\**kək*). The latter is defined in Fang-yen (Middle Han coll.) as = 51 'old' (properly: »leathery», with the skin dry and leather-like), and k'ao yi is therefore a synonym-compound = 'old'.

— F. Yü Sing-wu: 49 is Wei Pao's alteration of 52, and this again is a corruption of a 53. In an early Chou inscription (Kün ku lu kin wen 2: 2, 68) there is a phr. 54, which Wu Shi-fen tentatively interpreted as = hiao yu 55 (cf. Ode 177, phr. 56: »Chang Chung, the filial and friendly»).

Our k'ao yi 47 would thus be equal to this hiao yu; a very adventurous theory.

— G. It seems best to make use of Couvreur's idea (in C above) that yi 49 here has its common meaning of 'to help, to assist' (see Gl. 433), but turn the line quite differently from Ts'ai's construction. This is necessary because siao tsī »the little child» as a rule always means the king himself, not his subjects. We closely follow the oldest interpr. (Wang Mang, B), with exception for the word yi. Thus: »(You say that) they (the rebel

敢不極卒寧王圖事 25 極 26 極卒 27 終 28 安 29 教率王 30 撫循 31 撫于五辰 32 撫存  
33 撫定 34 亦未克教公功 35 撫順 36 安定 37 率惟教功 38 惟 39 率 40 彌 41 終 42 于伐殷通  
播臣 43 越予小子考翼不可任王害不達卜 44 害 45 曷 46 父老敬事者 47 考翼 48 事厥考  
厥長 49 翼 50 率 51 老 52 翌 53 替 54 考替 55 孝友 56 張仲孝友 57 厥考翼其肯曰予有後 58

princes) are my, the little child's, old coadjutors, they should not be attacked; why does the king not go counter to the oracle?» — This interpr., however, would seem to be vetoed by another phr. later in our chapter:

K'ue k'ao yi k'i k' en y'ue yü yu hou 57.

This line has troubled the commentators greatly, since k'ao yi here cannot well be made to tally with the k'ao yi discussed above. But Wang Yin-chi has convincingly argued that the word yi 49 should be eliminated (having been erroneously carried over here from the earlier passage). The parallelism with the preceding lines jo k'ao tso shi 58 »If a father makes a house«, and: k'ue fu tsi 59 »(When) the father breaks the ground«, shows that here we should simply have: K'ue k'ao k'i k' en y'ue »Will the father be willing to say, I have a successor...«. — Hence this line is no obstacle to our interpr. G above.

Yü tsao t'ien yi yi etc. see Gl. 1589.

1603. Yi er pang kün.....suei yü y'ue 61.

A. PK'ung: »I shall yi give justice to your princes of states....; and you (should) soothe me saying....«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »yi according to what is right, you princes of states (should) soothe me....«. This comes fairly near to the more precise interpr. of Chu Pin: yi 62 (\*ngia, falling tone) is = 63 (\*ngia, even tone): »It is (right =) proper that you, princes of states... soothe me....«. The two are indeed but two aspects of the same word stem, the one in even tone also wr. 64, see Gl. 768. — C. Kiang Sheng: yi 62 = 64, and the latter acc. to Shuowen means 65 'to measure, to judge' (properly: to decide what is right), thus: »I judge about you, princes of states, that you (should) soothe me...«. This is certainly no improvement. And when Sun Sing-yen says yi 62 = 64 = 66 'good', his paraphrase of the line makes no sense.

1604. We shall study here 8 lines containing the word 67 \*piëd / pji / pi. Outside the Shu this w. occurs only in 2 cases in the Shī, in both meaning shen 68, either 'to be careful' or 'to make careful': Ode 289, phr. 69 »I will (be careful about =) guard against future calamities; Ode 257, phr. 70 »I plan for you, I caution you«.

a. Ta kao here: wu pi yü sü 71.

A. PK'ung: pi 67 = lao 72 (this after Wang Mang, see β below), paraphrasing 73. Sun Sing-yen has understood this as 74 »Do not be (toiled =) distressed by the anxieties«. But K'ung Ying-ta understood: »Do not toil in (these) anxieties«, i. e. do not go yourself to the war, let your lords do the work. And it is possible that after all PK'ung meant it in yet a slightly different way. Since shen 68 (see above and B next) is synon. w. kin 75 'to be careful' and this frequently means 'carefully to attend to, take pains about', PK'ung may have meant his lao 72 as = 'to take pains about, be assiduous about', all the more since in γ below he renders k'in pi by lao shen 76. — B. Shuowen (after Erya): pi 67 = shen 68 'to be careful, to caution', quoting our Shu line. The line has then been variously construed. Kiang Sheng: »Do not be (careful =) cautious (timid) in the anxieties« (but go to work). Liu Feng-lu: wu pi 77 = pi 67 (wu being a »particle«): »Be careful about the anxieties«. Since wu can certainly not be a particle, as many scholars have proposed (see Gl. 759), we should then have to construe an oratorical question: »Should you not be careful about the anxieties?« (PK'ung may, as already stated, simply have meant this by his lao). For the construction cf. Ode 235: wu nien er tsu 78 »Should you not think of your ancestors?«.

β. Ta kao (further on): T'ien pi pi wo ch'eng kung so 79.

Pi 80 and pi 67 were both \*piëd / pji / pi in Ts'ie yün and Shīwen. Yü Sing-wu (2:5) proposes that since certain archaic forms of so and p'i ㄆㄧ are very similar, our so here is a Han-time mistake for p'i. But the meaning: »to achieve the work and

p' i become a counterpart (of Heaven)» is much too strained. Yü would make the same correction in Shao kao and Kün Shī.

A. Here PK'ung curiously defines the first pi 80 as = shen 68 and the 2nd pi 67 as above by lao 72 (K'ung Ying-ta says Erya has 80 = 68, which is wrong; Erya says 67 = 68) and both PK'ung and his contemporary Meng K'ang paraphrase: 81, which is just as obscure as the Shu line. K'ung Ying-ta expounds it: Heaven pi 80 cautions and pi 67 stimulates us to (reach) the place of achieved merits», which is rather nonsensical. In any case Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsé Fang-tsin chuan) already rendered the line: 82, taking pi lao as a synonym-binome; he certainly meant: «In the (place =) situation when Heaven (toils us =) puts the toil on us to achieve the work», which logically connects with both the preceding and the following line. Thus the oldest interpr. here is pi 60 = lao 72 'toil'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: pi 83 = 'to block' and pi 67 = 'difficulty, make difficult', thus: «When Heaven obstructs and makes it difficult for us, it is the place for achieving the work». — C. Tuan Yü-ts'ai: there should not be two pi 83 and 67. They are two variant graphs for the same word \*piēd, and a variant in some gloss has slipped in as a tautology in the text. This is obviously right. The text then runs: t'ien pi wo 84, and this is what Wang Mang enlarged into his binome t'ien pi-lao wo 82, see A. — D. Sü Hao: Kuang ya says pi 67 = 85, and since 85 can mean 'to associate with, to assist', the line means: «Heaven assists us to achieve the work». A very arbitrary speculation.

γ. Ta kao (further on): T'ien yi wei k'in pi wo min jo yu tsi 86.

A. PK'ung again renders k'in pi 87 by lao shen 76, explaining: «Heaven also stimulates and cautions our people, as if they had a sickness» (of which they must be cured). — B. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsé Fang-tsin chuan) renders the line: 88 «Heaven also toils our people, as if they had a sickness», k'in pi, being a synonym-binome. — C. Sü Hao as in β above: «Heaven also works for and helps our people».

δ. Tsiu kao: K'ue kao pi shu pang.... 89.

K'ue 90, archaic 91, is wrong for 92, archaic 93.

PK'ung: «Then he told and cautioned all the (princes of the) states...» Wang Nien-sun says (after Kuangya pi 94 = 95) that pi means 'to order', and Wang Yin-chi (after Kuang yün pi 67 = 96) that it means 'to tell'. Both, however, are merely variations of the sense 'to caution'.

ε. Tsiu kao (further on): Ju kia pi Yin hien ch'en 97.

A. PK'ung (after Erya) kia 98 = 99 'solidly, earnestly, diligently', pi 67 = shen 68: «You should earnestly caution the wise servants of Yin». — B. Hū Shen: kia 98 = 68. Kia being a *hapax legomenon*, Hū Shen defined it by shen 68 simply because in our text it is combined with pi = shen. No reason to abandon Erya's definition.

ζ. Tsiu kao (further on): Ju tien t'ing chen pi 100.

«You should constantly listen to my admonitions».

η. Shao kao: Pi si yü shang hia 1.

«He shall carefully sacrifice to the upper and lower (Spirits)». Same phr. pi si in Lo kao.

若考作宣<sup>59</sup>厥父舊<sup>60</sup>厥考其肯曰<sup>61</sup>美爾邦君...經予曰<sup>62</sup>美<sup>63</sup>宜<sup>64</sup>僕<sup>65</sup>度<sup>66</sup>善<sup>67</sup>。  
 茲<sup>68</sup>懷<sup>69</sup>而茲後患<sup>70</sup>為謀為安<sup>71</sup>無茲于恤<sup>72</sup>勞<sup>73</sup>無勞于憂<sup>74</sup>困于恤<sup>75</sup>謹<sup>76</sup>勞<sup>77</sup>無茲<sup>78</sup>無念爾祖<sup>79</sup>天罔忘我成功<sup>80</sup>所<sup>81</sup>天慎勞我周家成功所在<sup>82</sup>天茲勞<sup>83</sup>我成功所<sup>84</sup>天茲我<sup>85</sup>比<sup>86</sup>天亦惟勤勞我民若有疾<sup>87</sup>勤茲<sup>88</sup>天亦惟勞我民<sup>89</sup>。  
 厥諮<sup>90</sup>厥邦<sup>91</sup>厥<sup>92</sup>乃<sup>93</sup>必<sup>94</sup>教<sup>95</sup>告<sup>96</sup>汝<sup>97</sup>勤勞<sup>98</sup>賢臣<sup>99</sup>勤<sup>100</sup>汝<sup>101</sup>國<sup>102</sup>汝<sup>103</sup>典聽<sup>104</sup>。

θ. Lo kao: P'ing lai pi Yin 2.

A. PK'ung: »One has sent me to (caution =) admonish the (people of) Yin«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Your messenger has come to admonish the (people of) Yin.« — C. Sun Sing-yen here says pi 67 = 72, but in the sense of 'to recognize the toil of' = 'to encourage': »One has sent me to encourage the people of Yin«. — D. Sū Hao: »...to help the people of Yin«. — E. Chang Ping-lin: yin is the name of a sacrifice: »...carefully to make yin sacrifice«. — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

In every one of these 8 cases some attempt has been made to carry through the meaning shen 68 'to be careful' or 'to caution', and the question is whether the meaning lao 76 'to toil', earliest proposed by Wang Mang, is right in some of them (the char. 67 thus serving for two different words, not for one only). The meaning shen 68 seems certain in cases δ, ε, ζ, η, θ. But, on the other hand, the meaning lao 'to toil' is almost inevitable in γ (the interpr. A there is very forced and C quite arbitrary). And if this meaning thus is attested to have existed, it makes certainly the best sense in α and β as well. \*Pǐd = 'to toil' might be cognate to 3 \*b'iad 'to wear out, worn out'?

1605. Pu kan t'i shang ti ming 4.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »I dare not discard the command of God on High«. — B. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) writes: pu kan tsien Shang ti ming 5, and Yen Shī-ku explains this tsien as = 6 'not to believe'. It properly means 'to err' (common), here causative: 'to consider as faulty' i. e. to find fault with: »I dare not find fault with the command of God on High«. Evidently the Kin-wen had 7, as short-form for 8, and this 7 was easily confused with the similar t'i 9. — Since in the end of the chapter we have t'ien ming pu tsien 10 »Heaven's command is not faulty«, also in the Ku-wen version, B is obviously preferable here, besides being the oldest attested (through Wang Mang).

1606. T'ien ming wei 11.

A. PK'ung: »Heaven's enlightenment (virtue) is to be feared«. This being too stupid, Ts'ai Ch'en would improve it: »Heaven's bright (command) is to be feared«. — B. The Kin-wen version, ap. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan), reads 12, the two wei being closely cognate and often practically interchangeable. Thus: »Heaven is bright and majestic«.

1607. Pi wo p'ei p'ei ki 13.

A. PK'ung: »It (Heaven) (helps =) supports our very great foundation«. — B. In an analogous line in Shu: Li cheng 14 »They together received this great foundation«, the Kin-wen version (ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D.) reads 15. And since Wang Mang in our line above paraphrases: 16 fu [Han] shī er ta ta yi »It helps (Han's) beginning and makes it very great«, Tuan Yü-ts'ai concludes that the Kin-wen version here as well read 15; and this 17, corresponding to Wang's 18, should be read ki, being the final particle. Thus: 13 »It has helped us to be very great«; and 14 »Together they received this greatness«. But this is not plausible, for Wang Mang obviously rendered ki 19 'foundation' by his shī 20 'beginning', which shows that he really understood the word as = 'foundation', not as a particle. And the form 17 in the stone classics is simply a short-form for 19. But Wang's paraphrase shows that he took the line slightly differently from PK'ung: »It helps us, and makes very great (our) foundation«. The par. in Li cheng shows, however, that PK'ung construes the clause correctly.

1608. Er wei kiu jen, er p'ei k'o yüan sing, er chī ning wang jo k'in tsai 21.

A. PK'ung: »You are veterans, you grandly can far discern, you know how the serene (dead) king toiled like this«. — B. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases so as to show that he understood wei 22 as = 'to think' and read pu 23 inst. of



p'ei 24 (the graph 23 originally served for both words). Thus: »You should think of the verterans; you cannot far discern; (how can) you know how the serene king toiled like this?» In order to make sense of the two first lines according to this reading of p u 23, Wang has had to add a k' i in the last er k' i ch i 25 »how can you know», for the er ch i 26 of the Shu text. This condemns his interpr.

T'ien pi pi etc. see Gl. 1604 above.

1609. T'ien fei ch'en ts'i k' i k' a o w o m i n 27.

A. PK'ung: »Heaven helps (us who have) sincere words, it will (achieve =) perfect our people». Fei 28 = 29 'to help' and k' a o 30 = 31 'to achieve' are both from Erya. The latter is well attested (see Gl. 160). The former (\*p'wər / p'wəi / f e i) recurs several times in the Shu. Meaning 'a support' in the concrete sense of a lath tied to a bow to keep it from warping, we have it in Sün: Sing ngo wr. 32 and in Kuan: K'ing chung, hia, wr. 33. PK'ung's interpr. was already given by K'ung Kuang (end of 1st c. B. C., in Han shu K'ung Kuang chuan), who paraphrases: 34 »Those who have sincere principles, Heaven helps them». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Heaven helps me by sincere words (sc. of the 10 volunteering advisers), I can (examine =) verify it on the people» (sc. by their assent). Couvreur turns it differently: »The sincere (words =) promises of Heaven's help, I can (verify them =) reliably find them with the people». — C. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: 35. The first half agrees with A, the second: t'ien k' i lei w o y i m i n is explained by Yen Shī-ku as: »Heaven entrusts the people to me». But the k' a o 30 of the Shu text can have no such sense, and Kiang Sheng explains this k' a o 30 as = 36 'a blemish, a fault' (as in Huai: Shuo lin 37 »If a white p i jade has a flaw»), so that the line would be equal to 38, whatever that may mean. Sun Sing-yen, without sufficient proof, says k' a o 30 is equal to l a o 39: »Heaven toils me by the people». — D. Chu Hi: fei 28 is loan char. for fei 40 'not': »Heaven does not (sincerely =) truly speak, one can verify it (sc. its will) by our people». That fei 28 can sometimes serve for fei 40 or 41 'not' is indubitable. Lü hing 42 is rendered in Mo: Shang hien 43. — E. Yü Yü: The line should be punctuated after ch'en: 44, as shown by several Shu ex. of this phrase fei ch'en ending a line. We already have this later in our chapter: yüe t'ien fei ch'en 45, also in K'ang kao and Kün Shī, see below. Sun Yi-jang confirms this further. In Han Shu: K'ung Kuang chuan there is the variant 46. And in Ode 255 we find 47 (var. ap. Shuowen 48) »Its (Heaven's) charge cannot be relied on», which is obviously the same expression. This was already realized in middle Han time, for Shu: Kün Shī 49 »Heaven is difficult to rely on» (Ode 236 has likewise 50) is quoted as 51 in a document from Wang Mang's time (Han shu: Wang Mang chuan). Then ts' i 52 has to be carried to the following line. Shuowen gives for this 52 (\*dzjag / zi / s i, ts' i) the variant 53 (cf. the variant 54, already

朕忘 1. 忘記于上下 2 倖來災殷 3 敝 4. 不敢替上帝命 5 不敢僭上帝命 6 不信 7 替  
8 僭 9 替 10 天命不僭 11 天明畏 12 天明威 13 罔我不丕基 14 竝受此丕丕基 15 丕丕其  
16 輔漢始而大大矣 17 其 18 矣 19 基 20 始 21 爾惟舊 人爾丕克遠省爾知寧王若勤哉 22  
惟 23 不 24 丕 25 爾豈知 26 爾知 27 天棗沈辭其考我民 28 棗 29 輔 30 考 31 成 32 排 33 棗 34  
有誠道天輔之 35 天輔誠辭天其果我以民 36 疵 37 白璧有考 38 天其疵棄我以民 39 勞  
40 匪 41 非 42 明明業常 43 明明不常 44 天棗忱 45 越天棗忱 46 天棗謚 47 其命棗謚 48 匪  
忱 49 天難謚 50 天難忱 51 天應棗謚 52 辭 53 詞 54 詞 55 司 56 嗣 57 嗣 58 天畏棗忱 59 天威

cropping up in Han-fei); this 53 is frequent in Chou inscr. equal to 55 but should here be a loan char. for 56 (\*dzjæg / zi / s i, t s ' i) 'to succeed to, to continue'; it is important that in the famous Mao Kung Ting inscr. we have the word 56 'to succeed to' wr. 57. There can hardly be any doubt that Yü is right: 52 means 57, i. e. 56. Yü would take it as a verb: »succeeding (to the throne) I shall...», but Sun Yi-jang better as an adverb: 'succeedingly' = 'thereafter'. Thus: »Since Heaven is not to be relied on (sc. the mandate being uncertain), I shall thereafter perfect my people» (sc. so as to ensure its loyalty). This meaning of k' a o = 'to perfect' balances the preceding h u a y u 'to transform and guide' said of the princes. We compare:

Shu: K'ang kao: T'ien wei fei ch'en 58.

A. Feng su t'ung yi k. 5 reproduces an earlier document which quotes 59 and explains it as = 60, thus: »Heaven's majesty helps the sincere» (agreeing with A in our earlier line). — B. The parallels adduced in E above are conclusive here as well. Thus: »Heaven's majesty is not to be relied on». — Likewise in Shu: Kün Shī the phr. 61, which PK'ung expl.: »In accordance with Heaven's helping the sincere ones», and Ts'ai Ch'en: »If Heaven helps (us who are) sincere», in fact means: »Heaven is not to be relied upon» (j o a mere particle, see Gl. 1207).

1610. There are two lines that are analogous and should be studied together:

α. Yü h o k' i p u yü ts'ien ning jen t' u kung yu chung 62;

β. Yü h o k a n p u yü ts'ien ming jen yu shou hui pi 63.

In line β, Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases the last word p i by 64 'to help', which shows that the Kin-wen text inst. of 65 \*piēt had 66 \*b'iet. Yü Sing-wu would take p i 65 to be a corruption of y i 67, but then the line cannot be satisfactorily construed.

A. PK'ung construes: α. »How could I not in the former pacifying man's (principles) t' u plan for kung yu chung the work achieved». An impossible construction. — β. »How dare I not in (regard to) the former pacifying man's received mandate (finish =) achieve it». — B. Yen Shī-ku paraphrases: α. 68 »How could I dare not to plan for achieving the ancestors' pacifying work»; this does not follow the text at all, but inverts the words violently and skips the y u 69. β. 70 »How could I dare not to follow the ancestors' will and comfort and succour them», which misconstrues still more than in α. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en has a curious idea that n i n g j e n means »the pacifying men» — the ministers who aided Wen Wang: α. »How could I not, together with the earlier pacifying men(!), plan the work which (should) be achieved»; β. »How dare I not, together with the earlier pacifying men, y u shou hui the received favour p i (finish =) achieve». — D. Another interpr. We have already seen (Gl. 1600), through various parallels, that n i n g j e n t' u kung 71 must mean »the serene (dead) men's planned works». It is then quite excluded that the negation p u should be so far separated from its verb as proposed in the various paraphrases above (and other similar ones). Two lines earlier we had p u k a n p u k i t s u n i n g w a n g t' u s h i 72 »I dare not but go to the end with and finish the serene king's planned affairs», which is a close parallel, and here the 2nd p u is followed by the principal verb: p u k a n p u k i - t s u »I dare not not-to finish». In precisely the same way our p u 73 here should be followed by the verb: β. h o k a n p u yü 74, and α: h o k' i p u yü 75. Consequently yü 76 is the principal verb. Yü 76 is well known meaning 77 'large, vast', e. g. Li: T'an Kung 78 »As to the small (rites) they have been small, as to the great ones, they have been great». Yü 76 was still used colloquially = 'great' in middle Han time (Fang yen). The word \*giwo / jiu / yü is also sometimes wr. 79 (Erya 79 = 77), ex. in Sün: Fei shī er tsī, and it is closely cognate to an important word stem \*xiwo / xiu / h ü wr. 80 etc. (see Gl. 499). Thus: α. »How should I not enlarge what was achieved of the former serene men's (i. e. dead

kings') planned works?»;  $\beta$ . »How could I dare not to enlarge the favour and help given by the former serene men». The context here decidedly favours the Kin-wen reading pi 66 — it is a question of succouring distressed and suffering people.

T'ien yi wei yung k'in pi wo min see Gl. 1604.

1611. Jo si ch'en k'i shī 87.

A. PK'ung: »As in ancient times, I will go» (to the war). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »The other day when I was on the point of going» (observe the modal value of k'i). Jo, in fact, is merely an initial particle, see Gl. 1207, and we have it in the same way before a time adverb in Shu: Shao kao: 82 »The next day, yi-ma», followed immediately by 83 with the particle yüe. — C. Sun Sing-yen: jo si 84 = 85 »as to last night». — D. Chang Ping-lin: jo si 84 = 86: »This night I will go». — B is best supported by Shu parallels.

K'ue k'ao yi k'i k'en see Gl. 1602.

1612. Si yü ho kan pu yüe ang... 87 (followed by: mi ning wang ta ming 88 »achieve the serene dead king's great mandate», see Gl. 1600). PK'ung paraphrases: 89 »Then how could I dare not, on this day, to...»; that yüe ang 90 should mean 'on this day' is, of course, excluded. — B. The T'ang comm. mentions a Mr. Ku 91 who considers ang 92 as = 93, yüe ang thus being a compound particle. But for this there is no foundation. — C. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: 94 »How could I dare not, in my person, to...» etc. Yüe 95 as a particle is interchangeable with yüe 96, and the latter is defined as = 97 in Erya. But there are no safe text ex. in which yüe 96 means 97 as a preposition. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en therefore paraphrases: »How could I dare not, 98 taking advantage of my person's subsisting, to...» In yüe ang, in fact, yüe is the common verb 'to pass over'; properly: »How could I dare, not, when it has passed on to me, to (achieve etc.)». D alone is grammatically satisfactory.

1612a. Jo hiung k'ao nai yu yu fa k'ue tsī, min yang k'i k'üan fu kiu 99.

A. PK'ung paraphrases hiung k'ao by 100. He does not explain min yang, but K'ung Ying-ta expounds thus: »If (a family of) elder (and younger) brothers and father (and son) have a friend (or: friends) who attacks the son, then the people all nourish their (feelings of) encouragement (to the attack) and give no succour» — this, PK'ung explains, being a case in which the son is so bad that the family go against him (such as the rebellions princes). An obviously impossible interpr. — B. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) renders hiung k'ao 1 by tsu tsung 2 'the clan', thus making it equal to the common phr. fu hiung 3 »(fathers =) uncles and elder brothers», i. e. senior men of the family. Hiung k'ao would then be an

樂謙 60 天德輔誠 61 若天樂忱 62 于昌其不于前寧人圖功攸終 63 于昌敢不于前寧人  
攸受休畢 64 輔 65 畢 66 弼 67 異 68 我昌敢不謀終祖宗安人之功 69 攸 70 我昌敢不順祖  
宗之意休息而輔助之 71 寧人圖功 72 不敢不極卒寧王圖事 73 不 74 昌敢不于 75 昌其  
不于 76 于 77 大 78 易則 79 易于則于 79 字 80 訖 81 若昔朕其遊 82 若翼日 乙卯 83 越翼日 戊  
午 84 若昔 85 如前夕 86 此夕 87 肆于昌敢不越印... 88 教寧王 大命 89 故我何敢不於今  
日 90 越印 91 願 92 印 93 惟 94 于宮敢不於我身... 95 越 96 曾 97 于 98 及我身之存 99 若兄  
考乃有友伐厥子民養其勸弗教 100 兄弟父子之家 1 兄考 2 祖宗 3 父兄 4 民養 5 民

inversion of a k'ao hiung = fu hiung. Wang Mang renders min yang 4 by 5 »leaders of the people«. Possibly this was a phonetic deduction (6 \*ziang = 7 \*tiang), if so, not plausible. But min yang »the people's feeders«, is evidently an analogy to the well-known binome jen mu 8 »the people's shepherds«, meaning the feudal lords (Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang, etc., very common). (Su Shi believes yang has the same meaning of »servant« as in Kung yang: Süan 12, thus min yang = »the people and the [servants =] officials«, which is decidedly less plausible). Further, Wang Mang paraphrases: 9 »If of the men of the clan there is someone who imitating (T'ang and Wu) attacks the son«. This shows that Wang's text (Kin-wen) had not yu yu 10 »has a friend (or: friends)« but something else. Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes his text instead of yu 11 'friend' has the similar char. yao 12, which would have been taken as short-form for hiao 13 (as in Yi: Hi ts'i 14). This is likely, but if so this version with yao 12 deserves no credit, the construction of the line becoming exceedingly forced. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en, likewise says that hiung k'ao 1 is equal to fu hiung 3, but he says this means Wu wang: since he believes that the chapter is spoken by Chou Kung on behalf of Ch'eng Wang (which is quite unsupported by the Ta kao text), his idea is: »(If my) hiung elder brother, k'ao (the king's) father has a friend who attacks his tsi children (i. e. the people)«. — D. Kiang Sheng: hiung k'ao 1 refers to the rebellious Kuan Shu who was Chou Kung's elder brother and a k'ao = fu »(father =) uncle« of Ch'eng Wang. Kiang likewise takes Chou Kung to be the speaker. Thus: »If (my) brother (the king's) (father =) uncle has a friend who attacks the son« — the »friend« being Wu Keng Lu-fu, the prince of Yin. Chang Ping-lin would improve this by taking yu 15 as equal to 16 = 17: »If the brother-father 18 assists a friend to attack«. — E. Yü Sing-wu objects to B (hiung k'ao 1 = fu hiung 3) that hiung k'ao 1 is an inadmissible inversion. The corresponding expression in inscriptions and texts is always fu hiung 3, never hiung fu 19. He therefore proposes that hiung 20 (\**hiwǎng*) is a loan char. for huang 21 (\**g'wǎng*), thus: »If the august father has a friend who attacks the son«. Phonetically not very convincing; and the inversion is, after all, not so very strange, the nearest kin (brothers) being mentioned before those further away (uncles). He further proposes that k'üan 22 should be kuan 23 — in the Chou inscriptions we regularly find 24 (without radical) for 23, and so it has undoubtedly been here; and this 23 has been erroneously filled out into 22 by the Han scholars. This is strikingly plausible. — F. Tuan Yü-ts'ai tries to evade the difficulty of hiung k'ao by taking k'ao as a verb. He still believes Chou Kung to be the speaker: »If hiung my elder brother (Wu Wang) k'ao has achieved (the work of his ancestors), and then there is a yu friend (allied prince, sc. Wu Keng of Yin) who attacks his son, should the princes then encourage each other not to succour?« It is, of course, unreasonable to take k'ao as a verb, when the preceding line, just as the present, has the contrast between k'ao father and tsi son. K'ao must be a term of kinship here. — G. Ch'en K'iao-tsung: Wang Mang's paraphrase shows that the Kin-wen had not yu »friend« but another word (cf. B above), and the yu »friend« of the Ku-wen in the sense of an ally is really quite foolish. He proposes that the orig. text had kiao 25, which could easily be corrupted both into 12 and into 11. This is obviously right, since we thus obtain the natural and attested binome kiao fa 26. Cf. Kuliang: Chao 12, phr. 27 »With the barbarians he jointly attacked the central states«. We thus obtain: »If among the (elder brothers and uncles =) senior men of the family there are such who jointly attack his son, should the feeders of the people (i. e. the princes) look on and not succour him?« It should be observed that the corruption of kiao 25 into yu 11 cannot have taken place early, for neither in the Chou script, not in the small seal are the two similar. It is only in the Han-time li-shu that they approach each other.

## 1613. Sī tsai 28.

A. PK'ung: sī 29 = 30 'therefore' (common). Here this is inadmissible because of the following tsai. — B. Yen Shī-ku (after Shuowen's 29 = 31) says: sī 29 = 32 'to display', expounding it: »Display (your forces)!« — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: Erya: Shī ku says sī 29 = 33, thus: »Be forceful!«. No safe text par. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en: sī 29 = 34 'to let loose'. He conceives the phr. as an exhortation: »Relax!« (do not be anxious). — E. Liu Feng-lu: sī 29 has here the meaning of 35 'to let loose' = 'to be unrestrained, lax, licentious', cf. Tso: Chao 12 phr. 36 »Mu wang wanted to sī give free reins to his (heart =) desires«. Thus: »You are lax«. Since the context shows that the king reproaches the princes who are loth to go to war, E seems best.

## 1614. Shuang pang yu chē 36.

A. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) paraphrases: 37 »Exert yourselves to help the state and to (walk in =) follow the wisdom«. Kiang Sheng therefore tries to show that shuang 38 could mean 'to help', and Sun Sing-yen, on the other hand, that it could mean 'to strive, to exert oneself'. The former lacks every support. For the latter Sun adduces Fang yen (W. Han colloquial) and Kuang ya shuang 38 = 39 'wild, violent'. In the two Tso ex. (Chao 3, phr. 40, and Chao 7, phr. 41) in which Wang Nien-sun would find confirmation for a meaning 'energetic, active, forceful', Tu Yü had already better taken shuang 38 in its ordinary sense of 'bright'. Thus there is really no safe pre-Han support for Wang Mang's paraphrase, either in Kiang's or Sun's interpr. — B. PK'ung: shuang 38 = 42 'bright', and shuang pang means »clearly to understand the states« (affairs). Ts'ai Ch'en better: shuang pang = »to (make bright =) to enlighten the state«. The line would then best be taken together with the following: yi wei shī jen: »Enlightening the state and following the (path of) wisdom, there are the ten men«. — C. Chang Ping-lin: 38 \*śiang / śiang / shuang is a loan char. for 43 which, though properly read \*xiang / xiang / hia ng (Ts'ie yün, Shīwen) also has a reading \*śiang / śiang / shang (Ts'ie yün), and means 'recently, formerly'. Thus: »Formerly the state employed wise men«. Little convincing and not applicable in the examples below. — D. Yü Sing-wu would take shuang as a corruption of a char. 44 in bronze inscr., which is unexplained and which he surmises is a »particle«. All mere guesses. — E. Another interpr. The line is a reproach to the leaders who hesitated to follow the king to the war. Now shuang 38 in the Shu means 'bright' in the phr. mei shuang 45 'the early (brightening =) dawn' (Mu shī), but it just as unambiguously means 'to err, to be at fault, aberrant, faulty' in Shu: P'an Keng: yu shuang tē 46 »If you have an aberrant virtue« (same expression in Kyü: Chou yü), see Gl. 1461, and in Shu: Lo kao 47 »The performances (of the sacrifices) will be faulty and disgraced« (see Gl. 1765). This meaning is really the most frequent one in early texts. We have it e. g. in Yi Chou shu: Ch'eng k'ai and Shī fa (bis), Kyü: Chou yü hia (bis), Lie: Huang-ti, Tso: Chao 15. This is the meaning here: »If the faulty states would follow the wise men, (there are then ten men who obey and understand the commands of God on High)«. — We compare:

長6 義14 長8 人牧9 若祖宗迺有效湯武伐厥子10 有友11 友12 交13 效14 交也者效  
天下之勳者15 有16 又17 右18 又友19 兄父20 兄21 皇22 勸23 觀24 董25 交26 交代27 與  
君狄交代中國28 肆哉29 肆30 故31 極陳32 陳33 力34 放35 悉36 夷邦由哲37 克助國道  
明38 奕39 猛40 競奕41 精奕42 明43 鼎44 銓45 昧奕46 有奕德47 惟事其奕侮48 奕惟天

Shu: K'ang kao: Shuang wei t'ien k'i fa ki wo, wo k'i pu yüan 48.

A. PK'ung: »I shuang brightly wei think that if Heaven punishes me, I shall not resent it«. »I brightly think« is rather nonsensical. — B. Kiang Sheng: »If there is any fault, Heaven will punish me, and I shall not resent it«. — C. Sun Sing-yen: »I shall shuang wei strive to think that if Heaven punishes me . . .«. — Here B is undoubtedly right, since the phrase is quite analogous to P'an Keng: 49 »If you have (an aberrant virtue =) a faulty virtue, from above they will punish you« (see Gl. 1461).

Shu: K'ang kao: Shuang wei min ti ki k'ang 50.

A. PK'ung punctuates after ti: »I shall shuang wei brightly think of min ti the people's guidance, and ki k'ang happily give it peace«. — B. Cheng Huan punctuates after min, and Ts'ai Ch'en interprets: »I shall brightly think of the people, and guide it to happiness and peace«. — C. Kiang Sheng follows Cheng's dividing of the line but explains: »The faulty one is the people, it should be guided to happiness and peace«. It seems better, however, to observe the emphatic placing of shuang in exactly the same construction as in the preceding ex.: »(In case of fault =) when it is at fault the people should be guided to happiness and peace«. — D. Sun Sing-yen: »You should shuang energetically wei think of guiding the people to what is good, and give it peace«. — Since there are only a few lines between this phrase and the preceding one where the meaning of shuang = 'fault' is well confirmed, C should be preferred here as well. — These two K'ang kao examples thus confirm our interpr. E in our Ta kao line 36 above.

Yüe t'ien fei ch'en see Gl. 1609.

1615. Er shi wang kan yi fa 51.

A. This is PK'ung's version, and he explains: »You because of that dare not change (Heaven's) laws«, which makes poor sense here. Ts'ai Ch'en believes that the line refers to the time of king Wu: »You at that time dared not (change =) disobey (the king's) ordinances«. — B. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsé Fang-tsin chuan) renders the line: er pu tê yi ting 52 and since Shuowen under fa 53 says that the Ku-wen script form was 54 and the seal form of ting 55 was 56, some Ts'ing scholars have concluded that PK'ung's fa 53 is a mistake for ting 56. Now it is true that the Chou inscriptions have no graph for fa like the 54 recorded by Hü Shen; but evidently in middle Han time a graph 54 was known and considered as a variant for fa 93. And with Wang Mang's reading of ting inst. of fa, the meaning becomes much better: »Do not dare now to change what has been determined«.

1616. Shen kin t'ien kiang li yü Chou pang 57.

A. PK'ung: »Moreover, when Heaven now sends down guilt on the state of Chou« (sc. the sedition). Cf. Ode 256, phr. 58 »That is an offense; Tso: Wen 4: »How dare I accept this great gift, 59 and myself draw upon me guilt«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en defines li 61 by 60 'calamity': no text par. — C. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsé Fang-tsin chuan) defines li 61 as = 55: »How much the more now when Heaven has sent down a settlement in the Chou state« (determined the royal mandate). Cf. K'ang kao: 62 »They have not yet settled their minds; Ode 256, phr. 63 »When the people is not yet settled«. — Both meanings A and C of li are well attested; but the verb kiang 'to send down' is quite regularly used for such terms as to send down disaster, suffering, guilt, punishment, whereas kiang li = 'to send down settlement' is far-fetched. Cf. for instance Ode 265, phr. 64 »Heaven sends down crime and guilt«.

1617. Tan lin sü fa yü küe shi 65.

A. PK'ung: »Those greatly near-standing attack within the house«, thus taking lin 'neighbour' in the sense of near relative. — B. Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsé Fang-tsin

(chuan) paraphrases: 66 »The great rebels wish to attack within the house». Apart from y ü 'to wish', which has no correspondence in the Shu line, he renders t a n l i n 67 by 68 'the great opponents, rebels'. Sun Sing-yen thinks that since Shuowen has a word l i n 69 defined as = 70, t a n l i n, equal to this 69, would mean »the great makers of difficulties», i. e. rebels. But Shuowen's definition h i n g n a n does not mean 'to make difficulties' but 'difficulty in walking' (to walk with difficulty). In fact, Wang's phr. is but a free paraphrase of C next. — C. Another interpr. T a n 71 'great' can mean 'too great, extravagant, overbearing, disorderly'. Shu: Wu yi 72 »And finally they become (extravagant =) disorderly»; Tso: Chao 1, phr. 73 »For the moment you should be anxious about that Ts'i Si will rebel and be (extravagant =) disorderly». It seems quite obvious that our Shu line 65 here is quite analogous: (**Extravagant =) disorderly neighbours** (i. e. the rebelling princes) **attack us within the house**. Observe that s ü 74 = 75 need not mean »attack each other» but can and does mean »attack us», s ü simply denoting a relation between two parties (as in Mand. w o h o t 'a s i a n g h a o 76).

T'ien ming pu yi see Gl. 763.

**1618.** Yü ho k'i ki pu, kan fu yü ts'ung 77.

A. PK'ung: «How should I (first) explore to the utmost the oracle, and then dare not to follow it?» This interpr. was in fact already indicated by Wang Mang in his paraphrase (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan); y ü 78 of course is the verb 'to go': y ü t s ' u n g 'to go and follow' is analogous to y ü f a 79 'to go and attack' a few lines earlier. —

**B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Why do I entirely follow the oracle and how dare I not follow (you =) your counsels?» — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »Why did I explore to the utmost the oracle? (Only in order to pacify you and now, that I have divined), how dare I not follow it?» (Sun Sing-yen: »... how dare I not march» sc. to the war). — No reason whatever to abandon the oldest interpr. (A).

1619. Shuai ning jen yu chī kiang t'u 80.

**A.** PK'ung: *chī 81* = *82* 'to point out the meaning, to direct': »I follow the tranquillizing man's (sc. king Wen's) directions about (pacifying) the land«. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: *chī* = *83*: »I follow the tranquillizing man, and there should be a *chī* fixation of the boundaries and lands«. — **C.** Wang Mang (Han shu: Tsê Fang-tsin chuan) has the version *84*. Yen Shī-ku then expounds: »*shu ai* following (the deeds of the ancestors) we should *ning jen* tranquillize people and *chī kiang t'u* make fine the territories«. Since this takes *chī 85* alone as a transitive verb (to make fine) and skips the *yu 86*, Kiang Sheng improves: *yu chī kiang t'u* = »have fine benefit in the territories«. — **D.** Wang Su likewise had a text with *chī 85* and not *81*, and he interprets: »I follow (Wen Wang's) tranquillizing the people, and *yu chī* have a desire for (all) the territories« (wanting them to be properly disposed). Tuan Yü-ts'ai thinks that even PK'ung (A above) had *85* and not *81* (the latter then being an alteration made by Wei Pao in T'ang time) and that he meant: »I follow the tranquillizing man's desire about (pacifying) the land«. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin would read *yu 86* as *87*;

其罰殛我我其不怨<sup>49</sup>有夷德自上其罰汝<sup>50</sup>夷惟民迪吉康<sup>51</sup>爾時罔敢易法<sup>52</sup>爾不  
得易定<sup>53</sup>法<sup>54</sup>定<sup>55</sup>定<sup>56</sup>罔<sup>57</sup>矧今天降戾于周邦<sup>58</sup>亦惟斯戾<sup>59</sup>以自取戾<sup>60</sup>禍<sup>61</sup>戾<sup>62</sup>  
未戾厥心<sup>63</sup>民之未戾<sup>64</sup>天降罪罟<sup>65</sup>誕鄰胥伐于厥室<sup>66</sup>大逆欲相伐于厥室<sup>67</sup>誕  
鄰<sup>68</sup>大逆<sup>69</sup>遘<sup>70</sup>行難<sup>71</sup>誕<sup>72</sup>既誕<sup>73</sup>子姑憂子替之欲背誕<sup>74</sup>胥<sup>75</sup>相<sup>76</sup>相好<sup>77</sup>于昌  
其極卜敢弗于從<sup>78</sup>于<sup>79</sup>于<sup>80</sup>于代<sup>81</sup>率寧人有指疆土<sup>82</sup>指<sup>83</sup>指<sup>84</sup>指<sup>85</sup>指<sup>86</sup>指<sup>87</sup>指<sup>88</sup>指<sup>89</sup>指<sup>90</sup>指<sup>91</sup>指<sup>92</sup>指<sup>93</sup>指<sup>94</sup>指<sup>95</sup>指<sup>96</sup>指<sup>97</sup>指<sup>98</sup>指<sup>99</sup>指<sup>100</sup>指<sup>101</sup>指<sup>102</sup>指<sup>103</sup>指<sup>104</sup>指<sup>105</sup>指<sup>106</sup>指<sup>107</sup>指<sup>108</sup>指<sup>109</sup>指<sup>110</sup>指<sup>111</sup>指<sup>112</sup>指<sup>113</sup>指<sup>114</sup>指<sup>115</sup>指<sup>116</sup>指<sup>117</sup>指<sup>118</sup>指<sup>119</sup>指<sup>120</sup>指<sup>121</sup>指<sup>122</sup>指<sup>123</sup>指<sup>124</sup>指<sup>125</sup>指<sup>126</sup>指<sup>127</sup>指<sup>128</sup>指<sup>129</sup>指<sup>130</sup>指<sup>131</sup>指<sup>132</sup>指<sup>133</sup>指<sup>134</sup>指<sup>135</sup>指<sup>136</sup>指<sup>137</sup>指<sup>138</sup>指<sup>139</sup>指<sup>140</sup>指<sup>141</sup>指<sup>142</sup>指<sup>143</sup>指<sup>144</sup>指<sup>145</sup>指<sup>146</sup>指<sup>147</sup>指<sup>148</sup>指<sup>149</sup>指<sup>150</sup>指<sup>151</sup>指<sup>152</sup>指<sup>153</sup>指<sup>154</sup>指<sup>155</sup>指<sup>156</sup>指<sup>157</sup>指<sup>158</sup>指<sup>159</sup>指<sup>160</sup>指<sup>161</sup>指<sup>162</sup>指<sup>163</sup>指<sup>164</sup>指<sup>165</sup>指<sup>166</sup>指<sup>167</sup>指<sup>168</sup>指<sup>169</sup>指<sup>170</sup>指<sup>171</sup>指<sup>172</sup>指<sup>173</sup>指<sup>174</sup>指<sup>175</sup>指<sup>176</sup>指<sup>177</sup>指<sup>178</sup>指<sup>179</sup>指<sup>180</sup>指<sup>181</sup>指<sup>182</sup>指<sup>183</sup>指<sup>184</sup>指<sup>185</sup>指<sup>186</sup>指<sup>187</sup>指<sup>188</sup>指<sup>189</sup>指<sup>190</sup>指<sup>191</sup>指<sup>192</sup>指<sup>193</sup>指<sup>194</sup>指<sup>195</sup>指<sup>196</sup>指<sup>197</sup>指<sup>198</sup>指<sup>199</sup>指<sup>200</sup>指<sup>201</sup>指<sup>202</sup>指<sup>203</sup>指<sup>204</sup>指<sup>205</sup>指<sup>206</sup>指<sup>207</sup>指<sup>208</sup>指<sup>209</sup>指<sup>210</sup>指<sup>211</sup>指<sup>212</sup>指<sup>213</sup>指<sup>214</sup>指<sup>215</sup>指<sup>216</sup>指<sup>217</sup>指<sup>218</sup>指<sup>219</sup>指<sup>220</sup>指<sup>221</sup>指<sup>222</sup>指<sup>223</sup>指<sup>224</sup>指<sup>225</sup>指<sup>226</sup>指<sup>227</sup>指<sup>228</sup>指<sup>229</sup>指<sup>230</sup>指<sup>231</sup>指<sup>232</sup>指<sup>233</sup>指<sup>234</sup>指<sup>235</sup>指<sup>236</sup>指<sup>237</sup>指<sup>238</sup>指<sup>239</sup>指<sup>240</sup>指<sup>241</sup>指<sup>242</sup>指<sup>243</sup>指<sup>244</sup>指<sup>245</sup>指<sup>246</sup>指<sup>247</sup>指<sup>248</sup>指<sup>249</sup>指<sup>250</sup>指<sup>251</sup>指<sup>252</sup>指<sup>253</sup>指<sup>254</sup>指<sup>255</sup>指<sup>256</sup>指<sup>257</sup>指<sup>258</sup>指<sup>259</sup>指<sup>260</sup>指<sup>261</sup>指<sup>262</sup>指<sup>263</sup>指<sup>264</sup>指<sup>265</sup>指<sup>266</sup>指<sup>267</sup>指<sup>268</sup>指<sup>269</sup>指<sup>270</sup>指<sup>271</sup>指<sup>272</sup>指<sup>273</sup>指<sup>274</sup>指<sup>275</sup>指<sup>276</sup>指<sup>277</sup>指<sup>278</sup>指<sup>279</sup>指<sup>280</sup>指<sup>281</sup>指<sup>282</sup>指<sup>283</sup>指<sup>284</sup>指<sup>285</sup>指<sup>286</sup>指<sup>287</sup>指<sup>288</sup>指<sup>289</sup>指<sup>290</sup>指<sup>291</sup>指<sup>292</sup>指<sup>293</sup>指<sup>294</sup>指<sup>295</sup>指<sup>296</sup>指<sup>297</sup>指<sup>298</sup>指<sup>299</sup>指<sup>300</sup>指<sup>301</sup>指<sup>302</sup>指<sup>303</sup>指<sup>304</sup>指<sup>305</sup>指<sup>306</sup>指<sup>307</sup>指<sup>308</sup>指<sup>309</sup>指<sup>310</sup>指<sup>311</sup>指<sup>312</sup>指<sup>313</sup>指<sup>314</sup>指<sup>315</sup>指<sup>316</sup>指<sup>317</sup>指<sup>318</sup>指<sup>319</sup>指<sup>320</sup>指<sup>321</sup>指<sup>322</sup>指<sup>323</sup>指<sup>324</sup>指<sup>325</sup>指<sup>326</sup>指<sup>327</sup>指<sup>328</sup>指<sup>329</sup>指<sup>330</sup>指<sup>331</sup>指<sup>332</sup>指<sup>333</sup>指<sup>334</sup>指<sup>335</sup>指<sup>336</sup>指<sup>337</sup>指<sup>338</sup>指<sup>339</sup>指<sup>340</sup>指<sup>341</sup>指<sup>342</sup>指<sup>343</sup>指<sup>344</sup>指<sup>345</sup>指<sup>346</sup>指<sup>347</sup>指<sup>348</sup>指<sup>349</sup>指<sup>350</sup>指<sup>351</sup>指<sup>352</sup>指<sup>353</sup>指<sup>354</sup>指<sup>355</sup>指<sup>356</sup>指<sup>357</sup>指<sup>358</sup>指<sup>359</sup>指<sup>360</sup>指<sup>361</sup>指<sup>362</sup>指<sup>363</sup>指<sup>364</sup>指<sup>365</sup>指<sup>366</sup>指<sup>367</sup>指<sup>368</sup>指<sup>369</sup>指<sup>370</sup>指<sup>371</sup>指<sup>372</sup>指<sup>373</sup>指<sup>374</sup>指<sup>375</sup>指<sup>376</sup>指<sup>377</sup>指<sup>378</sup>指<sup>379</sup>指<sup>380</sup>指<sup>381</sup>指<sup>382</sup>指<sup>383</sup>指<sup>384</sup>指<sup>385</sup>指<sup>386</sup>指<sup>387</sup>指<sup>388</sup>指<sup>389</sup>指<sup>390</sup>指<sup>391</sup>指<sup>392</sup>指<sup>393</sup>指<sup>394</sup>指<sup>395</sup>指<sup>396</sup>指<sup>397</sup>指<sup>398</sup>指<sup>399</sup>指<sup>400</sup>指<sup>401</sup>指<sup>402</sup>指<sup>403</sup>指<sup>404</sup>指<sup>405</sup>指<sup>406</sup>指<sup>407</sup>指<sup>408</sup>指<sup>409</sup>指<sup>410</sup>指<sup>411</sup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Yü Sing-wu would consider *chī 81* as loan char. for *ki 88*, which latter he would take to mean *liu 89*, thus: *yu ki kiang t'u* »to possess and remain in the territories». — F. We should certainly abide by the oldest text version, that with 85, and translate as simply and naturally as possible. The line is a logical sequel to the preceding: (I have taken oracle, and how could I dare not to follow it?) »Following the serene (dead) men (i. e. their directions through the oracle) we shall have fine territories».

### K'ang kao.

Tsai sheng p'o 91 does not, with PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en, mean the 16th day of the moon but the 2nd or 3rd, see Kiang Sheng and in full details Wang Kuo-wei in Kuan t'ang tsi lin 1.

Hou tien nan pang ts'ai wei cf. Gl. 1384.

1620. Chou kung ch'u ki tso sin ta yi 92.

A. Cheng Hün: *ki 93 = 94* »Chou Kung first planned to make a new big city». — B. PK'ung: »Chou Kung first laid the foundations and made a new big city». — C. Yü Sing-wu: *ki 93* is a loan char. for 95, the particle: »Chou Kung first made a new great city».

1621. Po kung po min ho hien shī yü Chou 96.

A. PK'ung paraphrases *po 97* by *po shuai 98*, interpreting: »The many officers *po min* led on the people *ho* to be concordantly pleased and *hien shī* to appear for service in Chou». *Hien shī*, wr. 99 'to appear for service', is well-known in bronze inscriptions. But *po* has no such meaning. It means 100 'to spread', and an extension of meaning = »to spread out» = »to distribute, to dispose» = »to lead on» would be very strained. Legge and Couvreur both take *hien* as a transitive verb: »The various officers stimulated the harmony of the people and *hien* presented them for *shī* work in Chou». — B. Kiang Sheng punctuates after *po*: »The many officers *po* (spread out =) disposed (the government in the various zones), and the people was concordant and appeared for service in Chou». *Po* with the object understood like this is not plausible. Hardly better is Chang Ping-lin: »The many officers (spread out =) made proclamations, *min ho* the people (concurred =) responded . . . » — C. The line should be placed logically in its context. Chou Kung comes to Lo to build a capital, and needs corvée work from near and far: »(From the *hou, tien* and *nan* states, and from the *ts'ai* and *wei* zones) the (hundred =) various officers and the spread-out people willingly appeared for service in Chou».

Nai hung ta kao chī see Gl. 1587.

1622. Wang jo yüe, meng hou chen k'i ti siao tsi Feng 1.

There are two conflicting traditions about the speaker in this chapter: A. Tso: Ting 4: When Chou Kung had the regency after Wu Wang's death and during the minority of Ch'eng Wang, he enfeoffed his younger brother K'ang Shu in Wei and then made the K'ang kao. Likewise in Tso: Hi 31, an orator in Wei speaks of the »sacrifices instituted (for Wei) by Ch'eng Wang and Chou Kung». This story has been accepted by Si-ma Ts'ien and Pan Ku, and in the Preface to the Shu the author briefly expresses it thus: »Ch'eng Wang . . . . enfeoffed K'ang Shu . . . . ». Therefore all ancient comm. believe that Chou Kung is the speaker on the young king Ch'eng's behalf. But then there are two interpr. of the phr. *meng hou 2*: — a. Fu Sheng (Ta chuan) says that when the heir-apparent became 18 years old, he was styled *meng hou 2*, with the function to meet and receive the feudatories when they came to audience (Cheng Hün says *meng 3* means 4 'to meet', and *meng hou* would then either mean »the meeting prince» or »the meeter of the princes»; acc. to PK'ung *meng 3* means simply *chang 5* 'senior, principal': »the leading prince»). For this story of the *meng hou* title there is no support whatever in pre-Han texts, nor has *meng 3* ever any sense of 'to meet'.



But Cheng Hsüan and Chao K'î (comm. on Meng) both believe, on the authority of Fu Sheng, that *meng hou* refers to the young Ch'eng Wang. This leads to one or other of the following absurdities. Either Chou Kung says: »The king (Ch'eng Wang) has spoken thus (and now I, Chou Kung, speak for him): Oh, *meng hou*, you heir-apparent (i. e. Ch'eng Wang), *chen k'î ti* and you, my younger brother . . . ». In other words, Chou Kung first says »The king has spoken thus», and then immediately he apostrophizes the same king as »you heir-apparent», which is obviously impossible. Or, since Chou Kung has the regency, *wang* 'king' refers to him: »The (vicarious) king spoke thus: Oh, you heir-apparent, and you, my younger brother . . . ». That Chou Kung should be styled »the king» and address the real king, young Ch'eng, as *meng hou* is of course even more absurd. — *β*. Pan Ku in Han shu: *Ti li chî* therefore says that *meng hou* »leading prince» is a fine title given to K'ang Shu (It is still Chou Kung who is speaking): »The king has spoken thus (and I, Chou Kung, speak for him): Oh, you leading prince, my (Chou Kung's) younger brother, youngster Feng». This is less impossible than *α*; but it is still very strained, that Chou Kung should first say: »The king has spoken thus» and then immediately have: »you, my (Chou Kung's!) younger brother». Moreover, at this time Feng was certainly no longer a »youngster»; *siao tsî* would have to be taken as an endearing epithet. In spite of these difficulties this all has been accepted by PK'ung and K'ung Ying-ta. — *B*. The Sung school as represented *inter alia* by Su Shî, Chu Hi and Ts'ai Ch'en repudiate the Tso chuan tradition that Chou Kung on behalf of Ch'eng Wang spoke the K'ang kao — the only pre-Han source to that effect — since it is incompatible with the Shu text. The preceding lines being evidently (with Su Shî) wrongly placed here, and belonging properly to the Lo kao (as their contents prove), the K'ang kao begins with *Wang jo yüe* »The king spoke thus», and the speaker is Wu Wang. The whole line at once becomes simple and clear: »The king spoke thus: Oh, you leading prince, my younger brother, youngster Feng». During Wu Wang's reign Feng could still be a young man. It is, of course, perfectly legitimate to conclude that the very wording of the K'ang kao, which clearly shows Wu Wang to be the speaker, disavows the Tso chuan tradition that K'ang Shu was enfeoffed by Chou Kung on behalf of Ch'eng Wang, since the K'ang kao is undoubtedly several centuries older than the Tso chuan.

1623. *Yung yung chî chî wei wei hien min* 6.

*A*. Tu Yü (comm. on Tso: Sün 15, where this phrase is quoted) and PK'ung: »He employed those to be employed, he respected those to be respected, he overawed those to be awed and became illustrious among the people». This construction of the first *yung* as *as* transitive verb and the second as an object is well known, and we have a parallel in Sün: *Ta lüe*, but this latter shows that we should then rather take *yung* 7 in the sense of 'to achieve, merit, meritorious' (common) than of 'to use' (which is also common). Sün: 8 »To treat the near ones (kinsmen) as near ones and the old friends as old friends, to *yung yung* acknowledge the merits of the meritorious and *lao lao* acknowledge the toil (recompense the toiling ones), that is the several degrees of kindness». With Sün-tsi's meaning of the phr. *yung yung*, but the construction still the same, we would obtain: »He acknowledged the merits of the meritorious, he respected those to be respected, he overawed those to be awed, and became illustrious among the people». From the context in Tso: Sün 15 it is clear that the Tso author understood the Shu

有 82 右 83 稽 84 留 91 哉 生 魄 92 周公初基作新大邑 93 基 94 謀 95 其 96 百工播民和見  
士于周 97 播 98 播 99 見 事 100 布 1. 王若曰孟侯朕其弟小子封 2 孟侯 3 孟 4 迎 5 長  
6 庸 庸 祗 祗 威 威 顯 民 7 庸 8 親 親 故 故 庸 庸 勞 勞 仁 之 較 也 9 勞 10 穆 穆 朕 文 祖 11 于

phr. to be construed in this A fashion; and probably Sün-tsī did the same, since his *yung yung* is very likely an allusion to the Shu. — B. Erya: *Shī hūn* says *yung yung* = 9 'to toil, to work', and this in all probability refers to our text (most of the entries in *Shī hūn* refer to Shu and *Shī*). *Yung* 7 is common in the sense of 'to work', also 'work achieved, merit, (working =) meritorious', see Yao tien. Thus: »Very meritorious, very respectful, very majestic, he was illustrious among the people«. Strengthening reduplications of this kind are exceedingly common in the early texts, and especially in laudatory epithets we already have them in W. Chou inscriptions, e. g. the Ta K'o Ting inscr. (Grammata inscr. 139) phr. 10 »Very august was my fine ancestor»; Ch'en Tsī T'o Kuei inscr. 11 (Grammata inscr. 58) »to receive orders from the very illustrious ones«. That Cheng Hūan understood our phr. in this fashion (as reduplications) follows from a gloss later in our chapter, where he defines *king ki* 12 »care and caution» as equal to 13. — C. Yü Sing-wu has the idea that the text should be amended into: *yung chī wei, yung chī wei hien min* »He employed and respected and feared (the widowers and widows just mentioned); he employed and respected and feared the illustrious people«. A curious speculation. — It is tempting to accept A, because it was championed by the earliest authors (Tso and Sün). But after all B is superior since the attributes *yung yung, chī chī, wei wei* become analogous to the following *hien* 'illustrious'. — Chuang Shu-tsu would carry the last two words *hien min* 14 to the next line, referring to Erya: *hien* = 15 'to change, substitute': »Substituting (himself as ruler) for the people he created» etc. But for Erya's gloss there is no text support.

1624. Yüe wo y i e r p a n g y i s i u w o s i t ' u w e i s h i h u m a o w e n y ü S h a n g t i 16.

A. PK'ung punctuates after *siu* and after *hu*, interpreting: »In our one or two states thereby *siu* there was created order, and our western territories on him (sc. his good government) relied; his *mao* all-covering (influence) was heard by God on High«. Ts'ai Ch'en, followed by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen, explain »one or two states» as 17 »friendly states» i. e. allied states, but there is no support for that; it alludes, with Liu Feng-lu, to the Chou having first resided in Pin 18 and then moved to K'i 19. PK'ung's explanation of *mao* 20 being obviously impossible, Wang Ming-sheng (followed by Kiang Sheng) proposes that it means 21: »it ascended and was heard by God on High«. This seems already to have been Wang Ch'ung's opinion (Lun heng: Ch'u ping), for he quotes (*nota bene*: with this same division of the line): *mao wen yü Shang ti* and paraphrases it by 22 (Chao K'i in comm. on Meng likewise quotes: *mao wen yü Shang ti*). But *mao* 20 has no such meaning. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en divides after *mao*: »... and our Western lands *wei shī hu mao* on him relied and (took him over their heads =) were overshadowed by him, and (his fame) was heard by God on High«. Ts'ai thus goes against the Han scholars (Wang Ch'ung, Chao K'i) in carrying *mao* together with the preceding, without obtaining a better sense. — C. Wang Yin-chī punctuates: Yüe wo i e r p a n g, y i s i u w o s i t ' u, w e i s h i h u m a o, w e n y ü S h a n g t i: The first two lines he connects with the preceding: »... and our one or two states, and so he brought order in our western lands...» *Ma o* 20, he says, is a short-form for 23. The latter is read \**χiuk* / *χiwok* / *hü* in both Ts'ie yün and Shīwen, such as it appears in Shu: Mu Shī, phr. 24. »Exert yourselves, officers», but this ancient sound tradition is, acc. to Wang, all wrong, for 23 is but a variant of 25 \**mug* / *məu* / *mou* 'to exert oneself, energetic', and should be read like that, not \**χiuk* / *χiwok* / *hü*. To witness, in Shu: P'an Keng, phr. 26, the Han stone classics read 26 »Exert yourselves in firmly establishing the great mandate«. That our 20 is a mere short-form for 23 is proved by passages in Kün Shī and Ku ming

(see below) where PK'ung has 20 but Ma Jung's and Cheng Hsian's version has 23. Wang continues: *h u* 27 (\*g'o) is equal to *h u* 28 (\*g'o) = 29 'great', and our line *wei shi hu mou wen yü Shang ti* thus means »He made a great exertion and it was heard by God on High«. It must be objected that the fact that the stone classics replaced *m o u* 25 by the synonym *h ü* 23 does not prove that the latter should be read *m o u* inst. of *h ü* (its well-attested normal reading). And for the variants 20: 23 in Kün Shī and Ku ming see below. Here, it should be observed that a few lines later we have: *N a i k u a h i u n g h ü* 30, with the full form of *h ü*; it would be strange if the PK'ung text had a short-form in one line and the complete form in another in the same chapter and section. For a refutation of *h u* (28 = 29, Kuang ya) see Gl. 553. — D. Another interpr. We retain the ancient way of dividing the line. *M a o* 20 (\*môg / mǎu / m a o) is the same as the char. 31 (\*môg / mǎu / m a o) which Shuowen defines as = 32 'to lower the eyes and see', i. e. to look down on, as a highly placed person looks down upon something below him. Shuowen quotes as example of this meaning Shu: Kün Shī: *W u W a n g w e i m a o* 33, where PK'ung has 34 (see below), and in fact 20 is not a short-form of 31 but its primary graph, since it already contains 'eye' 35. When 20 serves for *m a o* 'to cover', this 'to look down' is on the contrary loan char. for the primary graph 36. Of 20, 31 'to look, to see' there are no text ex. besides the Shu cases discussed here, but the meaning is amply confirmed (besides by the composition of the graph) by its combination here with *w e n* 'to hear': *m a o w e n y ü S h a n g t i*. The line thus means: »In our one or two states thereby was created order, and our western territories relied on him; it was seen and heard by God on High«. (Yü Sing-wu would read 37 as 38 = 39 'therefore', which is hardly any improvement). — We compare:

Shu: Kün Shī: *N a i w e i s h i c h a o W e n w a n g t i h i e n m a o w e n y ü S h a n g t i* 40.

A. PK'ung: »*S h i* those (men) enlightened *W e n W a n g*, so as to *t i* walk in the path of *h i e n* illustriousness and *m a o* (covering =) protection (to the people), and it was heard of by God on High«. Ts'ai Ch'en modifies this only in taking *t i* 41 as transitive: »guiding him to illustriousness« etc. — B. Kiang Sheng: »*W e i s h i c h a o* those were bright and *W e n w a n g*'s (virtue) *t i* rose and *h i e n* became manifest, and *m a o w e n* it ascended and was heard by God on High«. An impossible construction. — C. Shīwen says: Ma Jung reads 23 which means 42 'to exert oneself', and Wang Yin-chī (see above), basing himself on this, says PK'ung's 20 is a short-form for 23, which is equal to 25. He interprets: »Those (men) enlightened *W e n W a n g* to *t i* use *h i e n* illustriousness and (*m a o* =) *m o u* exertion; and it was heard by God on High«. Only a few lines later, however, we have the phrase *s h o u w a n g h ü p u k i* 43 and still a few lines further on *j u m i n g h ü o u w a n g* 44 and the orthodox text would certainly not have a short-form 20 in one line and the full form 23 in another. This contrast shows that our 20 was different from the following 23, and that Ma Jung has erroneously identified the former with the latter and altered the text accordingly. — D. Applying Shuowen's definition (as above), we obtain: »Those (men) (enlightened =) guided *W e n W a n g*, *t i h i e n* he advanced and was illustrious, and *m a o w e n* it was seen and heard by God on High«.

顯顯受命<sup>12</sup> 敬忌<sup>13</sup> 乃祗祗威威<sup>14</sup> 顯民<sup>15</sup> 代<sup>16</sup> 越我一二邦以修我西土惟時<sup>17</sup> 怙冒<sup>18</sup> 聞于上帝<sup>19</sup> 帝<sup>20</sup> 友邦<sup>21</sup> 乃<sup>22</sup> 岐<sup>23</sup> 昌<sup>24</sup> 上進<sup>25</sup> 上聞于天<sup>26</sup> 勛<sup>27</sup> 天子勛我<sup>28</sup> 懋<sup>29</sup> 懋<sup>30</sup> 建大命<sup>31</sup> 昌<sup>32</sup> 建大命<sup>33</sup> 怙<sup>34</sup> 胡<sup>35</sup> 大<sup>36</sup> 乃<sup>37</sup> 寡兄勛<sup>38</sup> 昭<sup>39</sup> 昭<sup>40</sup> 低目視<sup>41</sup> 武王惟昭<sup>42</sup> 武王惟昌<sup>43</sup> 昌<sup>44</sup> 目<sup>45</sup> 曰<sup>46</sup> 時<sup>47</sup> 怙<sup>48</sup> 時<sup>49</sup> 是故<sup>50</sup> 乃惟時<sup>51</sup> 昭文王迪見<sup>52</sup> 昌聞于上帝<sup>53</sup> 迪<sup>54</sup> 勉<sup>55</sup> 收罔勛不及<sup>56</sup>

Shu Kün Shī: Wei tsī si jen chao Wu wang wei mao p'ei tan ch'eng tē 45.

A. PK'ung: »These four men made bright Wu Wang's (virtue), wei mao so that he (covered =) protected (the whole world), and they grandly and exhaustively (lifted =) set forth his virtue». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »These four men (made bright =) distinguished Wu Wang, wei mao and he (covered =) protected (the world), and (the people) grandly and all praised his virtue» (to the last words we shall revert in Gl. 1875). — C. Shuowen reads mao 31, quoting this line, and defining mao as = 32 'to lower the eyes and see', i. e. look down (see above), 31 being really a tautologically enlarged form of 20 (which already has the rad. 'eye'). Kiang Sheng then interprets: »These four men chao were enlightened, Wu Wang wei mao Wu Wang looked at them, and grandly and entirely set forth their virtue». But on the analogy of the preceding ex. we must take Wu Wang as object of chao: »These four men (enlightened =) guided Wu Wang; he looked at them and grandly and entirely set forth the virtue». — D. Wang Yin-chi again takes mao 20 as = mou 25 »to exert oneself», and Sun Sing-yen expounds: »These four men (enlightened =) guided Wu Wang, he exerted himself, and they grandly and entirely praised his virtue». — C suits the context admirably; the passage describes precisely how the kings found good counsellors. C is the oldest interpr. (Shuowen). — On the other hand mao 20 has its common meaning (as loan char.) of 'to cover' in another Kün Shī passage: 46 »(his work) shall grandly extend over the corners of the seas and the (rising sun =) place where the sun rises» (here again Wang Yin-chi would take mao as = mou, but the context makes 'to extend over' preferable, with Kiang Sheng).

Shu: Ku ming: Er wu yi Chao mao kung yü fei ki 47.

A. Ma Jung read 48 hū ch'ung inst. of mao kung, defining ch'ung as = 49 'to throw down, fall down': »Do not with Chao strive to fall down...», but it is unknown how he understood the line as a whole. Neither for the reading ch'ung (Shīwen) nor for the meaning 49 of 48 is there the slightest support. — B. PK'ung takes kung = 50 and ki 51 as = 52 'dangerous', interpreting: »You should not with Chao mao recklessly kung go forward to fei ki wrong and dangerous (actions)». Ts'ai Ch'en modifies: kung yü fei ki = »to go forward in (the first symptoms of =) the initial stages of evil». But kung, which means 50 = 'to present', can certainly not mean 50 = 'go forward to'. — C. Kiang Sheng: »Do not with Chao mao recklessly 53 fall down in fei ki what is not good». Fei ki can certainly not have any such meaning. (Chang Ping-lin modifies it into: fei ki = »what is untimely»; this is no improvement). — D. Sun Sing-yen: In Tso: Wen 18, phr. 54 »He was greedy for drink and food and covetous for valuables and gifts», mao means 'covetous'; likewise in Kyü: Chou yü 55 »Its ruler is covetous and depraved». Since the following kung 56 (of which 53 is merely a variant) means 'to offer in tribute, to present valuables', mao should be taken in this sense. So far, Sun is convincing. Then he says that ki 57 is = 58 = 59, thus: fei ki = »what is not reasonable». This is not admissible. Ki 57 here in fact means 60 'how much' = 'quantity, amount', as in Ode 209, phr. 61 »According to the (how-much =) proper quantity», see Gl. 668. Our line means: »You should not, because Chao is covetous, make him presents in (what is not the proper quantities =) improper quantities».

1625. Yi jung Yin 62.

A. Tu Yü and PK'ung: »To kill and treat with weapons the Yin». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »To kill the great Yin». — C. In Li: Chung yung it is said of Wu Wang that he yi jung yi 63, which Chu Hi explains as: »He once (donned) the war garments and (thereby) possessed the realm». But Cheng Hün had earlier proposed that yi jung

y i 64 is an allusion to our Shu line 65, the char. 66 \*·iər / ·jɛi / y i being a loan char. for 67 \*·iən / ·iən / y i n. He takes y i = 'one': »He once j u n g treated with weapons the Yin». Since it is strained to construe j u n g as a verb in this way, Chuang Shu-tsu proposes: »He united the great Yin (realm)». But evidently the form 68 may be simply a short-form (without radical, Chou fashion) for y i 69 »to kill», which suits the context best. The line is quoted with 62 in Tso: Sūan 6 and in Yi Chou shu: Shang shī it is said: »God charged our father Wen 70 »to kill (exterminate) Shang's much guilty Chou», which shows that its author likewise had the word 69. Chang Ping-lin would take j u n g as = 71 'to eradicate», after Fang yen, but there are no pre-Han ex. of this word.

Yü e k ü e p a n g k ü e m i n w e i s h i s ū see Gl. 1249. N a i k u a h i u n g h ū — for k u a 'single-standing, unique' see Gl. 812.

1626. K i n m i n t s i a n g t s a i c h i y ū n a i w e n k ' a o 72.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 73 etc. »Now (to govern) the people will depend on following your fine father». To supply like that a verb 'to govern' is of course unallowable. — B. Kiang Sheng: t s a i 74 = 75: »Now the people will see how (you) follow» etc. — C. Sun Sing-yen: »Now the people will (dwell on =) be disposed to respectfully follow your father Wen». — D. Chang Ping-lin believes that m i n 76 is a corruption of j u 77 »you». An arbitrary emendation. — E. Yü Sing-wu: k i n m i n t s i a n g t s a i is a clause by itself, and means 78 »Now the people is hurt».

1627. S h a o w e n y i t ê y e n 79.

A. PK'ung: y i 66 means 80 'to don, put on' (as a dress): »To continue what you have heard and to don (and carry on) his virtuous words». — B. Kiang Sheng: y i 66 \*·iər / ·jɛi / y i is loan char. for 67 \*·iən / ·iən / y i n (cf. Gl. 1625 above): »To continue and hear Yin's virtuous words». Since we have the word y i n 67 written in its proper way in the very next line, this loan is very unlikely. — C. Wang Yin-chi: y i 66 is a short-form for 81, thus: »To continue what they have heard and to follow the virtuous words». In Li: H ü e k i 82, one text version had 66 as short-form for 81. This is an exact par., and it simply means that the Chou graph, as often, had no radical added. — D. Yü Yüe: Shuowen for the word l ü 83 records the Ku-wen form 84, and our text must have had this l ü, which has been corrupted into y i 66. L ü means 85 and l ü t ê y e n 86 means »to set forth the virtuous words». — C has the advantage that the two verbs s h a o and y i are analogous and balance each other.

1628. J u p ' e i y ū a n w e i S h a n g k o u c h ' e n g j e n , t s ê s i n c h i h ū n 87.

A. PK'ung paraphrases so as to show that he takes w e i 88 as a verb = 'to think of', thus: »You should grandly and far (think of =) seek Shang's old and accomplished men, to establish your heart, and (thus) understand to instruct (the people)». — B. Kiang Sheng follows A in the first part, but says t s ê 89 (\*d'āk) is loan char. for 90 (\*d'āk) —

汝明勛偶王惟茲四人昭武王惟昌丕單稱德女丕昌海陽日出分爾無以劉昌貢于非  
 德分勛輟分陷分進分幾分危分輟分貪于飲食昌于貨賄分其昌貪昌辟邪分貢分幾  
 分機分理分然何分如幾分種戎殷分重戎衣而有天下分重戎衣分種戎殷分衣分殷  
 分重分種分種商之多罪紂分披分今民將在祗邁乃文考分今治民分在分視分民分  
 女分今民戕哉分紹聞衣德言分服分依分不學博依分旅分忘分陳分旅德言分汝丕  
 遠惟商苟成人宅心知訓分惟分宅分度分度之于心分他人有心于付度之分不遠分

the two char. are in fact interchangeable, see Gl. 794. Kiang expounds: 91 »(measure =) ponder it in your heart», thus taking *sin* as an adverbial phr. But for *to* in combination with *sin*, cf. Ode 198, phr. 92 »Other men have their (hearts =) thoughts, but I can (measure =) understand them». The idea should be the same here, thus: »You should grandly and far think of Shang's old and accomplished men, (measure =) comprehend their (hearts =) thoughts and understand their instructions». — C. Sun Sing-yen would read *pu yü an* 93 inst. of *p'ei yü an*, but it is difficult to see how the line could then be construed.

1629. *Pie k'iu wen yu ku sien chê wang* 94.

A. PK'ung: »You should (separately =) besides that seek (uncles and elder brothers) whom to ask about *yu* using the (principles of the) ancient former wise kings». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *yu* 95 = 96: »You should (separately =) besides that seek to *wen* hear about the *yu* (walking =) conduct (from) the ancient former wise kings.» It is certainly simpler to take *yu* 95 as a preposition = 'from' (common), thus: »You should (separately =) besides that *k'iu wen* seek (what is heard =) information *yu* from the ancient former wise kings» (i. e. anterior to Yin). — C. Wang Yin-chi: 97 \**b'iat* is equal to 98 or 99 \**b'ian*, and this is equal to 100 \**pian*, so *pie k'iu* 1 is equal to 2 »you should everywhere seek». A very arbitrary and inadmissible speculation.

1630. We shall study here seven cases of *yü* 3.

a. *Hung yü t'ien jo tê yü nai shen pu fei tsai wang ming* 4.

A. PK'ung punctuates: *hung yü t'ien, jo tê, yü, nai shen pu fei, tsai wang ming*, and his gloss is filled out by K'ung Ying-ta thus: »If you are great in Heaven's (principles) and comply with the virtue, and *yü* amplify it, your person shall not be rejected, you shall (ever) dwell in the mandate». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: *hung yü t'ien, jo tê yü nai shen, pu fei tsai wang ming*: »Expand in regard to Heaven's (principles), thus the virtue will be ample in your person, and you will not be neglectful in regard to the Royal mandate». — C. Sün: Fu kuo quotes the line thus: 5, which agrees with the B punctuation. But the context in Sün is the theme of creating *yü* 3 'opulence, abundance' for the people, and Yang Liang curiously explains *hu* 6 by *ju* 7, explaining: »If you widely (cover =) protect, like Heaven, and comply with virtue, it will make opulent your person» (and along with that, your subjects); an obviously impossible interpr. If this was really Sün's meaning, it simply shows that he made use of a detached sentence from a holy classic and applied it in a different sense from that which it has in the original context (a very common *modus operandi* in the works of the early philosophers). But since Sün's text version is centuries older than PK'ung's and the *hung yü t'ien* in the latter makes poor sense. Sün's *hung fu* should be preferred; his *hu* 6 is synon. with the *yü* 8 of the orthodox text. *jo tê* 'a compliant virtue' is a standing phr., cf. the famous Mao kung Ting inscr., phr. 9 »Tell me of the compliant virtue of the former kings». *Fei* 10 combined with *ming* 11 regularly means 'to neglect the orders' (*passim* in bronze inscriptions) and must mean the same here. Thus: »You will be grandly (covered =) protected by Heaven, a compliant virtue will be abundant in your person, you will not neglect to *tsai* (dwell upon =) be intent upon the king's orders». For *yü* 3 'abundant' said about virtue, cf. Kyü: Chou *yü* 12 »If you can make brilliant and abundant the great virtue»; Kuan: Shī 13 »He has an abundant virtue and seeks nothing». — D. Yü Sing-wu: *yü* 3 is a loan char. for 14; it must originally have been written simply 15, without radical, and it has been wrongly enlarged into 3. He adduces two bronze inscr. Mao kung Ting phr. 16, and Shī X Kuei (17), phr. 18, in which he believes (after Kuo Mo-jo) that 19 and 15 mean 14. But even if this is correct (which is very doubtful; Wang Kuo-wei has another expl.), it can of course prove nothing about our *yü* 3 here, the

ordinary sense ('abundant') of which is well supported by the parallels adduced under C. In order to apply his theory Yü has to divide in his own way, and paraphrases: 20, whatever that may mean. —

β. K'ang kao (further on): Ku nai tê yüan nai yu yü nai yi min ning 21.

A. PK'ung divides: Ku nai tê, yüan nai yu, yü nai yi min ning and takes yü 'abundant' in an extended sense of 'large-minded': »(Look at =) take care of your virtue, make far-reaching your plans; yü if you are large-minded (in your government), you will make the people tranquil«. — B. Wang Yin-chi: yu yü 22 must be a binome, as proved by a par. in Kün Shī (see γ below). This is obviously right. Wang then continues: Fang yen (middle Han coll.) says yü yu 23 means tao 24 'way', and this is the same here: yü an nai yu yü »make far-reaching your (way =) principles«. Now Fang-yen does not take yü-yu as a binome, for it says that in certain regions yü, in other regions yu means tao. And tao is after all a very ambiguous definition. There is no single example, outside the Shu cases in question, in which yü 3 could mean 'way, norm, principle'. The key to the meaning is yu 25 which means 'plan' and tao 24 is obviously taken = 'the way, the path' in the sense of the intended course. Now yü 3 (\*giug) may stand for 14 (\*giuk), as proposed by Yü Sing-wu in C above — possibly, as there suggested, the original graph was simply 15 (without radical). Yü 14 means 'to desire', hence here 'intention' as combined with yu 'plan', both explained in Fang yen by tao 'course'. Thus: (Look at =) take care of your virtue, make far-reaching your yu yü plans and intentions, then you will make the people tranquil.

γ. Shu: Kün Shī: Kao kün nai yu yü 26.

A. PK'ung: »I tell you, prince, that your yu plans should be yü large-minded«. — B. With Wang Yin-chi above yu yü is a binome. Furthermore, as shown by the context, nai 27 is a corruption of küe 28, through their great similarity in the archaic script, see Gl. 1604δ, as often in the Shu: »I tell you, prince, my plans and intentions«. — C. Yü Sing-wu detaches yü 3 = 14 and carries it to the next line. Wang Sien-k'ien, on the other hand, reads the first word of next line, wo 29, together with our line here, taking yu yü wo as connected, with yu yü as a verb; but it is difficult to see how that can make any sense.

δ. Shu Lo kao: Tsi yü k'i ming neng tsai, pi yü wo min 30.

A. PK'ung: »Here I will enlighten (instruct) the farmers (in righteousness), there large-mindedness (in government) has been granted my people«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Here I will (make bright =) cultivate the husbandry, there you should be large-minded to the people«. — C. Here again Yü Sing-wu would take yü 3 as = 14, connecting the line with the following. — D. It is quite obvious from the context that yü 3 here has its primary sense of 'abundant, opulent': »Here I shall cultivate the husbandry, there you shall make opulent our people«. Yü min »to make opulent the people« thus has the same

別求聞由古先哲王 25 由 26 行 27 別 28 辨 29 辨 30 偏 1. 別求 2 偏求 3 裕 4 弘于天若德  
裕乃身不廢在王命 5 宏覆乎天若德裕乃身 6 乎 7 如 8 于 9 告余先王若德 10 廢 11  
命 12 若能光裕大德 13 裕德無求 14 欲 15 谷 16 俗我弗作先王憂 17 師旬殷 18 裕汝弗以  
乃辟弗面于聽 19 俗 20 弘于天若德 21 欲汝身不廢于王命 22 願乃德遠乃猷裕乃以民寧  
23 猷裕 24 裕猷 25 道 26 猷 27 告君乃猷裕 28 乃 29 厥 30 我 31 茲于其明農哉彼裕我民 32

meaning as throughout the chapter in Sün: Fu kuo, where it recurs many times in that sense, said of the ruler who makes the people opulent.

ε. Shu: K'ang kao: Ju yi wang pu k'o king tien nai yu yü min, wei Wen Wang chi king ki nai yü min yüe.... 31.

A. PK'ung: »You should in everything respect the rules, and yu use yü min the (principles of) being large-minded towards the people; thinking of Wen Wang's care and caution, you should be large-minded towards the people, saying ....» — B. Wang Yin-chi: yu 32 is interchangeable with and therefore here equal to yu 33, which again is equal to 34. And our yu yü 35 is the same as the yu yü 22 in ex. β, γ above. Having posed this, Wang has necessarily to take yu yü = tao 24 as a verb here: »to path» = »to guide»: »You should in everything respect the rules, and thus yu yü guide the people; thinking of Wen Wang's care and caution, you shall guide the people and say ....». — C. Yü Sing-wu says yü 3 = 14, and he has then to divide differently: Ju yi wang pu k'o king tien nai yu; yü min wei Wen Wang chi king ki etc. It is hard to see how king tien nai yu can make any sense. — D. That yu yü 35 reminds of yu yü 22 is really a *lusus naturae*. Much more decisive is the fact that the phrase yü min 36 which without any possible doubt means »to make opulent the people» in phr. 30 above, and which, meaning that, forms the fundamental theme in a whole chapter in Sün, reverts here twice. It must reasonably mean the same here. Thus: »You should in everything respect the rules, and following them make the people opulent; thinking of Wen Wang's care and caution, you should make the people opulent, saying ....»

ζ. Lo kao: Ming tso yu kung, tun ta ch'eng yü 37. A. PK'ung: »Brightly work and have merits and amply and greatly achieve large-mindedness». — B. Sun Sing-yen follows Wang Yin-chi's ideas above: yü = 24, thus: »... amply and greatly achieve the way». — C. Yü Sing-wu punctuates: tun ta ch'eng, carrying yü 38 = 14 to the next line. — D. Yü 38 has its fundamental sense of »abundant, opulence»: »Brightly work and have merits, amply and greatly achieve opulence».

η. To fang: Er ho pu ch'en yü chi yü er to fang 39.

A. PK'ung: »Why do you not with sincerity yü chi practise large-mindedness in your numerous regions». — B. Sun Sing-yen: »Why do you not with sincerity guide them in your numerous regions». — C. Yü Sing-wu again yü = 14, paraphrasing 40, of which I can make no sense. — D. Yü 38 has its fundamental sense: »Why do you not make them truly opulent in your numerous regions».

To sum up: yu 38 has its common and fundamental sense of »abundant, opulent, opulence» in cases α, δ, ε, ζ, η; but in cases β, γ it is probably loan char. for 14, with the sense of (wish =) »intention», synon. with yu 25 »plan».

1631. T'ung kuan nai shen king tsai 41.

A. Cheng Hsün expounds: »When the punishment attains to yourself, it will be painful». Thus: »You will feel pain in your person, be careful». — B. PK'ung: »It is (like) a sickness in your body, be careful», sc. when the people are misgoverned; you must cure it. — C. Sun Sing-yen: »(The people's) suffering is (as if) in your body, be careful». — D. Another interpr.: t'ung kuan are taken as transitive verbs: »(Pain your body =) exert yourself intensely, and be careful». It is followed up in the next line by 42 »Go and (exhaust your heart =) do your very best».

T'ien wei fei ch'en see Gl. 1609.

1632. Wu k'ang hao yi yü 43.

This is PK'ung's version. But Yü Yü adduces a long series of Shu examples where the text has simply yi 44 and PK'ung expounds it by yi yü 45, and he concludes that the yü here has wrongly slipped into the text from the commentary. The rhythm is



obviously better if we read simply *wu k'ang hao yi*, and *Yü Yüe* is undoubtedly right.

1635. *Huei pu huei mou pu mou* 46.

Tso chuan quotes *mou* 47, a loan char. for 48.

A. In Tso: Chao 8 an orator quotes the line in a way which shows that he took *huei* and *mou* as transitive verbs, and *pu huei* and *pu mou* as objects. There are then two possibilities: — *a*. Tu Yü: »Treat kindly those who are unkind, make energetic those who are not energetic«. *Huei* 50 = 'kind', ex. in *Wu yi* 49 »He was kind and good to widowers and widows«. This interpr. has the disadvantage that *huei* is an ordinary transitive verb: »treat kindly«, whereas *mou* is a transitive-causative verb: »cause to be energetic«, which spoils the parallelism. — *β*. PK'ung therefore: *huei* 50 = 51 'to comply' (well attested, see Gl. 1281), expounding: »Make compliant those who are not compliant, make energetic those who are not energetic«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en connects the line with the preceding: »(The dissatisfaction depends on) whether you are compliant (with virtue) or not compliant, whether you are energetic or not energetic«. Inst. of 'compliant' we could, of course, say: »whether you are kind or unkind«. — B is indeed very tempting, since it suits the context admirably (Legge adopts B in his *Shu* translation but A in his *Tso* transl.), but since we have a sure testimony (Tso) that the line was understood in A fashion well before the end of the Chou dynasty, and A is grammatically impeccable, it is safest to adopt it.

1634. *Nai fu wei hung wang ying pao Yin min* 52.

A. PK'ung punctuates: *nai fu wei hung wang, ying pao Yin min*, explaining: »You shall *fu* don and carry (a good government) and *hung* make great *wang* the royal (principles), and *ying* respond to (Heaven), and *pao* tranquilize the Yin people«. An absurd interpr. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, punctuating in the same way, says *fu* 53 = 54 'business' (common) and *ying* 55 = 56 'to harmonize' (properly: 'to cause to respond'), thus: »Your work is to make great the king's (virtue) and to harmonize and protect the Yin people«. — C. Tso: Chao 8 quotes the first line so as to show that he ended it by *hung*; an orator says: »(To make compliant those who are not, and to make energetic those who are not) 57 it was that by which K'ang Shu managed great (things)» (*fu* 'business' here taken as verb: 'to manage, carry out, achieve', Tu Yü defining it by *hing* 58). Furthermore Wang Yin-chi has shown that *ying* 55 here means the same as 59 'to receive' (see Gl. 1142); cf. also that the Mao Kung Ting inscr. has the phr. 60 »to receive the great mandate«. Thus: »(Yes, you youngster), you shall manage great things; when your king has received and taken in his care the Yin people, (you shall help the king to etc.)«.

1635. *Tsê t'ien ming* 61.

A. PK'ung: *tsê* 62 = 63 thus: »to dwell in (and obey) Heaven's orders«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *tsê* 62 = 64 »(to settle =) consolidate Heaven's mandate«. — C. Wang Yin-chi and followers: *tsê* 62 is loan char. for *to* 65, as often: »to (measure =) calculate Hea-

波亦罔不克敬典乃由裕民慎文王之敬忌乃裕民曰... 32 由 33 猶 34 猷 35 由裕 36 裕民  
37 明作有功博大成裕 38 裕 39 爾昌不忧裕之于爾多方 40 爾昌不信且欲之于爾多方  
41 恫瘝乃身敬哉 42 往盡乃心 43 無康好遠豫 44 遠 45 遠豫 46 惠不惠懋不懋 47 茂 48 懋  
49 惠鮮 50 惠 51 順 52 乃服惟弘王應保殷民 53 服 54 事 55 應 56 和 57 康叔所以服宏  
大也 58 行 59 實 60 應受大命 61 宅天命 62 宅 63 居順 64 安定 65 度 66 自作不典式爾 67 式

ven's orders». — There is really no advantage in C. B suits the context best: the Yin people had recently been subdued and now the task was to consolidate Heaven's mandate over them.

Fei sheng see Gl. 1269.

**1636.** Tsī tso pu tien shī er 66.

A. PK'ung punctuates after tien and defines shī er 67 as = fan ju 68. »He himself has committed pu tien what is unlawful and shī er offended you». But shī 69 certainly has no such sense. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, dividing in the same way, says: shī 69 = 70 'to use' (common), and shī er 67 = 71 »Using (his mind) like this», i. e. doing it on purpose. A curious idea, that the salient yi 72 'mind' is skipped. Kiang Sheng paraphrases shī er by 73 »if he employs like this» = »acts in this way», likewise grammatically unsatisfactory, since no natural object to shī 'employ' can be supplied. In fact shī 69 means 'pattern, model', the pattern of action that he has set himself to follow; thus: »He himself has committed what is unlawful (pattern-wise =) according to his set purpose». — C. Chang Ping-lin would have no division of the line but take tien shī as a synonym-binome: »He has acted contrary to tien shī the laws er in this fashion». But this misses the parallelism with the shī er 74 »by chance» in the next line.

**1637.** Ki tao ki k'ue ku 75.

A. PK'ung: »When you have justly probed to the end his guilt». Tao thus = 'according to the proper norm'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »When he has tao told ki to the very end his guilt». — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

**1638.** Yu sü shī nai ta ming fu 76.

A. PK'ung punctuates: yu sü shī nai ta ming, fu, interpreting: »There is a fixed order (sc. in the government and punishments); if shī in that you are greatly enlightened, fu (the people) will submit». Tu Yü in comm. on Tso has the same interpr. of ta ming fu. But it is a great weakness here that two different subjects are supplied in one line: (You) are enlightened and (the people) submit. Yang Liang in comm. on Sün (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en) therefore takes fu as a transitive verb: »(you) will be greatly enlightened and subdue (the people)». — C. Kiang Sheng: both Tso: Hi 23 and Sün Fu kuo quote the Shu: nai ta ming fu, which shows that shī 77 should be carried to the preceding. Sü 78 = 79. Thus: »Yu sü shī if you have (a method that) accords with this, (the punishments) will be greatly enlightened and (the people) will submit». Thus Kiang rejects the idea of the Tso author, from whose discourse it clearly follows that he took the king as the subject of ta ming »if you are greatly enlightened». And Kiang has the same weakness as PK'ung above, that he operates with two different understood subjects. — D. Yü Yüe has been so troubled by yu sü shī, that he proposes to change it into yu shī sü 80, since we have the phr. shī sü 81 twice in our K'ang kao chapter (see Gl. 1249). But in fact this is not necessary; yu sü shī is equivalent to 82 »If you have order in that», referring to the degrees of guilt just discussed. — E. Sun Yi-jang: fu 83 does not mean 'to submit', in spite of the fact that the Tso author understood it so. It means shī 84 'business, affair, work, to manage', as often. We had a few lines earlier nai fu wei hung 85 »you shall manage great things», and it recurs later in our chapter: 86 »When a son does not respectfully manage the service to his father». Sun takes fu 83 as a noun in the objective case here: »Your greatly illustrious work» (the people will 87 respond to it). This construction with an anteposed object is not very convincing, it is better to interpret: »If you have order in that, you will make greatly illustrious your management». — Before deciding we should study a phr. at the end of our chapter:

K'ang kao: Wu wo t'ien hiang ming nai fu ming 88.

A. PK'ung punctuates: wu wo t'ien, hiang etc. interpreting: »Do not cut

off and reject my (word); *hiang* enjoying (your state) *ming* you should make enlightened the orders which you (don =) take upon you to carry out». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: *Wu wo t'ien hiang, ming* etc.: »May it not happen that I cut off your enjoyment (of the fief); make bright your *fu ming* (zone mandate =) mandate as a prince of the *hou-fu*«. — C. Kiang Sheng, punctuating like Ts'ai: »Do not for me cut off the *hiang* sacrifices (sc. pertaining to your fief); make bright your *fu* garments (sc. of royal mandate) and *ming* emblems (of royal mandate)«. — D. Sun Yi-jang: *ming* and *fu* here again have the same meaning as above: »May it not happen that I cut off your enjoyment (of the fief); make illustrious the mandate you manage«. — Sun Yi-jang is certainly right that in the phr. *nai ta ming fu* 76 and *ming nai fu ming* 88 it will never do, as all the other comm. above have done, to interpr. the *ming fu* 89 in two different ways, both the lines being found inside one chapter. They must be analogous, and then Sun's interpr. recommends itself as very plausible.

1639. *Wei min k'i ch'i mou ho* 90.

A. This is PK'ung's reading: »The people will correct (itself) and strive to be concordant«. — B. Sün: *Fu kuo* quotes this line together with the following (which in PK'ung's version runs: *jo yu tsi* 91) slightly differently: 92 »The people will with force strive to be concordant, (and hurry to do it)«. *Li* 93 (\**liək*) makes better sense than *ch'i* 94 (\**t'ik*) since it naturally combines with *mou* 'to exert oneself'. But for the rest (*er yu tsi* instead of *jo yu tsi*) Sün is decidedly inferior, for at a scrutiny of the following lines, the parallelism reveals itself thus (as rightly realized by PK'ung): *jo yu tsi: wei min k'i pi k'i kiu; jo pao ch'i tsi: wei min k'i k'ang yi*.

1640. *Fei ju Feng hing jen sha jen wu huo hing jen sha jen fei ju Feng yu yüe yier (wa) jen wu huo yier (wa) jen* 95.

*Yier jen* 96: *Yi* means 'to cut the nose' and 97 \**niag / nsi / er* is defined by Shuowen and PK'ung as = 'to cut the ears' ('to ear', etym. s. w. a. 98). Wang Yin-chi, however, has proved in detail (see *King yi shu wen*) that the cutting of the ears was exclusively an act of triumph in war and did not belong to the legal punishments. The char. 97 is simply a corruption of the similar 99 *wa, yüe* 'to cut the feet'. His proofs are decisive.

A. PK'ung in his explanation simply skips the inconvenient *yu yüe* 100, as if it did not exist in the text. It is tempting to conclude that his text originally did not have these two words but that they have erroneously slipped in from two lines later, where the phrase commences by *yu yüe*. In fact, the parallelism, if we punctuate in a strictly balanced way, forces us to expunge the *yu yüe*, unless, with Ts'ai Ch'en, we deplace it and put it before the second *fei ju Feng*: *Fei ju Feng hing jen sha jen — wu huo hing jen sha jen; (yu yüe) fei ju Feng yi wa jen — wu huo yi wa jen*. PK'ung paraphrases *huo* 1 by 2, which shows that he took it as short-form for *huo* 3 'error, erroneous' (common). He interprets: »Is it not

爾 68 犯汝 69 式 70 用 71 用意如此 72 意 73 用如此 74 適爾 75 既道極厥事 76 有敘時乃大明服 77 時敘 78 順 79 有時敘 80 時敘 81 有敘于是 82 服 83 事 84 乃服惟弘 85 子弗祗服厥父事 86 和 87 無我殄享明乃服命 88 明服 89 惟民其勳懋和 90 若有疾 91 惟民其力懋和而有疾 92 力 93 勳 94 非汝封刑人殺人無或刑人殺人非汝封又曰剗刑人無或剗刑人 95 剗刑人 96 刑 97 耳 98 刑 99 又曰 1 或 2 妄 3 惑 4 無或乎王之不知也 5 吾恐其或

you, Feng, who punish people and kill people? — do not erroneously punish or kill people; (and again) is it not you, Feng, who cut the nose or the legs of people? — do not erroneously cut the nose or the legs of people». *Huo* 1 as short-form for 3 (i. e. without radical, Chou fashion) occurs e. g. in Meng: Kao tsī, shang, 4, Ta Tai: Tseng tsī chī yen, 5. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »It is not you, Feng, who punish people or kill people (sc. but Heaven) — do not perchance (by yourself) punish or kill people» etc. Ts'ai has to supply a 'by yourself' which is not in the text. — C. Yü Yüe has tried to preserve the two words *yu yüe* 100 in their traditional place, taking *yu* 6 as = 7 and interpreting: »It is not you, Feng, who (by your own hands) punish people and kill people; but *wu hu* it does not occur that, *hing jen sha jen* when one punishes or kills people, *fei ju Feng* it is not you Feng (who are governing); *yu yüe* there may be such who say: cut the nose or the legs of (this) man, but *wu hu* it does not occur that they cut the nose or the legs of the man (sc. it is you alone who can do it!)». A curious speculation. Chang Ping-lin similarly says *yu yüe* 100 means 8, yet without being able to construe a readable line. — A certainly is most simple and plausible.

**1641.** *Wai shī ju ch'en shī nie sī shī tsī Yin fa yu lun* 9.

A. PK'ung punctuates: *wai shī ju ch'en shī nie, sī shī, tsī Yin fa yu lun* »As to the external service (i. e. your being ruler over the former Yin state) you should set forth those laws, and govern the multitude, (and also use) these laws of the Yin that have good principles». He has to supply a missing principal verb in the last clause. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, quoting a Mr. Ch'en, says *wai shī* means judicial affairs. Kiang Sheng amply corroborates this by quoting Chouli: Ch'ao shī describing this functionary who makes the *wai ch'ao chī fa* 10 »arrangements for the external court», the court sitting in an external courtyard for judicial performances. The whole context in our chapter confirms this. *Shī* 11 is a verb = 'to take as a pattern, to imitate, to follow' (common). Ts'ai believes that *sī* 12 means 13 'the functionaries'; but Wang Kuo-wei points out that a few lines later we have *ch'en shī nie shī* 14, and since *sī* 12 (or 15) is sometimes equal to *shī* 16 in the inscriptions (Ode 1 phr. 17: Mao Kung Ting inscr. 18), we should read *nie-sī* 19. This is undoubtedly right. After these modifications, we thus obtain: »In the external (court) affairs (i. e. judicial affairs), you should set forth those *nie sī* law items, and *shī* follow those laws of the Yin that have good principles».

*Fu nien wu liu jī* cf. Gl. 4.

**1642.** *Ju ch'en shī nie shī fa pi Yin yi* 20.

A. PK'ung: »You should set forth those law items, and take as punishments and verdicts the norms of the Yin», thus taking *fa* and *pi* as verbs. — B. Several later comm. have punctuated after *nie*, carrying *shī* 16 to the second line, see Legge's note. But Wang Kuo-wei has shown that PK'ung's punctuation is correct, see Gl. 1641. Chuang Shu-tsu proposes to carry the *yun g* 21 of the next line here: *fa pi Yin yi yun g*: »In punishments and verdicts Yin's norms should be used»; but we should then rather expect the order: *fa pi yung Yin yi*.

**1643.** *Wu yung yi ts'ī ju Feng* 22. *Yung* 23 = 21 as often.

A. This is PK'ung's version. He paraphrases: 24 »You should not use them so as to (approach =) accord with what your heart acquiesces in». Ts'ai Ch'en tries to explain this: *ts'ī* 25 means *ts'ī shê* 26 'to lodge': »You should not use them so as to make them lodge with you, Feng» (stay with you, side with you), which is very forced. — B. Sün: Chī shī quotes 27. Yang Liang (foll. by Kiang Sheng) believed that the Shu line ended by *tsi* 28 (carrying *ju wei yüe* to the following), thus: *wu yung yi tsi* »Do not use them so as to be immediate», i. e. do not apply them at once, but try first to reform the people without punishments. But that is very unnatural (the line

should then run: wu tsi yung), and Sün's ju certainly corresponds to the ju Feng of the Shu text: wu yung yi tsi ju 'Do not use them so as to (approach =) agree with you, Feng (sc. your personal wishes)'. Evidently PK'ung had observed the quotation in Sün, and glossed his ts'í 25 accordingly (28 = 29). Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that 25 (\*ts'íər) is a phon. loan for 28 (\*tsjět), which is hopeless. We can only conclude that the oldest version available: that of Sün with tsi 28, which makes a good sense, is preferable to PK'ung's ts'í 25, which makes poor sense, and probably is erroneous.

Yüe shī sū see Gl. 1249.

1643 A. a. Nai ju tsin sun 30;

b. Wei yu sun shī 31.

A. In both cases, PK'ung paraphrases sun 32 by shun 33 'to comply with, compliance', and in b. Sün-tsí already does the same. 32 \*swən / swən / sun, often wr. without radical (34), is common in the classics meaning 'compliant, docile' etc. Thus: a. 'Then you will be entirely compliant'; b. 'There has not yet been (a sufficient) compliance'. — B. Sun Yi-jang: sun 32 (\*swən) is a loan char. for 35 (\*ɣiwən): a. 'Then you will exhaustively instruct (the people)'; b. 'There has not yet been any instruction'. Phonetically quite excluded.

1644. Wei k'í yu jo ju Feng chī sin chen sin chen tê wei nai chī 36.

A. PK'ung very simply and naturally punctuates after the first sin, explaining: 'There is nobody who (resembles your heart =) has a heart like you, Feng; my heart and my virtue you know'. — B. Kiang Sheng punctuates after the second sin, saying sin chen sin means 'to heart my heart' =) to have the same heart as I, thus: 'There is nobody who, like you Feng, has the same heart as I; and my virtue you know'. — C. Sun Sing-yen: jo 37 = 33: 'In these punishments:) do not follow your, Feng's, heart'. But how could wei k'í yu 38 mean wu 39 'do not'? This is a typical example of how many Ts'ing scholars à tout prix try to find an interpretation different from that of PK'ung, even though the latter is simple and obvious.

1645. Sha yüe yü huo 40.

A. PK'ung: yüe 41 = 42, which we had in the sense of 'to fall down' in Gl. 1468. Here transitive: 'to throw down, to overthrow'; yü huo he paraphrases by 43 thus: 'They kill and (overthrow =) destroy (people) yü there, huo (profiting =) taking profit'. Ts'ai Ch'en's paraphrase does not reveal how he understood yü. — B. Chao K'í in comm. on Meng: Wan Chang, hia, where the line is quoted, says that yüe 41 and yü 44 'both mean yü 45 ('in, at, on', the preposition); and then he paraphrases 46, whatever that may mean ('They kill among the people, and take among their goods?'). In any case, Chao adds a verb ts'ü 'to take' to which he has no corresponding word in the text: 'Sha they kill yüe among (the people) and (take) yü among huo their goods', which is obviously impossible. Kiang Sheng, realizing this, takes yüe 41 =

失也 6 又 7 有 8 有言 9 外事汝陳時集司師茲殷罰有倫 10 外朝之法 11 師 12 司 13 有  
司 14 陳時集事 15 嗣 16 事 17 三有事 18 三有嗣 19 集司 20 汝陳時集事罰蔽殷彝 21 用 22  
勿庸以汝汝封 24 勿用以就汝封之心所安 25 汝 26 汝舍 27 勿庸以即女惟曰…… 28 即 29  
就 30 乃汝盡遜 31 未有遜事 32 遜 33 順 34 孫 35 訓 36 未其有若汝封之心朕心朕德惟乃  
知 37 若 38 未其有 39 勿 40 殺越于貨 41 越 42 顛越 43 於是以取貨利 44 于 45 於 46 殺於人

y ü 44 the preposition, and the text's y ü 44 = 'to take'. Thus: »s h a they kill y ü e among (the people) and y ü take h u o their goods», which is even worse. For the idea that y ü can mean 47 'to take', cf. D below. — C. Chang Ping-lin, desperately searching for a text word with the sense 'to take', says: Erya defines y ü a n 48 (\**giwǎn* / *jǐwǎn* / y ü a n) as = 44 (\**giwo* / *jǐu* / y ü), so y ü 44 is the same as y ü a n 48(!); the latter stands for 49 \**giwǎn* 'to grasp' (\**giwo* thus being a graph for a \**giwǎn*). — D. In comm. on Meng, Tsiao Sün says y ü 44 means ts'ü 47 'to take', because in Ode 154 we have y i chī jī y ü h o 50, which he says means: »In the days of the first month we catch badgers». That is certainly not correct, for y ü here means 'to go' (very common), as shown by several parallels in the Ode (e. g. 50a »In the days of the 3rd month we go to plough»), but Tsiao is on the right track: when followed by a noun, y ü 'to go' means 'to go for, to go to find'; thus Ode 154, phr. 50: »In the days of the 1st month we go for badgers»; same Ode 51 »In the day time you shall go for white grass», and here: »They kill and (overthrow =) destroy and go for (goods =) spoil».

1646. W a n g f u t u e i 52. Meng: Wan Chang, hia, quotes 53.

A. Shuowen, foll. by PK'ung: »There are none who do not detest them». Cf. Yi Chou shu: Ts'üan fa 54 »If you are familiar with such who bear hatred, yourself incur hatred». We have the same word with the short-form 55 in Sün: Yi ping 56. It was coll. current in Middle Han time (Fang yen). — B. Chao K'i in comm. on Meng (see above): t u e i 53 = 'to kill': »There are none who do not kill them». Chao may have considered 53 as a variant for 55 which, when read \**twər* / *tuəi* / t u e i means 'to break' in Chuang: Shuo kien: 57 »to break the swords» (so acc. to Sī-ma's comm.) — A is much better substantiated.

1647. Y ü t i f u n i e n t'ien hien 58.

As to y ü 44, Yü Yüe refers to two cases in Yi li where Cheng Hsüan has glossed a y ü 44 as having »to be read like w e i 59» (\**giwo* for \**gwia*), but both are very doubtful. Thus y ü t i 60 cannot be said simply to be equal to 61 'to be a brother'. Y ü t i must properly mean »(The one) in the position of a brother».

A. PK'ung: »The one in the position of a younger brother does not think of Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws». — B. Sun Sing-yen: Erya says h i e n 62 = 63 'to substitute'. Thus: »does not think of Heaven's substitution (of elder brother for father)». Very forced, and no text par.

1648. H i u n g y i p u n i e n k ü t s i a i 64.

A. PK'ung: »The elder brother likewise does not think of the tender younger brothers' pitiableness». K ü 65 = 66 'to nourish, to rear' is here quite synonymous with 67 'to rear', and k ü t s i is equal to the common y ü t s i 68 'the son in rearing', see Gl. 1288. (Wang Yin-chī would interpret ai 69 as 'suffering', cf. Gl. 1830 below, but that suits the context less well than the ordinary meaning of the word, as above). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »The elder brother likewise does and thinks of the ai pain of y ü t s i rearing the children» (sc. which the parents have had). A curious construction.

W e i t i a o t s i see Gl. 429.

T a m i n l u a n 70 — min does not mean 71 'to destroy', with PK'ung, but 'disorder', with Wang Yin-chī, see Gl. 965.

1649. N a i k' i s u y u W e n W a n g t s o f a . . . 72.

A. PK'ung reads all this together: »May you speedily follow Wen Wang's (rules of) punishments . . . » — B. Sun Sing-yen punctuates after y u 73, saying y u 73 (\**dīōg* / *iǐu* / y u) is loan char. for 74 (\**giǔg* / *jǐǐu* / y u) 'fault, blame': (the wicked people spoken of) »then will s u y u draw upon themselves guilt». Exceedingly unlikely.

1650. P u s h u a i t a k i a 75.

A. PK'ung (after Erya): k i a 76 = 77 'constant norm'. He connects the line with

the preceding, which speaks of death penalties: »Those who do not follow the great norms (should be thus punished)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, demanding a verb in the clause, interprets: »Those who (do not follow =) are not compliant, should be greatly (normalized =) subjected to rules». — C. Wu Ch'eng: *kia* = 'to strike': »... should be greatly struck». — Neither for the A-B nor for the C sense of *kia* are there any supporting text par. K'ung Ying-ta proposes that 76 \**ket* / *kat* / *kia* is cognate to 78 *k'er* / *k'äi* / *k'ie*, 'model', and Ho Yi-hang that it is cognate to \**kəd* / *k'äi* / *kai* 'norm'. In any case, *faute de mieux* we have to adopt the oldest plausible view (Erya), and best in the B construction.

1651. Wei wai shu tsī hün jen 80.

A. PK'ung: shu tsī 81 is the tutor of the noble youths, as described in Li: Yen yi. The same functionary is called chu tsī 82 in Chouli. Thus: »Abroad (in the feudal states) the tutors, hün jen who instruct people...», thus taking hün jen as a apposition to shu tsī. — B. Sun Yi-jang: hün jen is a summary name for the officers called t'u hün 83 and sung hün 84 in Chouli, topographical and historical informants to the king in his journeys. It is, of course, exceedingly unlikely that these special officers should be singled out for mentioning in this context. When Cheng Hün likewise took hün jen as officers separate from the preceding shu tsī, defining hün jen as = shī chang 85, he is no more convincing, for the complete phr. of 4 words shu tsī hün jen matches the 4-words phr. following next: wei tsüe cheng jen, which contains one kind of officers, not two. — C. The term shu tsī or chu tsī means properly »the many young gentlemen», and as a term for an officer it is really an abbreviation of shu tsī kuan 86 »the officer for the young gentlemen» (Li: Yen li: »Among the king's officers yu shu tsī kuan there was the shu tsī kuan»). Our term here: shu tsī hün jen 80 is evidently a fuller form of this: »The young gentlemen's tutors».

1652. Nai pie po fu tsao min ta yü fu nien fu yung 87.

A. PK'ung punctuates: nai pie po fu, tsao min ta yü, fu nien fu yung. He believes this refers to K'ang Shu: »When you (now) shall separately (i. e. in your new state) spread out (instructions), and create the people's great good fame, if you do not think of (my words) and use (my methods)» etc. (then I shall detest you). This leaves too much to be supplied which is not in the text. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, punctuating in the same way, realizes that the line still refers to the bad officers, interpreting: »When they dissentiently spread out (instructions) and create (for themselves) great praise from the people, and do not think of (their sovereign) or use (his methods) ...» Quite as bad as A, in leaving many salient words to be supplied. — C. Sun Sing-yen punctuates: Nai pie po fu tsao, min ta yü, fu nien fu yung. He bases himself on Han shu: Wang Tsun chuan, where Wang (1st c. B. C.) says 88 »That is what the sacred book calls tsao yü »(created judgments) = »penal innovations, irregular punishments», and the comm. Tsin Shao says this was a phr. from the Ou-yang school's Shu king. This can hardly refer to any other passage than our present one, and thus the earliest attainable school (the Ou-

取於貨<sup>47</sup>取<sup>48</sup>爰<sup>49</sup>授<sup>50</sup>一之日于貉<sup>51</sup>三之日于楸<sup>52</sup>畫爾于茅<sup>53</sup>罔弗慤<sup>54</sup>乃謏<sup>55</sup>近慤自惡<sup>56</sup>  
 55. 教<sup>57</sup>百姓莫不敦惡<sup>58</sup>教劍<sup>59</sup>于弟<sup>60</sup>弟念天顯<sup>61</sup>為<sup>62</sup>于弟<sup>63</sup>為<sup>64</sup>弟<sup>65</sup>顯<sup>66</sup>代<sup>67</sup>兄亦  
 不念鞠子哀<sup>68</sup>鞠<sup>69</sup>公養<sup>70</sup>有<sup>71</sup>子<sup>72</sup>哀<sup>73</sup>大泯亂<sup>74</sup>滅<sup>75</sup>乃其速由文王作罰<sup>76</sup>乃由<sup>77</sup>  
 說<sup>78</sup>不率大夏<sup>79</sup>夏<sup>80</sup>常<sup>81</sup>惜<sup>82</sup>概<sup>83</sup>惟外庶子訓人<sup>84</sup>庶子<sup>85</sup>諸子<sup>86</sup>土訓<sup>87</sup>輔訓<sup>88</sup>  
 師長<sup>89</sup>庶子官<sup>90</sup>乃別播敷造民大譽<sup>91</sup>弟念弟用<sup>92</sup>經所謂造獄者<sup>93</sup>造<sup>94</sup>汝乃其速由

yang school in middle Han time) took *ts a o* 89 as = 'creations, innovations', referring to new punishments. Thus: **»They (separately =) of their own promulgate (penal) innovations; and the greatly renowned ones among the people they do not think of or employ».** — C leaves no gaps to be filled out, like A and B.

**1653. Ju nai k' i su yu ts i yi shuai sha 90.**

A. PK'ung: **»You should speedily yu ts i employ these (laws) yi that are suitable to the times and shuai following (reason) sha kill them».** — B. Ts'ai Ch'en more simply and naturally: **You should speedily according to those norms of right shuai sha kill them all».** — C. Sun Sing-yen, as in Gl. 1649 above, punctuates after yu, the latter 73 equal to 74: You should impute guilt (on them), and shuai following ts i yi these norms sha kill them». The inversion ts i yi shuai is of course quite excluded.

Pu neng k'ue kia jen see Gl. 917.

Ju yi wang pu k' o king tien etc. see Gl. 1630.

**1654. Tsê yü yi jen yi yi 91.**

A. This is PK'ung's version: **»Then I, the one man, will be pleased (with you)».** — B. Sün: Kün tao quotes: 92 **»Then a unique man has been selected».** Evidently the original Chou text had 92b without radical (Chou fashion), and this has been understood as ts ê 93 by Sün (probably influenced by a similar phr. in Lü hing: 94 **»He does not select good men»**), as yi 95 by the Ku-wen scholars in Han time — both common words. But the phr. yi jen 96 **»the one man»** is very common in the Shu and always means the sovereign, the ruler, the king. A is therefore preferable to B, in spite of B being earlier attested. — C. Liu Feng-lu (after Ch'en Ngo): we should read yi 97, under which char. Shuowen says: one meaning is 78 'to end' (Kuang ya has an entry yi 99 = 100). Thus: **»Then I, the one man, thereby can achieve (my task)».** There is, however, no safe text par. in support of any such meaning of yi. We should compare:

Shu: Ts' ai: Ho yi sien hou mi min yung yi sien wang shou ming 1.

Shiwen records the var. 97 for 95.

A. PK'ung: **»Make harmonious and pleased and (before and after =) look after the misguided people, and thus make pleased the former kings who have received the mandate».** (The last phr. is thus short for 2). — B. Kiang Sheng believes that the first yi 95 (97) means 'to please', as above, but the second, after Shuowen (see above) means 100 'to end' (K. here follows Wang Nien-sun), thus: **»Make harmonious and pleased and look after the misguided people, thus (ending =) achieving the mandate received from the former kings».** Yü Sing-wu, on the other hand, considers the 2nd yi 95 as a loan char. for yi 99 'to continue' (**»thus continuing the mandate»** etc.). That one and the same char. should be two different words in the same line is very far-fetched. Sun Sing-yen likewise construes two different meanings but says the first yi 95 after Erya means 3: **»Make harmonious and submit and look after the misguided people, thus achieving»** etc. (as B). This is but a slight variation, for yi 95 means 'to submit' in the sense of 'to make pleased, contented, submissive'. — A is most consistent; and for yi 97 = 100 there are no safe and unambiguous text par. (Wang Kuo-wei would identify our yung yi 4 with the phr. yung shi 5 in Kün Shī, see Gl. 1867, but their meanings cannot by any means be reconciled).

Shuang wei min ti ki k' ang see Gl. 1614. Tso k' iu see Gl. 856.

**1655. Kao ju tê chī shuo yü fa chī hing 6.**

»I will tell you the (explanation =) principles of virtue in the application of punishments». Wang Yin-chī says that since yü e 7 is sometimes defined as = yü 8, yü 8 is equal to yü e 7, and the latter often means yü 9 'and'. Thus: **»I will tell you the principles of virtue, and the application of punishments».** But yü 8 certainly cannot



mean »and«, there being no safe and unambiguous pre-Han examples (all the cases adduced in King chuan shī ts'ī being susceptible of other expl.).

1656. Ti lü wei t'ung 10.

A. PK'ung construes a hypothetic clause, punctuating: ti, lü wei t'ung: »(If the people), being guided, repeatedly do not concur«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en turns it differently, punctuating: ti lü, wei t'ung: »Their guiding has been repeated, but they have not concurred (with the government)«. It is strained to take lü as a verb, normally it is an adverb: 'repeatedly, often'. Construing the line as a principal clause in past tense (with B) and for the rest following A, we obtain: »I have guided them, but repeatedly they have not concurred (with my directions)«.

Shuai wei t'ien k'i fa ki wo see Gl. 1614.

1657. Wei küe tsuei, wu tsai ta yi wu tsai to 11.

A. PK'ung: »As to their crimes, (it does not depend on =) it is not decisive whether they are great (cities) nor whether they are numerous (populations)«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en »As to their crimes (my responsibility) does not depend upon whether they are great, it does not depend on whether they are many«. — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen would take wei as = 'to think': wei küe tsuei »I think of their crimes...«. This seems quite unnecessary, a line being very often started by a wei.

1658. Pi shī ch'en 12.

A. PK'ung: »Decidedly (practise) that sincerity«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Make your decisions with that sincerity«. — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: pi 13 = 14 'to block, obstruct', connecting the line with the preceding: »(Do not use bad counsels and bad norms) so as to obstruct that sincerity«. — D. Yü Sing-wu: pi 13 stands for 15: »(Do not use bad counsels and bad norms) so as to damage the good faith«. — We had a few lines earlier the word pi 13 in the sense of 'decision, verdict' in a judicial sense: 16 »Take as punishments and verdicts the norms of the Yin«, see Gl. 1642. It stands to reason that the word has the same sense here, since it is all the time a lecture on government and penal measures. Ts'ai (B) has realized this, but his interpr. is grammatically strained. Pi should be subject and shī means 'correct' (very common, see Gl. 553), thus: »May your decisions (verdicts) be correct and reliable«.

Ku nai tê, yüan nai yü etc. see Gl. 1630.

1659. Pu ju hia t'ien 17.

A. PK'ung: »I will not find flaws in you and cut you off«. — B. Chang Ping-lin: hia 18 means 19 'to stop': »I will not stop you and cut you off«. Erya: Shī ku has an entry kia 20 = 19 'to stop', and Cheng Hüan in comm. on Ode 240 took our hia 18 as loan char. for this 'to stop', but quite erroneously, see Gl. 758. There are no safe text ex. of this Erya word. — C. But Chang is undoubtedly right that the construction in A: »to find flaw in« is strained, and that the last two words should be analogous. Now it occurs that 18 \*g'ä / ya / hia stands as loan char. for the homophonous 21 (\*g'ä) (in other words: an original 22 without rad. has wrongly been enlarged into 18 inst. of 21) 'distant, to make distant, remove', e. g. Ode 39, phr. 23 (it is not far from there being harm =) »there is sure to be harm«, see Gl. 111. Thus here: »I will not remove you and cut you off«.

茲義率殺 乃則于一人以擇 乃一人以擇 乃畢 乃擇 乃罔擇吉人 乃擇 乃一人 乃數 乃終  
乃繹 乃終 1 和擇先後迷民用擇先王受命 2 先王之受命者 3 服 4 用擇 5 庸繹 6 告  
汝德之說于罰之行 7 越 8 于 7 與 10 迪履未同 11 惟厥罪無在大亦無在多 12 敵時忱  
13 敵 14 塞 15 蔽 16 罰蔽殷弊 17 不汝瑕玼 18 瑕 19 已 20 假 21 遐 22 段 23 不瑕有害 24 告乃

## 1660. Kao nai t'ing 24.

A. PK'ung: »Make high your hearing», i. e. listen to the maxims of the ancient men. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »(Consider high =) **think highly of what you have heard**».

## 1661. Wu t'i king tien t'ing chen kao ju nai.... 25.

A. PK'ung punctuates: Wu t'i king tien, t'ing chen kao ju, nai... »Do not set aside the norms that should be respected, listen to what I tell you, then...» —

B. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen punctuate: Wu t'i king, tien t'ing chen kao, ju nai... »Do not set aside your king respectful care, constantly listen to my admonishments, then you...» That tien belongs together with t'ing is conclusively confirmed by two lines in Tsiu kao: 26 and 27.

## Tsiu kao.

1662. Wang jo yüe 28. In Gl. 1622 above we saw that a very ancient tradition (Tso chuan) has it that it was Chou Kung who, on Ch'eng Wang's behalf, enfeoffed K'ang Shu in Wei. Now the Shu sü (Preface) says that »when Ch'eng Wang had vanquished Kuan Shu and Ts'ai Shu, he enfeoffed K'ang Shu and then he composed the K'ang kao, the Tsiu kao and the Ts'i ts'ai». Si-ma Ts'ien (Wei shi kia) consequently says that it was Chou Kung who, on Ch'eng Wang's behalf, spoke the Tsiu kao. It is indeed quite evident, from the style of the 3 chapters, and from the constant apostrophising of K'ang Shu as »You youngster Feng», »you youngster», »Oh, Feng» all through the three documents, that they originally belonged together, forming a trilogy, spoken on one and the same solemn occasion. (In fact Hanfei: Shuo lin cites a line from our present Tsiu kao, quoting »The K'ang kao says»). It is equally obvious that it could not be the young Ch'eng Wang himself who called Feng »you youngster», and this has given rise to Tso's idea that it was Chou Kung who spoke on Ch'eng's behalf. But we saw above (Gl. 1622) that this explanation does not hold water either, and that the Sung philologists long ago have conclusively shown that the K'ang kao must have been spoken by Wu Wang. Obviously he is therefore the author also of Tsiu kao and Ts'i ts'ai. Now when the text has: Wang jo yüe »The king spoke thus», Ma Jung and Cheng Hün have emendated this into Ch'eng Wang jo yüe 29 »Ch'eng Wang spoke thus», in order to bring it into accord with the Tso-Shu-sü-Si-ma tradition. But since the very wording of these chapters forbids this (Feng being certainly no »youngster» after Wu Wang's death), this emendation should be rejected.

## 1663. Si ts'i tsiu 30.

A. PK'ung: »Sacrifice this wine» (use this wine for sacrifice only). — B. Yü Yüe: In Yi: Kua 41, yi shi 31 »Finishing the affair», Shüwen records a version with si shi 32 and Yü concludes that si 33 could serve as loan char. for yi 34 'to finish, to stop', thus here: »Stop this wine!». But if we adopt this, the following line about the sacrifices hangs in the air and becomes meaningless.

## 1664. Wei t'ien kiang ming chao wo min wei yüan si 35.

A. PK'ung: »When Heaven sent down (orders =) instructions, and started our people (in the art of making wine), it was for the great sacrifices». An absurd idea that chao min 'to start the people' should mean 'to initiate them in the making of wine'. — B. Kiang Sheng: »When Heaven sent down its instructions and started (to guide) our people, it yüan began with si the sacrifices». — C. Sun Sing-yen takes both wei as verbs = 'to think', and ming 36 as = 37 'name, denomination, term', punctuating after chao: »When we think of chao the beginning of Heaven's sending down the ming notion (of wine), our people should think of making yüan si the originator's sacrifice (i. e. sacr. to the inventor of wine)». A dreadful construction. — D. Yü Yüe rightly points out that yüan si does not mean »the great sacrifices» but the inaugural, primary,

fundamental sacrifices, sc. connected with the foundation of the dynasty; this is confirmed by the context. Thus: »When Heaven sent down the mandate, what it created for our people were the fundamental sacrifices» (sc. to the founders; in which wine should be offered).

1665. Wang fei tsiu wei hing 38.

A. PK'ung takes hing 39 as a noun (therefore read in falling tone in Shīwen): »There never (was =) occurred that it was not the wine that was the conduct», i. e. »It was always the wine that (was the conduct =) characterized the conduct», which matches the same construction in next line: wang fei tsiu wei ku 40 »It was always the wine that was the fault». The former is certainly grammatically and stylistically very clumsy and inadequate, but no more so than many phrases in the early texts, particularly in the Lun yü. — B. Yü Yüe would obviate this difficulty by assuming that hing 39 is an error for the similar yen 41 which again would be short-form for k'ien 42, an excellent counterpart to the ku 43 of the 2nd line. This is ingenious but perhaps a too bold emendation.

1666. Wen Wang kao kiao siao tsi yu cheng yu shī wu yi tsiu 44.

A. PK'ung: »Wen Wang told and instructed the young ones (of the people) and the yu cheng principal officers and yu shī clerks not to have a constant (use of) wine». Hanfei: Shuo lin, quoting our line, already defined our yi tsiu as = 45. — B. Kiang Sheng: »Wen Wang told and instructed siao tsi the young ones yu cheng who had superiors yu shī and had duties, not to have a constant (use of) wine». — C. Sun Sing-yen: siao tsi here refers to Feng, alias K'ang Shu, who is addressed a few lines later as »Feng». Throughout the K'ang kao he is addressed as siao tsi Feng, »youngster Feng», and since K'ang kao, Tsiu kao and Tsi ts'ai form a whole, all spoken to K'ang Shu (see Gl. 1662), there can be no doubt whatever that Sun is right. Thus: »Wen Wang told and instructed you youngster and the principal officers and (lower) managers of affairs not to have a constant (use of) wine».

1667. Yüe shu kuo yin wei sī tê tsiang wu tsuei 46.

Liu Feng-lu would connect the last words of the preceding line with the first here: wu yi tsiu yüe shu kuo »Do not have constant wine in the various states». This is because 47 often is id. w. 48 and the latter is defined as = 49 in Erya. But we have no safe ex. of 47 being a preposition = 49 'in, at, on'. On the other hand, even in yüe shu kuo 50, where yüe is only the particle which frequently introduces a line in Shu, shu kuo is in the locative: »In the various states», the preposition missing, as so often in Shu and Shī.

A. PK'ung: »In the various states, the drinking (should be) only at the sacrifices, tê by virtue they should tsiang hold themselves, (so as) not to be drunk». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en modifies the interpr. of tê tsiang into »by virtue they should (hold it =) regulate it». — C. Sun Sing-yen, on the other hand: tsiang 'to hold' = 51 'to support': »by virtue they should uphold each other». — D. Sun Yi-jang: tê 52 = 53, 'to ascend' (criticized in Gl. 1342, 1477) and tsiang = 'to offer up' (in sacrifice) (common), thus: »When you ascend and offer up, you should not be drunk». — E. It

聽<sub>35</sub>勿<sub>36</sub>敬<sub>37</sub>典<sub>38</sub>聽<sub>39</sub>朕<sub>40</sub>告<sub>41</sub>汝<sub>42</sub>乃<sub>43</sub>... 26. 爾<sub>44</sub>典<sub>45</sub>聽<sub>46</sub>朕<sub>47</sub>教<sub>48</sub>汝<sub>49</sub>典<sub>50</sub>聽<sub>51</sub>朕<sub>52</sub>監<sub>53</sub> 28 王<sub>54</sub>若<sub>55</sub>曰<sub>56</sub> 29 成<sub>57</sub>王<sub>58</sub>若<sub>59</sub>曰<sub>60</sub> 30 祀<sub>61</sub>茲<sub>62</sub>酒<sub>63</sub> 31 已<sub>64</sub>事<sub>65</sub> 32 祀<sub>66</sub>事<sub>67</sub> 33 祀<sub>68</sub> 34 已<sub>69</sub> 35 惟<sub>70</sub>天<sub>71</sub>降<sub>72</sub>命<sub>73</sub>肇<sub>74</sub>我<sub>75</sub>民<sub>76</sub>惟<sub>77</sub>元<sub>78</sub>祀<sub>79</sub> 36 命<sub>80</sub> 37 名<sub>81</sub> 38 罔<sub>82</sub>非<sub>83</sub>酒<sub>84</sub>惟<sub>85</sub>行<sub>86</sub> 39 行<sub>87</sub> 40 罔<sub>88</sub>非<sub>89</sub>酒<sub>90</sub>惟<sub>91</sub>事<sub>92</sub> 41 行<sub>93</sub> 42 愆<sub>94</sub> 43 事<sub>95</sub> 44 文<sub>96</sub>王<sub>97</sub>詰<sub>98</sub>教<sub>99</sub>小<sub>100</sub>子<sub>101</sub>有<sub>102</sub>正<sub>103</sub>有<sub>104</sub>事<sub>105</sub>無<sub>106</sub>彝<sub>107</sub>酒<sub>108</sub> 45 常<sub>109</sub>酒<sub>110</sub> 46 越<sub>111</sub>庶<sub>112</sub> 國<sub>113</sub>飲<sub>114</sub>惟<sub>115</sub>祀<sub>116</sub>德<sub>117</sub>特<sub>118</sub>無<sub>119</sub>醉<sub>120</sub> 47 越<sub>121</sub> 48 粵<sub>122</sub> 49 于<sub>123</sub> 50 越<sub>124</sub>庶<sub>125</sub>國<sub>126</sub> 51 扶<sub>127</sub> 52 德<sub>128</sub> 53 升<sub>129</sub> 54 我<sub>130</sub>民<sub>131</sub>迪<sub>132</sub>小<sub>133</sub>子<sub>134</sub>惟<sub>135</sub>土<sub>136</sub>物<sub>137</sub>受<sub>138</sub>

seems better to take the four words as one phrase with *wu tsuei* as object to *tsiang*: «In the various states the drinking (should be) only at the sacrifices, and by virtue they should hold on to (not being drunk =) sobriety».

1668. *Wo min ti siao tsī wei t'u wu ai 54*.

A. PK'ung: «Our people should guide its young men to (love =) economize the products of the soil». — B. Sun Sing-yen punctuates after *ti*: «In our people's guidance, you youngster should (love =) economize the products of the soil» (sc. and not make too much wine of the grain). That *siao tsī* must have this sense is sure, see Gl. 1666. — Similarly in the next line:

*Yüe siao ta tê siao tsī wei yi 55*.

A. PK'ung: «When small and great (men) are virtuous, the young men (the descendants) will have one single (aim)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «The small and big virtues, the young men will (consider them one =) have an equal regard for them all». — C. «In small and great virtues you youngster should be (one =) alike».

1669. *Mei t'u sī er ku kung ch'un k'i yi shu tsi 56*.

A. PK'ung: «The (people of) the Mei land should continue your (instructions to) the (legs and arms =) coadjutors, and *ch'un* be (unmixed =) sincere and cultivate the millet». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en believes that the king here all of a sudden speaks not to prince Feng but to the people of Mei: «(People of) the land of Mei, you should continue your legs' and arms' (force) and *ch'un* greatly cultivate your millet». — C. Sun Sing-yen: «(The people of) the land of Mei will (successively =) for generations be your legs and arms, and they should *ch'un* make (pure =) whole-hearted their cultivation of the millet....» — D. Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates thus: *Mei t'u sī, er ku kung ch'un, k'i yi shu tsi*: «(You will be) the successor of the land of Mei, your legs and arms (coadjutors) will be sincere, and they will cultivate the millet».

1670. *Chao k'ien kü niu yüan fu ku yung hiao yang küe fu mu 57*.

A. PK'ung punctuates after *ku*. He takes *chao 58 = 59* «to begin» (its ordinary meaning). Thus: «(After the harvest) *chao* (beginning =) first then they shall lead the carts and oxen and far away manage trading, and *yung* using (the objects so obtained) filially nourish their parents». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates in the same way, but (after Erya) says *chao = 60* 'active, clever': «If clever, you will lead your carts and oxen and far away manage trading, *yung* and so filially nourish your parents». — C. Po hu t'ung: Shang ku quotes: *chao k'ien kü niu, yüan fu ku yung*, which shows that Pan Ku carried *yung* to the first line. *Ku - yung* is evidently a binome = 'to trade commodities'. And it is much better to take *chao = min* as an adverbial phr. to *k'ien* (see Gl. 1042): «They should diligently lead their carts and oxen and far away manage the trading of commodities, and (thus) filially nourish their parents».

*Tsī sient'ien chī yung tsiu* see Gl. 1595.

*Er ta k'o siu hou wei kün* etc. see Gl. 1458.

1671. *Tso ki chung tê 61*.

This follows upon: «If you can constantly observe and scrutinize (yourself)».

A. PK'ung: «And make an examination of the correct virtue», thus taking *ki* as = 'to examine' (common in the Shu). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «Tso and in your (starts =) impulses *ki* (scrutinize =) perfectly realize the correct virtue». — C. Kiang Sheng: «And your tso actions *ki* accord with the correct virtue», thus taking *ki* as = 62. But this definition (based on Cheng Hüan) was refuted in Gl. 1207. — D. Yü Yüe: *ki = 63*: «In your tso acting or *ki* stopping let there be a correct virtue». — E. Another interpr. *Tso 64* frequently means 'active, actively', see Gl. 856: «And actively (investigate =) search for a correct virtue», which connects well logically with the preceding.

Er shang k'o siu kuei si see Gl. 1458.

1672. Er nai tsī kie yung yi 65.

A. PK'ung: kie 65a = 66 (common): «Then you can yourself greatly take (recreation =) refreshments». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: kie 65a = 67. Kie is common meaning 'to assist', and here it would mean: «Then you can yourself as assistant at the sacrifice take refreshments», or: «Then you can yourself accessorially (at the same time) take refreshments». — C. Yü Sing-wu: 65a \*kād / kǎi / kie is loan char. for 68 \*kād / kǎi / kai 'to beg': «Then you can yourself beg for the use of refreshments». — No reason whatever for abandoning the earliest interpr.

1673. Wei t'ien jo yüan tê 69.

A. PK'ung: «Heaven will (comply with =) approve of your great virtue». — B. Kiang Sheng: jo and yüan both mean 70 'good' (the former Erya, the latter Yi: Wen yen): «Heaven will find good your good virtue». If we let the words preserve the primary meanings but construe like Kiang, we obtain: «Heaven will find compliant your great virtue». — Jo tê occurs in both ways in the Shu: like A: «to comply with virtue» in Kao Tsung jung jī; like B: «Compliant virtue» in K'ang kao. In our present line the A construction is certainly more simple and natural.

1674. Wo si t'u fei ts'u pang kün yü shī siao tsī shang k'o yung Wen Wang kiao 71.

A. PK'ung: takes fei 72 = 73 'to assist', cf. Gl. 1609 above, thus: «Our (ruler of) the Western lands (i. e. Wen Wang) assisted (i. e. taught) the ts'u past times' princes of states and managers of affairs and young men (of the people); they may, it is to be hoped, be able to follow Wen Wang's instructions». The following line: «therefore we, when it has come to the present time, have been able to take over Yin's mandate» then makes poor sense as a sequel. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «The past times' princes of states, managers of affairs and young men of the people wo si t'u fei who in our Western lands assisted (Wen Wang), were still able to follow Wen Wang's instructions». This tallies better with the sequel, but the construction si t'u fei ts'u pang kün = «Western lands' assisting past-times' princes» is certainly very forced. — C. Sun Sing-yen: ts'u 74 = 75 (after Erya). It is true that ts'u 'to go to' can mean 'to direct oneself to, to rest on' and can than be defined by ts'un 75, see Ode 93, Gl. 240. But Sun commits the trickery of taking ts'un in quite another sense: «Our coadjutors from the Western lands ts'u exist among the princes of states and managers of affairs; you, youngster, may be, it is to be hoped, able to follow Wen Wang's instructions». This is rather nonsensical and ts'u certainly cannot mean 'to exist', but Sun of course is right that siao tsī here as everywhere in the trilogy means 'you youngster'. — D. Liu Feng-lu: ts'u 74 'to go' here means 76 'to run about, to go on errands, to serve': fei ts'u pang kün etc. means: «The princes of states etc. who fei ts'u assist and (go on errands =) serve» (the king). — E. Yü Yü: here as in the Ta kao etc., see Gl. 1609, fei 72 is a loan char. for 77 or 78 'not', and we should punctuate after the ts'u: «Our (start in) the Western lands is not ts'u long past, the princes of states, managers of affairs and young men can still follow Wen Wang's instructions». As to fei, Yü is certainly right; but a brachylogy like si t'u fei ts'u «Western lands not gone» for «Our start in the Western lands is not long past» is too strained. — F. Sun Yi-jang,

55 越小大德小子惟一 56 妹土爾爾股肱此其藝黍稷 57 摩牽車牛遠服買用孝養厥父  
母 58 肇 59 始 60 敏 61 作稽中德 62 合 63 止 64 伯爾乃自介用遠 65 介 66 大 67 副 68 凶 69 惟  
天若元德 70 善 71 我西土桀但邦君御事小子尚克用文王教 72 桀 73 輔 74 但 75 存 76 奔

basing himself on Mao Heng's gloss on Ode 290: *ts'ie* 79 = 80 'this', proposes that we should read here *fei ts'ie* 81 (as in that Ode) and interpret »Our (realm in) the Western lands is not (from) now . . . », i. e. it is already old and well established, thus quite the opposite sense to E. But Mao's definition was refuted in our Gl. 1127. — G. Yü Sing-wu: just as in the Odes, *fei* 77 sometimes means *pi* 82, so *fei* 72 here stands for *pi* 82 and *ts'u* 74 stands for 83, which in Chou inscriptions is a particle and can be simply skipped. Our line *wo si t'u fei ts'u pang kün* is thus equal to *wo si t'u pi pang kün* 84. The idea that *fei* could be equal to *pi* 82 was refuted in our Gl. 357; and *ts'u*, as it is placed here, cannot possibly be a »particle». — H. Another interpr. The word stem \**dz'o / dz'uo / ts'u* 'to go, pass away' also means 'to die' and is then mostly wr. 85 (74 and 85 being etym. one and the same word). Shu: Yao (Shun) tien 86 »The emperor (passed away and fell down =) died» is quoted 87 in Meng, Wan Chang. shang. *Fei ts'u* 88 thus means 'not having passed away' i. e. still living; thus: »The (not gone =) still living princes of states and managers of affairs from our Western lands and you youngster have still been able to follow Wen Wang' instructions». This falls in very well with the sequel. — We should study here:

Tsiu kao (a few lines later): *Küe fei yu kung pu kan tsī hia tsī yi* 89.

The line refers to the *yü shī* 'managers of affairs' just mentioned.

A. PK'ung: »*Küe fei* in their assisting (their rulers) they had respect, and dared not give themselves up to leisure and idleness». — B. Here again *fei* should mean 'not'. *Kung* 90 should be *kung* 91 in the sense of 92 'to furnish', see Gl. 1401. The phr. *küe fei yu kung* is equal to 94 »those of them who did not have achievements»; thus: »((Even) such who did not have achievements dared not give themselves up to leisure and idleness».

1675. *Tsai si Yin sien chē wang* 95.

All the commentators take this to refer to T'ang: »Anciently, Yin's former wise king» (Sun Sing-yen would take *tsai* 96 = 97, which is very unnecessary). But we had exactly the same phr. in the K'ang kao (a chapter belonging together with the present), and there it quite unambiguously is in the plural; we should apply this here as well: »Anciently, Yin's former wise kings».

1676. *Ti wei t'ien hien siao min* 98.

A. PK'ung punctuates after *t'ien*: »He *ti* followed the path and *wei t'ien* feared Heaven, and *hien siao min* illuminated the small people». But if really *hien siao min* belonged together, it would certainly be better to interpret »He was illustrious among the small people» (cf. K'ang kao 99 »He was illustrious among the people»). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en (we change his subject in the singular to the plural, acc. to Gl. 1675 above): »In *ti* their (walk =) conduct they *wei t'ien hien* feared Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws and the small people». Kiang Sheng would carry *ti* 100 to the preceding: »The path of Yin's former wise king (was): he feared» etc. This is certainly no improvement for there are many par. in Shu to the line ending by *chē wang*. Sun Yi-jiang, on the other hand, says *ti* = 1 which is not confirmed by safe text ex. — Ts'ai is undoubtedly right in taking *t'ien hien* together; this is proved by a par. in K'ang kao (which belongs together with the present chapter): *fu nien t'ien hien* 2 »He does not think of Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws» (this line ends by *t'ien hien*, for the next begins 3). — We should study here:

Shu: To *shī*: *Tan wang hien yü t'ien . . . wang ku yü t'ien hien min* chī 4. Our line has been paraphrased by Sī-ma Ts'ien in *Lu shī* kia, but his text is uncertain (two divergent versions) and gives us no guidance.

A. PK'ung interprets the first line: »He greatly lacked (clearness =) a clear understanding of Heaven». In the second he follows Ma Jung, who punctuates after *t'ien*,

interpreting: »He had no consideration for Heaven, nor *hien min* did he give the clear (principles) to the people, *chī* and respect it». An impossible construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: First line as in A; then, punctuating after *hien*: »He had no consideration for Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws nor for the awfulness of the people». — C. Sun Sing-yen: »He greatly lacked manifest (virtue) in the sight of Heaven, he had no consideration for Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws, nor for the people's reverence». — D. Sun Yi-jang: The parallelism between our phr. *t'ien hien, min chī* here with the phr. *t'ien hien, siao min* in the Tsiu kao ex. above (98) shows that *min chī* is a binome, and that it corresponds to and means the same as *siao min*. But it is impossible to see how the words *min chī* 5 could come to mean anything analogous to »the small people». — E. *Chī* 6 quite regularly means 'to respect, to revere' (ex in Shu, Tso, Meng etc.). *Min chī* means »the respect towards the people», with *min* as an objective genitive; for this common construction cf. Meng: Kao tsi, hia 7 »malefactors towards the people (robbers of the people)». Thus here: »He greatly lacked (clearness =) a clear understanding of Heaven... He had no consideration for Heavens' (clearness =) clear laws, nor for the respect due to the people».

Shu: Tsiu kao: *Küe ming wang hien yü min chī pao yüe yüan pu yi* 8.

A. PK'ung: »His commands had no bright (virtue) (as they were given) to the people, *chī* what he respected and *pao* found his peace in *yüe* was in *yüan* resentment, *pu yi* unchangingly». Ts'ai Ch'en in the main accepts this nonsense. Kiang Sheng finds it too strong to take *chī* as = 'to respect' in this context, so he eliminates it as a »grammatical word»(!). — B. Sun Sing-yen: »His commands *wang hien* were not eminent nor *yü min chī* by the people revered»; *pao yüe yüan* is equal to 9 »he found his peace in resentment». — C. Chuang Shu-tsu would take *küe ming* 10 together with the preceding *han shen*, considering *küe* (\**kjwūt*) as a short-form for 12 (same sound) 'to stumble, to fall', here as a transitive verb: »He made himself drunk and let fall his mandate». But we have no reason for operating with short-forms when the traditional text makes good sense. — D. Sun Yi-jang insists that *min chī* must have the same meaning as above. And we have often pointed out that *yüe* 13 never is = the preposition *yü* 14. *Pao yüe* must be taken as verbs: *pao* fundamentally means 'to preserve, maintain'. *Yüe* often means 'far away', and as verb: 'to bring out far, spread out, proclaim' etc., see Gl. 1068. Cf. Shu: Ts'i ts'ai (which belongs together with our present chapter): 15 »If you regularly (spread out =) proclaim and say» (see Gl. 1692). We thus obtain: »In his commands he had no (clearness =) clear understanding of the respect due to the people; he maintained and spread far and wide resentment, and did not change».

Shu: Wu yi: *T'ien ming tsī tu, chī (yi) min chī kü* 16.

A. PK'ung reads the last word of the preceding line (*wei* 17) together with this: »He feared Heaven's commands, *tsī tu* himself was lawful and in governing the people he *chī* respectfully feared». But rhythmic reasons forbid the separation of *wei* from the

走 77 匪 78 非 79 且 80 此 81 匪 且 82 版 83 嚴 84 教 西 土 彼 邦 若 85 殂 86 帝 乃 殂 落 87 但 落 88  
 集 但 89 版 集 有 恭 不 敢 自 暇 自 逸 90 恭 91 共 92 供 93 版 集 有 共 94 其 匪 有 供 95 在 昔 殷 先  
 哲 王 96 在 97 察 98 迪 畏 天 顯 小 民 99 顯 民 100 迪 1 用 2 弗 念 天 顯 3 乃 弗 克 4 誕 罔 顯 于  
 大 罔 顯 于 天 顯 民 祗 5 民 祗 6 祗 7 民 祗 8 厥 命 罔 顯 于 民 祗 保 越 怨 不 易 9 安 于 怨 10 厥 命 11  
 厥 12 厥 13 越 14 于 15 汝 恆 越 曰 16 天 命 自 度 治 民 祗 懼 17 畏 18 治 民 振 懼 19 祗 20 振 21 度

preceding line; and PK'ung has not realized that *min chī* belong together, as proved by all the par. above. In this, however, he was already preceded by Si-ma Ts'ien, who renders (Lu shī kia) the 2nd line by *chī min chen kū* 18 »In governing the people he trembled and feared» (rendering 19 \**īār* by 20 \**īān*). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *t'ien ming* is equal to *t'ien li* (acc. to the philosophical speculations of the Sung school): »By the heavenly reason he regulated himself, and in governing...» etc., as in A. — C. Sun Sing-yen takes *t'ien ming* as an anteposed object: »Heaven's commands he for himself took as norm, and in governing» etc., and Kiang Sheng, reading to 21: »Heaven's commands he (measured =) observed», simply skips the *tsī* 22 which does not suit his interpr. — D. The stone classics of 175 A. D. read: *t'ien ming tsī liang, yi min chī kū* 23. Some comm. have tried to explain *tsī liang* as = 84, which makes poor sense, and Tuan Yü-ts'ai is certainly right that *liang* 25 is a Han-time loan char. for *liang* 26 'to measure', which thus makes the same sense as the version with to 21. In Chou inscriptions 27 sometimes serves for 28 (having originally the same phonetic) and the Chou-time text probably had 27, which some Han scholars took to mean *yi* 28 (stone classics), others as short-form for *chī* 29. Sun Yi-jang points out that we have the same phr. *min chī* 5 here as in two preceding examples and we obtain: »By (the norm of) Heaven's commands he measured himself, by the respect due to the people he felt awed». This expresses exactly the same idea (the king's reverence for Heaven on the one hand, for the common people on the other) as in the two ex. *wei t'ien hien siao min* (98), and *wang ku yü t'ien hien min chī* (4) above.

**1677. King tê ping chē 30.**

A. PK'ung: *king* 31 = 32: »With a regular virtue he held on to wisdom». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *king* is a verb: »They (made regular =) made invariable their virtue and held on to wisdom». — C. Sun Sing-yen: *king* = 33: »They (walked in =) practised virtue and held on to wisdom». Cf. Meng: Tsin sin: *king tê pu huei* 34 (on which Chao K'i 31 = 33) »He (walked in =) practised virtue without deflection». This means that *king* is loan char. for 35 (both \**kieng*, even tone) 'to walk, to go', e. g. Tso: Hi 25, phr. 36 »With a pot of food he walked following you».

**1678i Ch'eng wang wei siang 30.**

A. PK'ung: »They achieved their royal (principles) and feared their coadjutors». — B. Sun Yi-jang reads the line together with the first words (38) of the following: *ch'eng wang wei, siang wei yü shi*. *Wei* 39 is equal to 40 (common). He interprets: »They achieved their royal majesty; look at the managers of affairs». But a Shī par. indicates that in such a case *siang* does not mean 'to look at' but 'to assist': Ode 282, phr. 41 »Assisting are rulers and princes» — the construction with *wei* is quite the same. Thus: »They achieved their royal majesty; assisting were the managers of affairs». For the first half, cf. further on in our chapter *chu ch'eng wang tê hien* 42: »They helped in achieving the eminence of the king's virtue». It is certainly preferable to have an object to *ch'eng*, to which *wang* is but a genitive, instead of the elliptical *ch'eng wang* of A. — C. Yü Sing-wu would preserve PK'ung's division of the lines, and interprets: »They achieved their royal (principles) and were *wei* (fearing =) careful and *siang* (inspecting =) attentive».

**1679. K'i kan ch'ung yin 43.**

A. PK'ung: *ch'ung* 44 = 45: »How would they dare to come together and drink». The fundamental sense of *ch'ung* 44 is 'high', but by extension also 'accumulate, piled up, full, heavy', see Gl. 140. Possibly PK'ung thought 'to accumulate' would here mean 'to unite, come together'. Or he may have taken 44 \**dz'íong* / *dz'ìung* / *ch'ung* as loan char. for 26 \**tsóng* / *tsuong* / *tsung* 'to bring together, collect'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en:



»How would they dare to (consider as high =) exalt drinking». — C. Kiang Sheng: Erya says *ch'ung* 44 = 47 'full', an extension of meaning, see above. »How would they dare to drink (fully =) heavily». — D. Sun Sing-yen: *ch'ung* 44 has been defined as = *hing* 48 by a comm. on the Han poem *Tung king fu* (this again is an extension of meaning: 'to lift high'). Thus here: »How would they dare to (lift =) start drinking». — C seems most natural.

1680. *Hou tien nan wei pang po* 49.

A. PK'ung: »The *po* leaders of the (princes of the) *hou*, *tien*, *nan* and *wei* states». For these zones of states see Gl. 1384 above. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en finds it unreasonable that only the leaders of the princes and not the princes themselves should be mentioned, so he interprets: »The (princes of) the *hou*, *tien*, *nan* and *wei* states, *po* and their leaders». — C. We should translate as the line stands: »The leaders of the *hou*, *tien*, *nan* and *wei* states».

*Wang kan mien yü tsiu* cf. Gl. 940.

1681. *Yüe yin jen chi pi* 50.

A. PK'ung: »To *yin* (govern =) correct *jen* their (own) persons and to respect the law». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en construes the line as a continuation of the preceding *chu ch'eng wang tê hien* 51 »(They helped to achieve the eminence of the king's virtue, and they helped) the governors to respect the law», the word *chu* 52 'to help' thus governing both phrases. Very strained. — C. Yü Sing-wu: *yin jen* 53 is equal to the *Yin min* 54 in *Shu*: To *fang* and means 'to govern the people', thus: »To govern the people and respect the laws». This is evidently right.

*Küe ming wang hien yü min chi* etc. see Gl. 1676.

1682. *Pu weitsi sinai yi* 55.

A. PK'ung: *yi* 56 = 57 'to err', taking *wei* as a verb: »He does not think of (stopping =) checking himself, and so he errs». *Yi* fundamentally means 'to escape, to let loose', by extension: 'to be let loose, unbridled, licentious', and a further extension: 'licentious > erring' is, of course, quite possible. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: 58 »He did not think of himself stopping his licentiousness». *Nai* 59 of course cannot mean *k'i* 60 'his', but the archaic form of 61 *küe* has been corrupted into *nai*, see Gl. 1604δ. — C. Kiang Sheng: 59 (\**nag* / *nai* / *nai*) is a short-form for 62 (\**niang* / *niang* / *jen g*); thus: »He did not think of checking himself but *jen g* continued his licentiousness». — C in itself is quite plausible, but B, which takes this short line as one clause and not two, seems preferable.

1683. *Ku tsai Shang yi yüe Yin kuo mie wu li* 63.

A. PK'ung: »Criminals were (assembled) in the city of Shang, in regard to the extinction of the Yin state he had no anxiety». *Li* 64 = 'sorrow, anxiety' is well attested in the *Shi* (e. g. Ode 70). — B. Kiang Sheng: »Crimes were (accumulated) in the city of Shang», etc. — C. Sun Sing-yen: *li* 64 (\**lia*) is loan char. for the homophonous 66, one of the attested meanings of which (see Gl. 442) is 67 'to attach': »Crimes existed

22 自 23 天命自亮以民祗懼 24 自信 25 亮 26 量 27 台 28 以 29 治 30 經德東哲 31 經 32 常 33 行 34 經德不回 35 徑 36 以 37 壘 38 從 39 成王畏相 38 成王畏相惟郵事 39 畏 40 威 41 相惟 辟公 42 助成王德顯 43 其取崇飲 44 崇 45 聚 46 綰 47 充 48 興 49 侯甸男衛邦伯 50 越 51 人祗辟 52 助成王德顯 53 助 54 人 55 民 56 不惟自息乃逸 57 逸 58 過差 59 不思自息其逸 59 乃 60 其 61 服 62 仍 63 事在商邑越殷國滅無罹 64 罹 65 離 66 附 67 不可畏死事 68 在

in the city of Shang; at the extinction of the state of Yin there were (none who attached themselves =) no adherents». — **D.** Yü Yüe would carry *ku* to the preceding line (*pu k'o wei si ku* 68 »he could not fear a guilt leading to death«). Further, *tsai* 69 = 70 (as in Yao tien), and *yüe* 71 is a copulative conjunction = 'and' (common in Ta kao etc.). Thus: »He (examined into =) clearly discerned that the city of Shang and the state of Yin (would) be extinguished, but he had no anxiety«. Yü's dividing of the lines is rhythmically inferior to **A.** — **E.** Sun Yi-jang punctuates: *ku tsai Shang yi yüe Yin kuo, mie wu li*: »Crimes existed in the city of Shang and the states of Yin; but for the extinction he had no anxiety«. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin adduces several texts where *ku* 72 means 'crime punished by death', and believes that it here refers to Shou himself, *ku* functioning as a verb: »For his being punished by death in the city of Shang, and for the extinction of the state of Yin he had no anxiety«. — **G.** Yü Sing-wu: *ku* 72 is equal *ku* 73 (just as a bronze inscription of Middle Chou time, ap. K'ao ku t'u 3:34, has: *yu tsuei yu ku* 74 in the sense of 75, with 73 for 72 — the words being etym. cognate: 'cause': 'guilt'). Yü further, with **C**, takes *li* 64 as = 66 in the sense of 'to attach' 67, but turns the whole quite differently: »Therefore, in the city of Shang and in the State of Yin *mie* there was extinction and *wu li* there was (nowhere to attach oneself =) no refuge«. — **F** and **G** are improbable because a few lines later we again have *ku* 72 clearly taken in its ordinary sense of 'guilt, crime': it should reasonably be the same noun here as well. Of the remaining interpr. **E** seems most natural and convincing.

**1684.** *Fu wei tê hing hiang si teng wen yü t'ien* 76.

**A.** PK'ung takes *wei* 77 as = 'to think', as a few lines earlier: »He did not think of (i. e. be bent on) that fragrant offerings (made with) virtue should ascend and be perceived by Heaven«. — **B.** Yü Yüe says that the phr. *tê hing hiang si* is very unnatural, and believes that *si* 78 stands for *yi* 79, which again would be equal to 80 (cf. Gl. 1663). He further says that *wei* 77 means *yu* 81 (for which there is no pre-Han support whatever), thus: *fu wei tê hing hiang* »There was no fragrance of virtue *yi teng wen yü t'ien* which ascended and was perceived by Heaven«. *Yi* 80 in this way comes in very strange. — **A** is essentially right, but *wei* is not a verb, as shown by the balancing *tan wei* in the next line. Thus: »It was not (so that) fragrant offerings (made with) virtue ascended and were perceived by Heaven«.

**1685.** *Wo k'i k'o pu ta kien fu yü shi* 82.

**A.** PK'ung: »Can I but greatly examine (this) and *fu* tranquillize (the world) *yü shi* in this«. This last (PK'ung:) 83 »in this« being very vague, K'ung Ying-ta defines it: »in this time«. Ts'ai Ch'en modifies the second half still more: »and tranquillize this (time =) epoch»; this, however, is grammatically unallowable, since it simply skips the *yü*. — **B.** Kiang Sheng: *fu* 84 here does not mean 'tranquillize' but 85 'to follow' (which construes the *yü* as in Kao Yao mo 86 »They follow the 5 periods«). Thus: »Can I but greatly examine and follow this«. — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu: *fu* 84 is loan char. for *wu* 87, as in the Lun and Meng phr. *wu jan* 88 'taken aback, consternated, brought to silence': »Can I but greatly examine and be struck by this«. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin: *fu* 84 is a corruption of 89, which in its turn is a Han-time variant of 90, thus: »Can I but greatly examine and take the model in this«. — **B**, which is simple and natural and takes *fu* as it stands, in a sense attested in the Shu, seems preferable.

*Ju kia pi Yin hien ch'en* see Gl. 1604.

**1686.** *T'ai shi yü nei shi yü* 91.

**A.** PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »Those whom the grand scribe befriends and those whom the scribe of the interior befriends«. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »The grand scribe whom you befriend and the scribe of the interior whom you befriend«. — **C.** Kiang

Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: y u 92 is equal to 93 'to be on the right-hand side of, to wait upon, to assist': »The grand scribe, your assistant« etc. At the same time, in »the right side« there is the idea of his being in an honoured place as the ruler's intimate attendant. Thus: »Your honoured assistant the grand scribe and your honoured assistant the scribe of the interior«.

1687. Yüe hien ch'en po tsung kung 94.

A. Most comm. take yüe as the ordinary particle: »Your wise servants and many honoured officers«. For yüe in that sense in a similar enumeration see Ta kao. — B. Kiang Sheng connects this line with the preceding: »(the scribes, who) y üe surpass the wise servants« etc. Very far-fetched.

1688. Shen wei er shi fu hui fu ts'ai 95.

A. PK'ung: »Still more, as to your (personal) affairs, those who fu practise hui fine (principles), those who fu practise ts'ai (governing) business«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: shi 96 means 'to serve', referring to the ruler's respect for good assistants: »Still more er shi such as you serve (i. e. respect), whom you fu serve in hui quietude (sc. when they lecture you) and whom you fu serve in ts'ai activity (sc. when they perform business)«. — C. Cheng Hün: fu hui means your attendants when in repose and leisure, fu ts'ai means your attendants when acting in court or sacrifices. The contrast between hui 'rest, leisure' and ts'ai 'business, activity' (see Gl. 1233) is obviously right. As to the first line, Kiang Sheng takes er shi 97 as = 98 »your keepers of affairs«; Chang Ping-lin would consider er 97 as short-form for er 99: »as to your (near =) personal affairs«. But shi 96 and fu 100 are indeed sometimes synonymous, in that both can mean 'to serve', and there is every reason to apply this sense, when the constellation of them favours it: »Still more your (direct) shi servants, those who fu serve you hui in your leisure, and those who fu serve you ts'ai in your activity«. — D. Wu Ch'eng takes the first line as C above, but for the rest has a curious speculation: »Still more your servants, those whose fu service (business) is hui leisure and those whose fu service is ts'ai busy«.

1689. Shen wei jo ch'ou k'i fu po wei nung fu jo pao hung fu ting pi 1.

All comm. agree that k'i fu is equal to si-ma 2 »Master of the horse«, i. e. minister of war, nung fu = si t'u 3 »Master of the multitudes (farmers)« and hung fu = si k'ung 4 »Master of works«.

A. PK'ung punctuates: shen wei jo ch'ou k'i fu, po wei nung fu, jo pao hung fu, ting pi. He takes jo 5 as = shun 6 'to comply with' and ch'ou 7 as = 'to investigate, consult' (cf. Gl. 1230, E). Po 8 is equal to po 9 'to press, come near to' (po 8 is common in the sense 'to press' in Tso and Kyü), and 10 (\*g'wər / jwěi / wei) stands for 11 (\*g'wər / yuqi / hua i) 'to turn round, go all round'; pao 12 = 13 'to find peace in'. Thus: »Still more the k'i fu minister of war jo whom you comply with and ch'ou consult, the nung fu master of the multitudes (farmers) who po keeps near to and wei goes all round among (the people) and the hung fu master of works whom you jo comply with and pao find your peace in

70 察 71 越 72 辜 73 故 74 有 辜 有 故 75 有 罪 有 辜 76 弗 惟 使 馨 香 祀 豎 聞 于 天 77 惟 祀 78  
已 80 以 81 有 82 我 其 可 不 大 監 撫 于 時 83 於 是 84 撫 85 循 86 撫 于 五 辰 87 撫 88 撫 然 89 撫  
90 撫 91 太 史 友 內 史 友 92 友 93 又 右 94 越 賢 臣 百 宗 工 95 矧 惟 爾 事 服 休 服 采 96 事 97 爾  
事 98 爾 執 事 99 通 事 100 服 1 矧 惟 若 疇 圻 父 薄 違 費 父 若 保 宏 父 定 辟 2 司 馬 3 司 徒 4

— (these three) firmly establish your pi sovereign (principles)». A dreadful interpr. — **B.** Cheng Hsuan paraphrases: 14, but it appears from his note that he wrote 15 in the sense of 7 'ploughed field', here 'territory'. Ma Jung says wei 10 = 16, And Kiang Sheng fills out: »Still more the k'i fu minister of war who jo harmoniously ch'ou gives territories (to the people), the nung fu master of the multitude who po hing (pressingly goes =) travels near to (the people), and the hung fu master of works who jo pao harmoniously gives peace to (the people), (these three) who firmly establish their ruler». Sun Sing-yen takes po 8 as = 17 'to exert oneself' and wei 10 = 18 'to go awry', the 2nd line thus being: »the nung fu master of the multitude who po wei exerts himself about the perverse conduct (of the people)»; and he explains the last line: »who establish pi the laws». All this is exceedingly scholastic. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en has observed that po wei 19, which most naturally should mean 'to press the transgressors', ought to refer to the minister of war, and therefore he punctuates quite differently: Shen wei jo ch'ou, k'i fu po wei, nung fu jo pao, hung fu ting pi, taking ch'ou 7 as = 'an equal, colleague' (well attested, see Gl. 1281). Thus: »Still more jo such as ch'ou your equals (colleagues), the k'i fu minister of war who po wei suppresses the transgressors, nung fu the master of the multitudes (farmers) who pao protects (the people) and hung fu master of works who ting pi establishes the rules». This punctuation is rhythmically best. But in the 3rd line nung fu jo pao, Ts'ai has simply skipped the inconvenient jo, which here can make no sense, and thereby defeats his interpr. — **D.** Chang Ping-lin has seized upon Ts'ai's good idea that po wei must refer to the k'i fu minister of war. He reverts to the ancient division of the lines and surmises that an inversion has been made so that the attributes in the first and second lines should change place: Shen wei po wei k'i fu, jo ch'ou nung fu, jo pao hung fu, ting pi. He says po 8 stands for 20 = 'to strike', but it is better, with the preceding, to take it = 9 'to press', since this is well-attested. Jo 5 has the same meaning as in Yao tien (Shun tien) 21 »Who will (conform himself to =) carefully attend to my works?». Thus: »Still more the k'i fu minister of war who po wei suppresses the transgressors, nung fu the master of the multitudes (farmers) who jo ch'ou (conforms himself to =) carefully attends to the territories, and the hung fu master of works who jo pao carefully attends to the strongholds (walled cities), (these three) who establish the laws». Chang's emendation is ingenious and convincing. — **E.** Yü Sing-wu: shen wei jo ch'ou should, with Cheng Hsuan above, be: shen wei jo shou 15 »Still more jo your shou aged ones» (i. e. the san kung 22 three highest dignitaries). But then he cannot satisfactorily explain the following jo pao 23.

**1690.** Yu wei Yin chi ti chu ch'en wei kung nai mien yü tsiu 24.

**A.** PK'ung: »And further, as to Yin's chu ch'en servants ti who walk (in a bad way) and who kung being officials steep themselves in wine». That ti 25 alone should mean 'to walk in a bad way' is of course excluded. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »And further, as to Yin's guided servants, those who are officials, who steep themselves in wine». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen takes the first wei as a verb, and ti intransitive = 'to advance': »And further, you should think of Yin's (advanced =) promoted servants, those who are officials». — **D.** Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates after ti: »And further, as to Yin's guidance, the servants who are officials steep themselves in wine». — **B** is certainly best, since the idea is that the Yin king guided his subjects into wickedness; and it construes the line more naturally than D.

**1691.** Yu si ming hiang 26.

**A.** PK'ung: »Yu si ming if you have this enlightened (instruction), hiang you will enjoy (your state)». — **B.** Cheng Hsuan: si 27 means si 28 'to cleave' (well-

attested meaning, ex. in Shi). Hence = 'to separate, to distinguish, discern'. In order to explain the line acc. to this, both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have taken *yu* 29 as standing for *yu* 30; but they interpret differently. — *a.* Kiang: »*Yu* again, *sī ming* distinguishing the enlightened ones (sc. those who follow the instructions), *hiang* present them (for office)«. — *β.* Sun: »*Yu* again, *sī ming* distinguish and make clear *hiang* the sacrifices« (i. e. whether their drinking is due to sacrifices). Both hopelessly far-fetched. — *C.* Ts'ai Ch'en: »*Yu sī* if you (possess this =) keep on to this, *ming hiang* I shall brightly enjoy it«. Liu Feng-lu, however, better takes »you« as the subject in both clauses: »If you keep on to this, you shall brightly enjoy (your fief)«. — *D.* Sun Yi-jang and Chang Ping-lin: *hiang* 31 is loan char. for *hiang* 32 'to go towards', here transitive 'to direct towards', thus: »If you have this clear guidance«. — We are here at the end of the chapter, and the king sums up his exhortation to K'ang Shu: it is thus quite analogous to the concluding remarks in the K'ang kao (with which our Tsiu kao is connected) to the same K'ang Shu: *wu wo tien hiang* 33 »May it not happen that I cut off your enjoyment (of your fief)«. The par. conclusively shows that *C* in Liu Feng-lu's interpr. is right.

*Ju tien t'ung chen pi* see Gl. 1604. *Wu pien nai sī* etc. see Gl. 1217.

### Ts'i ts'ai

1692. *Ju jo heng yüe yüe* 34.

*A.* PK'ung: *jo heng* 35 = 36 'to follow the regular norms', but he construes it transitively: »You should make them follow the regular norms, and *yüe* 37 then *yüe* 37a say...«. Kiang Sheng modifies this into: »You should follow the constant norms and then say...«. — *B.* Legge: *yüe* 37 = 38 'to proclaim': for conclusive text par. see Gl. 1068, cf. also Gl. 1675. Thus: »If you constantly proclaim and say:....«.

*Wo yu shī shī* see Gl. 1305.

1693. *Yüe yü wang li sha jen* 39.

*A.* PK'ung and later comm. take the preceding line as subject: »(The master of the multitudes... etc.) will say: we do not tyrannically kill people«. — *B.* Legge takes Feng as the subject: »(If you proclaim and say...) I do not tyrannically kill people«. *B* is much better, since it follows up ideas embroidered upon in the preceding K'ang kao and Tsiu kao (with which the Ts'i ts'ai forms a trilogy): that Feng as a ruler of a state must himself be careful about the punishments.

1694. *Yi küe kün sien king lao sī ts'u küe king lao si wang kien kiu sha jen li jen yu* 40.

*A.* *Sī* 41 is the particle 'then' = 42. PK'ung takes »the prince« as subject in all the clauses: »(Since) the prince (should) go before in caring for and encouraging (the people) *sī ts'u* you should go (to the caring for and encouraging of them =) to care for and encourage them; *sī wang* and you should go to the pardoning of the *li jen* (persons of passage =) accomplices of traitors and villains and murderers«. Ts'ai Ch'en says he does not understand the paragraph. — *B.* Kiang Sheng: *yi* 43 is the primary graph for 44 'armpit, to support', cf. Gl. 1301): »They (sc. the various functionaries) will assist

司空 5 若 6 順 7 時 8 薄 9 迫 10 達 11 迴 12 保 13 安 14 順 萬民之圻 兮 15 壽 16 行 17 勉  
 18 邪行 19 薄達 20 搏 21 時若于工 22 三公 23 若保 24 又惟殷之迪諸臣惟工乃酒于酒 25  
 迪 26 有斯明享 27 斯 28 析 29 有 30 又 31 享 32 嚮 33 無我殄享 34 汝若恆越 曰 35 若恆 36 順  
 常 37 越 37 曰 38 揚 39 曰 予罔厲殺人 40 亦厥君先敬勞肆俎厥敬勞肆往姦宄殺人歷人

the prince in *sien* putting in the first place *king lao* the caring-for and encouraging (of the people); and *sī ts'u* then they will go to their caring-for and encouraging (of the people), *sī wang* and then they will go to the traitors and villains and murderers and *li* (pass in review =) examine *jen yu* (these) men's pardoning». — C. Wang Sien-k'ien: »(Since) the prince goes before in taking care of and encouraging (the people), they (the officials mentioned) will go (to their caring-for and encouraging) to care for and encourage (the people); and they will go to the traitors and villains and murderers and *li jen* examine the men and *yu* give pardon». Wang thus considers *yi* 43 merely as an introductory particle (very common); *li* 45 in the sense of 'to pass through, pass in review, examine' is also common. That the prince was the subject in the first clause but the officers in the second was already the opinion of Liu Feng-lu. — D. Sun Yi-jang: *ts'u* 46 should be *ts'ie* 47 in the sense of 48 'this, these', and as a counterpart to this *wang* 49 should mean 50 'that, those'. *Li* 45 does not mean 'to pass in review, investigate' (with B and C), but is a short-form for *li* 51 'finger-squeezer' which occurs, with the same short-form, in Chuang: T'ien ti 52 »criminals with crossed arms and squeezer-bound fingers». Thus: »(If) the prince goes before in caring for and encouraging (the people), then (*ts'u* = *ts'ie*) these (officers) will care for and encourage (the people); and then *wang* those (officers) will *yu* pardon the traitors and villains, murderers and finger-squeezing men». Sun simply skips the inconvenient *küe* 53, and in the last clause he places the object before the verb. The definition *ts'ie* 47 = 48 lacks support, see Gl. 1674 F and Gl. 1127. *Wang* 49 = 50 is entirely imaginary. The expl. of *li*, however, is ingenious and strikingly plausible, since it is evident that *kien kiu sha-jen li-jen* must be three coördinated and analogous phrases (as against B and C above). Yü Sing-wu would instead take *li* 45 (\**liek*) as loan-word for *li* 34 (\**gliek*), since the phr. *jen li* 55 occurs in bronze inscriptions apparently with the meaning of 'slave'; but Sun's expl. is much better corroborated. — E. Chang Ping-lin would punctuate differently: *yi küe kün, sien king lao sī ts'u, küe king lao sī wang*, etc. He believes that the officers are speaking: »(We do not kill tyrannically), it is only (for the prince =) on the prince's behalf; we first care for and encourage the *sī* (41) now *ts'u* (46 = 56) existing; and (then) we shall care for and encourage *sī wang* (57 = 58) those from hereafter». An utterly impossible construction. — F. In spite of the fact that *ts'u* 46 and *wang* 49 both mean 'to go', they are not analogous here, since the construction in the two clauses is different: *ts'u* is a transitive verb with *küe king lao* as object; *wang* is an attribute to *kien kiu* etc., which is the subject of the verb *yu*. *Wang* (as often) means 'gone'. Making partial use of D, we thus obtain: »The prince (goes before =) sets an example to care about and encourage (the people); and then they (the officers) will go (to their caring-for etc. =) to care for and encourage (the people); and then the former traitors and villains and killers and (fingersqueezing men =) torturers will be pardoned».

1694 a. *Sī yi kien küe kün shī ts'iang pai jen yu* 59.

A. This is the Ku-wen version, registered by Cheng Hsuan (comm. on Chouli) and PK'ung. Construing on the analogy of the preceding line (Gl. 1694), we obtain: »Then when they observe their prince's management (sc. of the punishments), malefactors and destroyers will be pardoned». — B. The Kin-wen version ap. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Hiao li) inst. of the last four words: *ts'iang pai jen yu*, reads: *k'iang jen yu* 60 and carries this to the next line. This, however, spoils the parallelism with the preceding line and should be rejected. That is even more so if, with K'ung Kuang-sen, we read our *yu* 61 here as a loan word for 62 'to assist' and carry it to the next line.

1695. *Wang k'i kien* 63.

A. This is the Ku-wen version ap. Cheng Hsuan (comm. on Chouli: T'ai tsai) and

PK'ung. — *a.* PK'ung defines k' i 64 as = 65 'to open out and (place =) institute', thus: »The king institutes inspectors». But k' i really has no such meaning. — *β.* Sun Sing-yen: k' i 64 = 66 'to instruct': »The king instructs his inspectors (i. e. feudal lords)». Cf. Shu, lost chapter ap. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia 67: »It helps and instructs us, men of later ages». — *γ.* Sun Yi-jang: k' i 64 = 68 »opens up information for»: »The king tells his inspectors». — *B.* The Kin-wen version ap. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Hiao li) reads: (K' i a n g j e n y u) w a n g k' a i h i e n 69 »(As to strong men it occurs that) the king opens (the way) for wise men». Cheng Hsüan, in comm. on Shang shu ta chuan, speaks of k' a i h i e n, which shows that he too knew of this Kin-wen version. The first 3 words are carried over from the preceding line, an inferior reading (see Gl. 1694a). Tuan Yü-ts'ai considers k' a i h i e n as a corruption of k' i k i e n, k' a i being a Han-time substitute for k' i (for taboo reasons) and h i e n 70 being similar in shape to k i e n 71. But obviously we could equally well say that k' i k i e n is a corruption of a k' i h i e n 72 »to open the way for wise men», k' i being very common in that sense, e. g. *passim* in Tso (Tso: Wen 7, phr. 73 »to open the way for robbers and enemies», etc.) But if we none the less prefer the A reading, it is because in the next line we have the expression l u a n (sī) w e i 74 (see next gloss), and in the Lo kao we have the same combination: k i e n w o s h i . . . l u a n (sī) w e i s i f u 75. These chapters are very kindred and very likely written by the same author, so the probability is that k i e n 71 is the proper reading here as well.

**1696. K ü e l u a n (sī) w e i m i n 76.**

*A.* The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: Hiao li reads k ü e s h u a i h u a m i n 77. Tuan Yü-ts'ai says this is a corruption, a Ku-wen form of l u a n being similar to s h u a i, and w e i 78 (\*gwia) and h u a 79 (\*χwa) being phonetically similar (indeed they are interchangeable as phonetics: 80 = 81). — *B.* The Ku-wen version runs 76 (see above), and this l u a n w e i is confirmed as the proper reading by two Shu par., see below. *a.* PK'ung says l u a n 82 means 83 'to govern' (common); in such case really to be read not l u a n but s i (82 being a corruption of 84, 85 = 86, see Gl. 1464). Lu Tê-ming adds that w e i is read in falling tone, thus: »Their government is for the people». — *β.* Wang Yin-chi: l u a n 82 (\*lwán) (B version) was phonetically akin (sic!) to the A version's s h u a i 87 (\*shiwat, l i w a t), and since s h u a i can be a particle (refuted in our Gl. 1406), l u a n must also have been an empty particle. A dreadful speculation. But Yü Sing-wu follows in his tracks and takes the line together with the preceding, skipping the l u a n (s h u a i) as a »particle»: 88 would mean »When the king k' i first k i e n inspected k ü e w e i m i n those who were his people». Wang Yin-chi has the same idea about l u a n as an »empty particle» in two Lo kao cases (see below) and in several more passages (in Kün Shī and Li cheng). It is utterly unfounded. — *γ.* Chang Ping-lin: l u a n 82 does not mean 83 'to govern' but has here the same meaning as in Lun: T'ai po and Li Yüe ki: 'finale' in a musical performance; by extension 'the epitome, the

宵<sup>41</sup>肆<sup>42</sup>則<sup>43</sup>亦<sup>44</sup>按<sup>(腋)</sup> 45歷<sup>46</sup>徂<sup>47</sup>日<sup>48</sup>此<sup>49</sup>往<sup>50</sup>彼<sup>51</sup>歷<sup>52</sup>罪人交臂歷指<sup>53</sup>厥<sup>54</sup>鬲<sup>55</sup>人鬲<sup>56</sup>存<sup>57</sup>肆<sup>58</sup>往<sup>59</sup>自今以往皆<sup>60</sup>肆<sup>61</sup>亦見厥君事狀敗人宵<sup>62</sup>彊人有<sup>63</sup>宵<sup>64</sup>王啓監<sup>65</sup>啓<sup>66</sup>開置<sup>67</sup>教<sup>68</sup>佑啓我後人<sup>69</sup>告<sup>70</sup>(彊人有)王開賢<sup>71</sup>賢<sup>72</sup>啓<sup>73</sup>啓<sup>74</sup>啓<sup>75</sup>啓<sup>76</sup>啓<sup>77</sup>啓<sup>78</sup>啓<sup>79</sup>啓<sup>80</sup>啓<sup>81</sup>啓<sup>82</sup>啓<sup>83</sup>啓<sup>84</sup>啓<sup>85</sup>啓<sup>86</sup>啓<sup>87</sup>啓<sup>88</sup>啓<sup>89</sup>啓<sup>90</sup>啓<sup>91</sup>啓<sup>92</sup>啓<sup>93</sup>啓<sup>94</sup>啓<sup>95</sup>啓<sup>96</sup>啓<sup>97</sup>啓<sup>98</sup>啓<sup>99</sup>啓<sup>100</sup>啓<sup>101</sup>啓<sup>102</sup>啓<sup>103</sup>啓<sup>104</sup>啓<sup>105</sup>啓<sup>106</sup>啓<sup>107</sup>啓<sup>108</sup>啓<sup>109</sup>啓<sup>110</sup>啓<sup>111</sup>啓<sup>112</sup>啓<sup>113</sup>啓<sup>114</sup>啓<sup>115</sup>啓<sup>116</sup>啓<sup>117</sup>啓<sup>118</sup>啓<sup>119</sup>啓<sup>120</sup>啓<sup>121</sup>啓<sup>122</sup>啓<sup>123</sup>啓<sup>124</sup>啓<sup>125</sup>啓<sup>126</sup>啓<sup>127</sup>啓<sup>128</sup>啓<sup>129</sup>啓<sup>130</sup>啓<sup>131</sup>啓<sup>132</sup>啓<sup>133</sup>啓<sup>134</sup>啓<sup>135</sup>啓<sup>136</sup>啓<sup>137</sup>啓<sup>138</sup>啓<sup>139</sup>啓<sup>140</sup>啓<sup>141</sup>啓<sup>142</sup>啓<sup>143</sup>啓<sup>144</sup>啓<sup>145</sup>啓<sup>146</sup>啓<sup>147</sup>啓<sup>148</sup>啓<sup>149</sup>啓<sup>150</sup>啓<sup>151</sup>啓<sup>152</sup>啓<sup>153</sup>啓<sup>154</sup>啓<sup>155</sup>啓<sup>156</sup>啓<sup>157</sup>啓<sup>158</sup>啓<sup>159</sup>啓<sup>160</sup>啓<sup>161</sup>啓<sup>162</sup>啓<sup>163</sup>啓<sup>164</sup>啓<sup>165</sup>啓<sup>166</sup>啓<sup>167</sup>啓<sup>168</sup>啓<sup>169</sup>啓<sup>170</sup>啓<sup>171</sup>啓<sup>172</sup>啓<sup>173</sup>啓<sup>174</sup>啓<sup>175</sup>啓<sup>176</sup>啓<sup>177</sup>啓<sup>178</sup>啓<sup>179</sup>啓<sup>180</sup>啓<sup>181</sup>啓<sup>182</sup>啓<sup>183</sup>啓<sup>184</sup>啓<sup>185</sup>啓<sup>186</sup>啓<sup>187</sup>啓<sup>188</sup>啓<sup>189</sup>啓<sup>190</sup>啓<sup>191</sup>啓<sup>192</sup>啓<sup>193</sup>啓<sup>194</sup>啓<sup>195</sup>啓<sup>196</sup>啓<sup>197</sup>啓<sup>198</sup>啓<sup>199</sup>啓<sup>200</sup>啓<sup>201</sup>啓<sup>202</sup>啓<sup>203</sup>啓<sup>204</sup>啓<sup>205</sup>啓<sup>206</sup>啓<sup>207</sup>啓<sup>208</sup>啓<sup>209</sup>啓<sup>210</sup>啓<sup>211</sup>啓<sup>212</sup>啓<sup>213</sup>啓<sup>214</sup>啓<sup>215</sup>啓<sup>216</sup>啓<sup>217</sup>啓<sup>218</sup>啓<sup>219</sup>啓<sup>220</sup>啓<sup>221</sup>啓<sup>222</sup>啓<sup>223</sup>啓<sup>224</sup>啓<sup>225</sup>啓<sup>226</sup>啓<sup>227</sup>啓<sup>228</sup>啓<sup>229</sup>啓<sup>230</sup>啓<sup>231</sup>啓<sup>232</sup>啓<sup>233</sup>啓<sup>234</sup>啓<sup>235</sup>啓<sup>236</sup>啓<sup>237</sup>啓<sup>238</sup>啓<sup>239</sup>啓<sup>240</sup>啓<sup>241</sup>啓<sup>242</sup>啓<sup>243</sup>啓<sup>244</sup>啓<sup>245</sup>啓<sup>246</sup>啓<sup>247</sup>啓<sup>248</sup>啓<sup>249</sup>啓<sup>250</sup>啓<sup>251</sup>啓<sup>252</sup>啓<sup>253</sup>啓<sup>254</sup>啓<sup>255</sup>啓<sup>256</sup>啓<sup>257</sup>啓<sup>258</sup>啓<sup>259</sup>啓<sup>260</sup>啓<sup>261</sup>啓<sup>262</sup>啓<sup>263</sup>啓<sup>264</sup>啓<sup>265</sup>啓<sup>266</sup>啓<sup>267</sup>啓<sup>268</sup>啓<sup>269</sup>啓<sup>270</sup>啓<sup>271</sup>啓<sup>272</sup>啓<sup>273</sup>啓<sup>274</sup>啓<sup>275</sup>啓<sup>276</sup>啓<sup>277</sup>啓<sup>278</sup>啓<sup>279</sup>啓<sup>280</sup>啓<sup>281</sup>啓<sup>282</sup>啓<sup>283</sup>啓<sup>284</sup>啓<sup>285</sup>啓<sup>286</sup>啓<sup>287</sup>啓<sup>288</sup>啓<sup>289</sup>啓<sup>290</sup>啓<sup>291</sup>啓<sup>292</sup>啓<sup>293</sup>啓<sup>294</sup>啓<sup>295</sup>啓<sup>296</sup>啓<sup>297</sup>啓<sup>298</sup>啓<sup>299</sup>啓<sup>300</sup>啓<sup>301</sup>啓<sup>302</sup>啓<sup>303</sup>啓<sup>304</sup>啓<sup>305</sup>啓<sup>306</sup>啓<sup>307</sup>啓<sup>308</sup>啓<sup>309</sup>啓<sup>310</sup>啓<sup>311</sup>啓<sup>312</sup>啓<sup>313</sup>啓<sup>314</sup>啓<sup>315</sup>啓<sup>316</sup>啓<sup>317</sup>啓<sup>318</sup>啓<sup>319</sup>啓<sup>320</sup>啓<sup>321</sup>啓<sup>322</sup>啓<sup>323</sup>啓<sup>324</sup>啓<sup>325</sup>啓<sup>326</sup>啓<sup>327</sup>啓<sup>328</sup>啓<sup>329</sup>啓<sup>330</sup>啓<sup>331</sup>啓<sup>332</sup>啓<sup>333</sup>啓<sup>334</sup>啓<sup>335</sup>啓<sup>336</sup>啓<sup>337</sup>啓<sup>338</sup>啓<sup>339</sup>啓<sup>340</sup>啓<sup>341</sup>啓<sup>342</sup>啓<sup>343</sup>啓<sup>344</sup>啓<sup>345</sup>啓<sup>346</sup>啓<sup>347</sup>啓<sup>348</sup>啓<sup>349</sup>啓<sup>350</sup>啓<sup>351</sup>啓<sup>352</sup>啓<sup>353</sup>啓<sup>354</sup>啓<sup>355</sup>啓<sup>356</sup>啓<sup>357</sup>啓<sup>358</sup>啓<sup>359</sup>啓<sup>360</sup>啓<sup>361</sup>啓<sup>362</sup>啓<sup>363</sup>啓<sup>364</sup>啓<sup>365</sup>啓<sup>366</sup>啓<sup>367</sup>啓<sup>368</sup>啓<sup>369</sup>啓<sup>370</sup>啓<sup>371</sup>啓<sup>372</sup>啓<sup>373</sup>啓<sup>374</sup>啓<sup>375</sup>啓<sup>376</sup>啓<sup>377</sup>啓<sup>378</sup>啓<sup>379</sup>啓<sup>38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summing up', the essential part. Thus: »Its *luan* (summing up =) main point was (that it was) *wei min* for the people».

Before deciding we have to examine some par. cases:

Shu: Lo kao: *Tan pao Wen Wu shou min luan* (*si*) *wei si fu* 89.

**A.** PK'ung believes (alluding to a passage in Kuan) that *si-fu* means 90 »the (helper =) promoter of the four (guiding-lines =) moral principles», this being thus a denomination for one person: »Greatly protect the people received by Wen and Wu and *luan* (*si*) governing them be *si fu* a helper of the four (principles)». K'ung Ying-ta modifies this into *si fang chi fu* 91 »a helper of the four (regions)». Legge in his translation adopts this: »By your good government you will be a help to the whole empire», but in his note he has a different opinion: »effecting good government and being a help to me on every side». — **B.** In Li: Wen wang *shi tsi* and in Ta Tai: Ts'ien sheng and Ta Tai: Pao fu it is clearly described how the *si fu* were »four helpers», high dignitaries (cf. *si lin* 92 »four neighbours, four associates» in Kao Yao mo). Our line could then mean: »In the government you should be *si fu* (one of) the Four Helpers». For the construction *wei si fu*: »to be Four Helpers» = »to be one of the four helpers», cf. Lü: Hing lun: (Kun said:) 93 »He does not make me (a Three Dignitaries =) one of the Three Dignitaries». Indeed this interpr. is the oldest attested, for Ta Tai: Pao fu fully expounds how the Four Helpers were Chou Kung, T'ai Kung, Shao Kung and *Shi Yi* (94 = our 95 at the end of our Shu chapter). And this was the opinion of Ku Yung, 1st c. B. C. (Han shu: Ku Yung chuan), who says: »When the Four Helpers were there in full number, Ch'eng Wang committed no errors». Chu Hi seems to have had the same opinion, since he says: *si fu* = 92, and both Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen adopt this interpr. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: In Han time, the districts round the capital were called *san fu* 96 = »the three supporting districts», and this is an allusion to our Shu phr., which shows that some Han scholars took *si fu* in this sense. Thus: »Govern (the capital's) four supporting districts». — **D.** Wang Yin-chi (*ut supra*): *luan* is an »empty particle». — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: *luan* = 'end'; the prince would join the duties of all the »four helpers» on one hand, thus: ».....*luan wei si fu* and to the end be »the four helpers» (in one)».

Shu: Lo kao (later): *Luan* (*si*) *wei si fang sin pi* 97.

**A.** PK'ung: »You should govern and be the new ruler of the four quarters». — **B.** Here again Wang Yin-chi says *luan* is merely an empty particle. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin: »*luan* the (epitome, summing up =) essential thing is *wei* to make for the four quarters *sin pi* new laws».

It is quite evident that (*luan wei* =) *si wei* in these three cases is a fixed phrase and should be interpreted in the same way. Wang Yin-chi's and Chang Ping-lin's theories being much too weakly founded, we should abide by the (*luan* =) *si* = 'to govern' of the earliest comm. But then it will not do to take, with PK'ung and others, *wei* in the first case in falling tone: »their government is *wei* for *min* the people» and *wei* in the second and third cases in even tone: »to govern and *wei* to be». We must conclude that (*luan wei* =) *si wei* is a binome of two analogous verbs. (*Luan* =) *si* meaning 83 'to govern', *wei* 78 'to do' must have its common meaning of 'to manage, to govern, to administer'. We have, in fact, exactly the same phr. as here in Tso: Wen 6, phr. 98 »Whereby can one govern (manage) the people»; Tso: Siang 24, phr. 99 »You manage the state of Tsin», etc. (very common). We thus obtain:

K'ue (*luan* =) *si wei min* 76: »To govern and manage the people». (*Luan* =) *si wei si fu* 89 »To govern and manage the Four Helpers (i. e. be the principal of and take the lead among the highest dignitaries in the land). (*Luan* =) *si wei si fang sin pi* 97 To govern and manage the new princes of the four quarters».



## 1697. Chī yü king kua chī yü shu fu 100.

A. This is PK'ung's reading, and he explains: »Even so far as to king take care of kua the weak and to (pity) the (attached women =) concubines». He thus sacrifices the parallelism, in taking king as a verb with kua as object, but shu as an attribute to fu, supplying an understood verb in the second clause. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en would obtain the necessary parallelism by taking shu as a verb: »Even so far as to take care of the weak and to shu fu (attach women =) find husbands for (lone) women», a comical idea. — C. From a diatribe in Shang shu ta chuan we can see that Fu Sheng's version had 1 (= 2 see Grammata p. 219); and Shuowen quotes chī yü tso u fu 3, defining tso u as = 'pregnant'. Thus: »(Reach to =) attend even to widowers and widows, attend even to pregnant women». In a eulogy by Ts'uei Yüan 4 (2nd c. A. D.) there is a phr.: »He was kind to tso u shuang 5 = »He was kind to pregnant women and widows», an evident allusion to our Shu line (tso u referring to the tso u of Shu, shuang to the kua of the Shu). — The difficulties of A and B are obviated by the good and natural C version, which is the earliest attested.

## 1698. Ho yu yi jung 6.

A. PK'ung: »ho harmonizing (your instructions), yu using (the great way) yi jung be tolerant». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »ho unite (the people), yu follow (this) and jung (embrace =) cherish them». — C. Kiang Sheng connects with the preceding: (even widowers and widows and pregnant women) ho all yu follow up and jung (embrace =) cherish». — D. Sun Sing-yen: ho = 7, yu = 8 and jung means 'to be forbearing' (common): »All you should treat with forbearance». — E. It seems evident that ho and yu are analogous and coördinated adverbial phr. In Meng: -Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang we have yu yu jan yü chī kie 9, where Chao K'i defines yu yu as = 10 'large, broad-minded': »He liberally fraternized with them» (without being proud). This is an extension from the primary sense of 'to follow': 'following' = willingly, readily. Thus here: »Concordantly and compliantly (embrace =) cherish them».

## 1699. Wang k'ī hiao pang kūn yüe yü shī kūe ming ho yi 11.

A. PK'ung, as further expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »The king should hiao 'strive for results; the princes of states and the managers of affairs (should know) what his orders purported». He thus has to supply the crucial words »should know». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »When the king hiao (stimulates =) gives injunctions to the princes of states and managers of affairs, what do his orders purport?» (So also Kiang Sheng). Couvreur has understood Ts'ai as hiao = 'to constitute, nominate', which was certainly not his meaning. — C. Wang Yin-chī: hiao 12 is a loan char. for kiao 13 'to examine' (in other words: the orig. text had 14 without rad., and the Han scholars have wrongly filled it out into 12 inst. of 13), thus: »The king examines the princes of states and the managers of affairs, as to how his orders have been (used =) obeyed». This may already have been the idea of Chang Yi (3rd c.), who in Kuang ya: Shī yen has an entry hiao 12 = 15. — C is quite possible in itself; but since B gives a satisfactory sense without altering the handed-down text, it should be followed.

## 1700. Yin yang yin t'ien 16.

A. PK'ung paraphrases 17, thus (after Erya) taking yin 'to draw, extend' in the sense of 'long': »They should (long =) ever nourish, (long =) ever make tranquil (the

之輔 9 四方之輔 10 四部 11 不以我為三公 12 史佚 13 史逸 14 三輔 15 敵為四方新辟 16  
何以為民 17 子為晉國 18 至于茲窮至于屬婦 19 矜窮 20 鰥寡 21 至于婦婦 22 崔瑗 23 婦  
嬀 24 合由以容 25 同 26 用 27 由由然與之偕 28 浩浩 29 正其效邦君越御事厥命以 30

people)». Yin in this sense is very unnatural. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «He leads them on to nourish and tranquillize (the people)».

**1701.** Tsī ku wang jo tsī kien wang yu pi 18.

Wang yu pi = «have no (case) wherein to pi apply penalties» = «have no use for punishments».

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 19. Just as the Shu line, this is ambiguous, giving a different sense acc. as one punctuates before or after kien; either: «tsī following the ancient kings' (principles) like this, the inspectors have no use for punishments»; or: «following the ancient kings' (principles), and jo tsī kien being inspectors in this way, they have no use for punishments». Liu Feng-lu, with this latter punctuation, would take kien in jo tsī kien as a verb: «like this making inspectors», which is even more strained. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «From of old the king has done like this and the inspectors (thus) have no use for punishments». — C. Wang Sien-k'ien: kien is a verb = 'to inspect, to look down': «... and in looking down (on the state), has no use for punishments». This is certainly no improvement. Kien must reasonably mean the same: «inspector» as in a preceding line.

**1702.** Jo ki t'ien 20.

A. PK'ung: ki = 21: «It is as when one scrutinizes his fields». This is the commonest meaning of ki. As an extension of this meaning, there is the sense 22 'to calculate' (see Gl. 1207): «It is as when one calculates his fields» (so Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: ki = 83: «If one works his fields». But ki has no such meaning (no text par.). — C. Yü Sing-wu has the strange idea that ki t'ien stands for 84 «the king's sacred field», because ki 25 (\*kiər) and 26 (\*dz'ĩk) were «phonetically similar»(!).

**1703.** Wei k'ich'en siu 27.

A. PK'ung: ch'en 28 has its ordinary meaning 29 'to distribute, set forth, arrange': «He should arrange and put it in order». — B. Wang Yin-chi: ch'en 28 is but a short-form for 30, which is «the same» as the 31 in Ode 210, and they all mean 83 'to work'. But in fact all these words have as fundamental sense 'to lay out for cultivation, to arrange' and are closely cognate to the ordinary ch'en 28, with A above, see Gl. 675.

**1704.** Wei k'it'u hits'ī... wei k'it'u tan wo 32.

A. This version with 33 (\*d'o / d'uo / t'u) in both places was really introduced by Wei Pao in T'ang time, as against another earlier reading, see B next. Shuowen defined hi 34 as = 35, and Fu K'ien in comm. on Han shu: Yang Hiung chuan has the phr. 36 which caused Wei Pao's «correction». Yü Yüe points out that with this formulation there is no real parallelism between the two analogous lines: in the first t'u hi would be a binome: «he should t'u hi plaster and ts'ī thatch it»; in the second tan wo would be a binome: he should t'u smear on tan - wo red; hence the first line would indicate two kinds of embellishments, the second only one. — B. The original Ku-wen version, as indicated by K'ung Ying-ta, read wei k'it'u 37 in both cases. This last word 38 was read \*d'āk / ĩāk / yi in the sense of 'fed up with', and \*tāg / tuo / tu in the sense of 'to destroy'. Now K'ung Ying-ta (foll. by Kiang Sheng) believed that this 38 was simply a loan char. for 33 \*d'o / d'uo / t'u, the meaning being the same as in A above, but that is phonetically too unlikely. The truth is revealed by Shuowen, which (under 39) quotes our line 40. It is true that Hū Shen defines this 41 as = 42 'to shut' and adds that it is «read like 43» (\*d'o / d'uo / t'u), i. e. he considers it to be a variant of the latter, which means 'to block, stop up' (again, phonetically very unlikely, though apparently a plausible guess at Hū's time). But it is evident that when under 39 Hū quotes 44, the 41 in this connection cannot mean 42 or 43 'to shut, to block' but must mean something else. Yü Yüe has identified its function: it is merely an enlarged variant for 45 \*d'āk / d'āk / to 'to measure, to take measures for, to plan', and the lines mean: «He should take measures

for plastering and thatching»; «He should take measures for (reddening =) making it red or green». The 38 \**tág* of the Ku-wen version is a loan char. for this 45 \**d'ák*, as proved by a par. in Han shu: Chang Heng chuan 46, where 38 likewise stands for 45, showing a loan praxis of some Han scholars. As to the rare word w o 39, Shuowen defines it as = 'fine red'. But the oldest text (outside our Shu) which throws light on its meaning is Shan hai king (Nan shan king) where we have a line with the contrast of t a n w o 47 «red w o» and t s ' i n g w o 48 «green (blue) w o», which reveals that w o could mean both red and green (as emphasized by Tuan Yü-ts'ai). And since the first line has two notions: h i and t s ' i «plastering and thatching», Yü Yüe is certainly right that the second should likewise have two: «to make t a n red and w o green». — C. Liu Feng-lu, foll. by Chang Ping-lin, accepts the Ku-wen reading 38; and since Shuowen under this word says: 49 «one meaning is to end (finish)», he interprets here: «He should finish (the work) by plastering and thatching». This is plausible in itself, but there is no supporting text having 38 with the meaning 'to finish'. — B in Shuowen's variant is the oldest extant version, and well supported by the proper Ku-wen version.

1705. J o t s o t s i t s ' a i 50.

A. Ma Jung (who has the variant 51) says t s i is a verb = 'to carpenter', analogous to 52 'to make pottery' and 53 'to cast, to work metal': «It is as when one does carpentering on timber». — B. Parallelism with the preceding j o t s o k i a shows that t s i t s ' a i should be nouns: «It is as when one works on catalpa wood».

1706. K i k ' i n p ' o c h o 54.

A. Ma Jung defines 55 (\**p'ük* / *p'ák* / *p'o*) as = 'wood that has not yet been worked into a utensil', i. 'unworked wood'; it is a variation of the same stem as 55 (same char.) \**p'uk* / *p'uk* / *p'u* 'in a natural state, simple' (common). Here, as a verb, this *p'o* thus means 'to treat the unworked wood' i. e. the first rough cutting, 'to trim': «When he has toiled in trimming and carving it». — B. Yü Sing-wu: In the bronze inscriptions there is a phr. 56 'to attack'. And since f a 57 can mean 'to cut', so *p'u* 58 should also have a meaning 'to cut', and our 55 stands for this; hence *p'o c h o*, properly 59, is a binome: «When he has toiled in cutting it». This is far from plausible. The 58 of the inscriptions is probably the same word as 60 \**p'uk* / *p'uk* / *p'u* 'to beat, strike' and has no sense of 'to cut'.

1707. K i n w a n g w e i y ü e 61.

For various ideas about who the speaker was see Legge's note. In accordance with the well-founded opinion that the trilogy K'ang kao — Tsiu kao — Ts'i ts'ai were all pronounced by Wu Wang (see Gl. 1622 above), and that Chou Kung is nowhere mentioned but only the king on the one hand, Feng (alias K'ang Shu) on the other, we necessarily conclude that these last lines, addressed to the king, are Feng's answer: «Now the king should say».

1708. H u a i w e i k i a (h i e) 62.

A. PK'ung paraphrases 63. Erya has an entry h u a i 64 = l a i 65, but that does

效乃校乃交乃考乃引乃義乃信乃長乃民乃長安乃民乃自古乃王乃茲乃監乃因乃攸乃辟乃用乃吉乃道  
如此監無所復罪乃若稽田乃考乃計乃治乃精乃田乃稽乃精乃惟其陳修乃陳乃列乃  
敵乃旬乃惟其塗堅茨乃惟其塗丹腹乃塗乃堅乃印塗乃塗堅乃惟其敷乃敷乃腹乃  
惟其敷乃敷乃閉乃杜乃惟其敷丹腹乃度乃盤逸之無敷乃丹腹乃青腹乃一曰乃終乃  
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not mean, as the Ts'ing scholars generally believe, that there existed a word *h u a i* = 'to come' (see Gl. 110a) but simply that *h u a i* ('to carry in the bosom' =) 'to cherish' by extension could mean 'by cherishing to gain, to attract (cause to come)'. This was evidently PK'ung's idea here: »They (cherished =) attracted (the distant ones) and made them near». 66 \**kāp / kǎp / kia* properly means 'to be on both sides of' (Ode 250, Tso *passim*), hence also 'to assist, to support' (Tso *passim*); Shīwen, though still defining it as = 67 'near', reads the word \**g'iap / yiep / hie*, which seems to indicate that Lu Tê-ming imagined some other etymology. Later comm. like Kiang Sheng vary PK'ung slightly: »They (cherished =) attracted (the princes) so as to be their supporters». — B. Chuang Shu-tsu: *kia* 66 is a short-form for 68, read *tsie* (\**tsiep / tsie*) = 69 'to reach everywhere, all round', as in Ode 236 (see Gl. 770 with text ex.). Thus: »Their cherishing was universal». — C. Sun Yi-jang would carry *h u a i* to the preceding line (70) and *wei kia* to the following (71), which, however, makes a very forced construction in the former line. (»They used their bright virtue and attracted [sc. the princes]). — B is simple and plausible.

#### 1709. Shu pang hiang 72.

A. PK'ung: »All the states brought offerings». — B. Kiang Sheng would carry the *tso* 73 of next line here: *shu pang hiang tso*: »All the states *hiang* brought offerings and *tso* acted». Sun Sing-yen, punctuating in the same way, says *tso* means 74 'to start, to initiate', so that *hiang tso* would mean the same as *tso hiang*: »All the states *tso* started to *hiang* bring offerings», an eccentric interpr. Both these expl. being obvious impossible, Yü Sing-wu proposes that *tso* 73 stands for *tsu* 75 'sacrificial meat' (the orig. graph thus being 76, wrongly filled out into 73 by the Han scribes, inst. of 75), thus: »All the states offered sacrificial meat». This punctuation has been introduced in order to evade the following phr. *tso hiung ti*, but that is not necessary, since the latter makes good sense.

*Tso hiung ti fang lai* see Gl. 1234.

#### 1710. Hou shī tien tsi shu pang p'ei hiang 77.

Both PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en insist that *hou* 78 means 79 »the successor», which is to force the word unnecessarily; it simply means »the sovereign» (very common).

A. PK'ung punctuates: *Hou shī tien*, *tsi shu pang*, *p'ei hiang* »If the sovereign uses the regular norms, he will harmonize all the states, and they will grandly bring offerings». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: *Hou shī tien tsi*, *shu pang p'ei hiang*: »If the sovereign using the regular norms unites them, all the states will grandly bring offerings». Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen accept this, which certainly is rhythmically better than A. — C. Yü Sing-wu: *hou* 78 is a right-turned variant for *sī* 80, and this is here merely »a particle». *Tsi* 81 means 82 'to achieve', thus: *sī* then *shī* thereby it will *tien* (regularly =) always *tsi* be (achieved =) successful». A strange speculation.

#### 1711. Huang t'ien ki fu chung kuo min 83.

A. This is PK'ung's version: Great Heaven has delivered the people of the Central kingdom.... (PK'ung indeed supplies: »... has delivered [to the Chou] the...», but the line connects with the following, as realized by Ts'ai Ch'en). — B. Ma Jung's version had *fu* 84 inst. of 85: »Heaven has attached the people...» In all probability the pre-Han text had simply 85, without radical (Chou fashion), and Ma has considered this as a short-form for 84, and added the radical. This is not necessary, the unenlarged char. making good sense.

#### 1712. Yüe küe kiang t'u yü sien wang sī 86.

A. PK'ung: *yüe* 87 = *yüan* 88 'far' (common); *sī* 89 = 90. It is true that when *suei* is used as a particle: 'then, thereupon', it is synonymous with *sī* 89 in

this sense; but PK'ung concludes that *sī* must also have the pregnant sense of *suei* 'to advance', a fallacious conclusion: »(If) they *yü e* (bring far =) extend their territory, they will in the former kings' (principles) *sī* (= *suei* advance =) become great». A hopeless construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en rightly connects the line with the preceding, and carries *sī* to the following line; *yü e* 87 simply means 'and', as *passim* in the Shu: »(Heaven has delivered the people of the central kingdom) and its territory to the former kings».

1713. *Sī wang wei tê yung ho yi sien hou mi min* 91.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta, punctuates after *yung*: *wang wei tê yung*, taking *tê yung* as an inversion of *yung tê* 92: »Now may the king use the virtue». Foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en. — B. Wang Nien-sun: *yung* 93 = 94 and the line forms a whole, *tê* being placed in an emphatic position governed by the following *yung* (= *yi*): »Now may the king *wei tê yung* by means of virtue harmonize and gladden and (be before and after =) take care of the foolish people». This is undoubtedly correct.

1714. *Yung yi sien wang shou ming* 95.

A. PK'ung: »And thus rejoice over the mandate received by the former kings». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *sien wang shou ming* is equal to *sien wang shou ming chē* 96, (common construction in the early texts): »And thus gladden the former kings who received the mandate». — C. Since Shiwen says *yi* 97 had the variant 98 (evidently in both the preceding line and this), Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen believe that in this line (but not in the preceding!) *yi* 98 should mean 99 'to end, achieve': »And thus achieve the mandate received by the former kings». We have already said (Gl. 1704) that there are no safe text ex. of *yi* = *chung* 'to end'. Moreover it would be strange if *yi* (\**djāk* / *jāk* / *yi*), wr. 97 or 98, would occur in two consecutive lines with totally different meanings. — B is obviously right.

1715. *Yi, jo tsī kien wei yüe yü chī yü wannien wei wang* 100.

A. PK'ung, who believes that this again is said to Feng, interprets: »Yes, if you are inspector like this, I say, (we) wish that unto a myriad years you shall (we think of =) serve the king». That *wei wang* should mean »to serve the king» is of course excluded. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *kien* 1 here has not the same meaning 'inspector' as earlier in our chapter, but means 2 'to look at', and he punctuates after *nien*, carrying *wei wang* to the following: 3 »Yes, if you regard this, I say: I wish that unto a myriad years the king's sons and grandsons forever have charge of the people». Kiang Sheng modifies: *kien* means *lin* 4 »If you like this look down upon (the people) . . . » — C. The line is still spoken by Feng in response to the king, but obviously *kien* should have the same meaning as earlier in the chapter. Thus: »Yes, being an inspector like this, I say: I wish that unto a myriad years the king's sons and grandsons forever (guard =) have charge of the people».

2懷為交 3懷遠為近 4懷來 5來 6交 7近 8挾 9達 10用明德懷 11為交庶邦 享作 12庶邦 享 13作 14始 15朕 16作 17后式典集庶邦 18享 19后 20後 21司 22集 23就 24皇天既付中國民 25附 26付 27越厥疆土于先王 28肆 29越 30遠 31肆 32遂 33肆王惟德用和懌先 34後迷民 35用德 36用 37以 38用 39懌先王受命 40先王受命者 41懌 42數 43終 44已若茲監 45惟曰欲至于萬年 46惟王 47懸 48視 49惟王 50子子孫孫永保民 51臨







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